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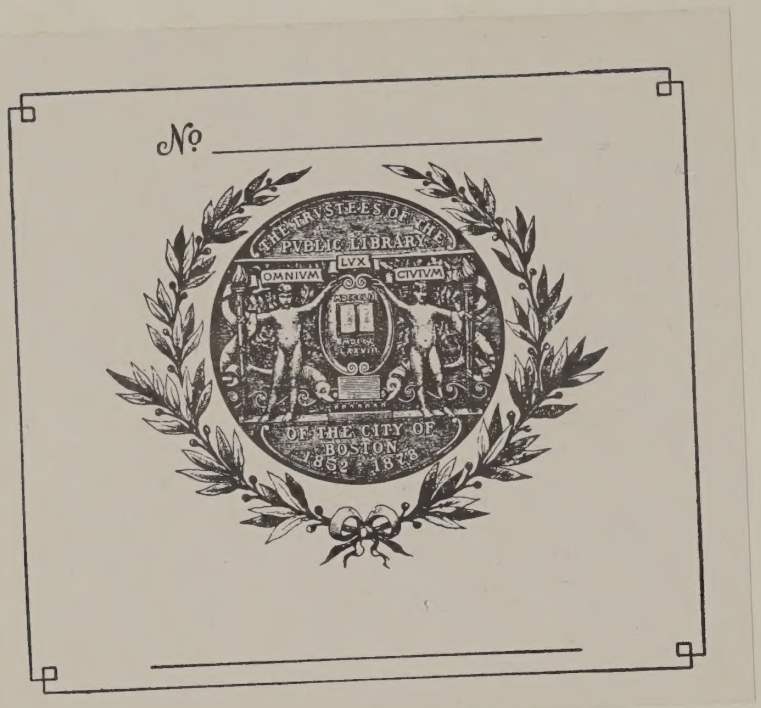
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ERRATA.

Page 12, col. i, line 26 from bottom. For "biographies" read "bibliographies." Line 30 from bottom, for "ten dollars" read "one dollar."

Page 35, col. iii, line 3 from bottom. For "1863" read "1864."

Page 65, col iii, line 9. For "two" read "four."

Page 66, col. ii, line 2 from bottom. For "1684" read "1064." Col. iii, line 17. For "25th" read "20th." Line 27. For "168–9" read "168–73."

Page 120, col. iii, line 17 from bottom. For "Radical" read "Conservative."

Page 138, col. i, line 12. For "W. G. Harris" read "W. T. Harris."

Page 243, col. iii, line 10. For "Chevenix" read "Chenevix."

Page 246, col. ii, line 22 from bottom. For "George William" read "William George."

Page 255, col. iii, line 16 from bottom. For "Eccleston" read "Eggleston."

The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JANUARY 1, 1891.

The Week.

THE bill of the Senate Finance Committee consists of two principal features: first, the addition of $12,000,000 to the silver purchases of the Government during the ensuing year, and, second, the issue of $200,000,000 of 2 per cent. bonds to take the place of an equal amount of 4 and 4½ per cents, which are to be redeemed or purchased. The latter measure is intended to afford the national banks an opportunity to obtain a kind of security for their circulating notes which will not slip out of their fingers as the present bonds do. The present fours command a premium of 21 per cent. This premium will be extinguished in sixteen and one-half years, *i. e.*, at the maturity of the bonds. One and one-third per cent. drops off each year. The temptation thus held out to the banks to surrender circulation, sell their bonds and save the premium, is altogether too strong. If they could get a new bond bearing so low a rate of interest that it would not command a premium in the market, but answering the same purposes as security for their circulation, the shrinkage of the bank-notes would cease. Under the arrangement proposed, it would be incumbent on the Government to pay the premium, *i. e.*, to buy up the outstanding 4s by putting $21 of its own money alongside each $100 received for the new 2s. This it could well afford to do since it would thus extinguish one-half of the interest yet to be paid. It would cancel a future obligation of $33 by a present payment of $21. The banks would simply exchange the old bonds for new ones. They would receive only 2 per cent. interest hereafter on their bond investment, but they could have the premium in place of it, and the interest on this premium, which would probably be as much as 5 per cent. per annum on the average. A bond of $1,000 running 16½ years would at maturity have yielded $642 in interest. The same bond at 2 per cent. would have produced only $321 interest, but it would, under the conditions mentioned, have produced $210 premium and interest on this sum at 5 per cent. for sixteen and one-half years, $173; the three items amounting to $704, or $62 more than the amount yielded by the 4 per cent. bond running the same length of time. Therefore the banks could well afford to make the exchange, and would undoubtedly do so if the opportunity were offered to them.

The original bill contained a provision that for all bank-notes hereafter retired silver bullion should be purchased and silver certificates issued, these to be additional to all other silver purchases provided for. The free-coinage Senators were not satisfied with this as a compromise, which would have been a surrender of the national-banking system and the substitution of Government note issues in place of it. The opponents of free coinage therefore dropped this part of the silver programme and reported the 2 per cent. bond clause in place of it. This action betokens a division in the Republican party in the Senate on the financial question as a whole, which is not likely to be healed. If the caucus meetings which preceded the Finance Committee's meeting could not achieve harmony, we may not look for harmony at all during the present session. A split in the party means no legislation whatever, for the leaders will make everything subservient to party success. Nothing that they can carry into the next Presidential campaign will be so bad as a declared breach in their own ranks. If there is such a breach, it will be stayed. The silver question and the bank question will be adjourned over to the next Congress. What may happen then cannot now be foreseen.

President Harrison deserves only praise for the appointment to the Supreme Bench which he made last week. Henry B. Brown's name is not one familiar to the country, but he is a man who has demonstrated his entire fitness for service in the highest Federal court by an excellent record in a subordinate court, as Judge of the United States District Court for Eastern Michigan during the past fifteen years, having previously been United States District Attorney. His appointment is, therefore, an application of the same principle which led to the selection of David J. Brewer for a seat on the same bench a year ago—viz., that the highest judicial honor should be conferred upon a man who has established his fitness by service on a subordinate bench, as Judge Brewer had done in the Supreme Court of Kansas and as United States Circuit judge. There have been eminent justices of the Supreme Court who took their seats without any such preliminary judicial service—notably the judge whose recent death caused the vacancy just filled, and who left a comparatively obscure law practice in Iowa to begin a distinguished career on the highest bench in the land. Chief-Justice Waite was another man thus elevated to great honor without previous judicial service who showed that a good judge might be secured in this way, but the principle of requiring proved capacity seems in every way more sensible. Certainly the country would have had no patience with an application of the contrary principle if the President had carried out his personal wish to give the vacant seat to the obscure lawyer who was his partner in Indianapolis.

Judge Brown's appointment gives Michigan its first representative in the Supreme Court. Another Western State which had never been represented might have had the place if Senator Spooner had been willing to accept, for the Milwaukee *Sentinel* states with authority that it was offered to him. There will now be one representative of New England—Gray of Massachusetts; two of the old "Middle States"—Blatchford of New York and Bradley of New Jersey; three of the great Western States—Fuller of Illinois, Brewer of Kansas, and Brown of Michigan; one of the Pacific Coast—Field of California; one of the South—Lamar of Mississippi; and one—Harlan of Kentucky—who is a sort of nondescript in the matter of locality, being in no proper sense of the term a representative of the South. Judge Brown comes to the bench at an excellent age, fifty-four, and it is an extraordinary coincidence that he should have been a classmate at Yale of President Harrison's other appointee, Judge Brewer, both having been graduated in 1856 It is not at all unlikely that Mr. Harrison may be called upon to make more appointments to this bench within the next two years.

We wonder how the Great Father felt when he received news of the Indian fight, with the loss of seven officers and men, and fifty wounded, and an indefinite slaughter of Indians. The cause of this Indian trouble is said, by the most competent observers, to be the change in the Indian agents which the Great Father has found it necessary to make for "the good of the party," and the operations in Indian food and clothing which the new agents have found it necessary to make for their own good. In other words, hunger has almost certainly been at the bottom of this outbreak. No men are so apt to see visions or dream dreams as hungry men. No man longs so much for a Messiah, especially if he is an untutored savage, as a man whose stomach is seldom effectually filled. The Great Father ought to be the Indian's Messiah, and the agents ought to be his trusty medicine-men; but no agent can be a good medicine-man if he has been a failure at home, and goes to live on the plains and take care of the savages in order to make a precarious livelihood, and lay up something for the rainy day on which a new Great Father will throw him again on the cold world of civilization. How a Great Father who is also a Presbyterian Elder, can countenance such a system, and say his family prayers with any peace of mind while he perpetuates it, passes our comprehension. For all this bloody work on the plains he is responsible. Neither party pressure nor the testimonials from leading citizens to the high qualities of thieving agents will cover him when he is called to account for all this bloodshed and misery. He will have to stand up and tell the whole story in the presence of a swarm of reporters.

A strong argument against the passage of the Force Bill is deduced by the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, a Republican opponent of the measure, from the recent election in South Carolina. It points out that this election "was fairly and justly conducted"; that, "for the first time in the history of any Southern State since the enfranchisement of the colored element, an opportunity was presented for free voting, and the votes were honestly counted"; that "the bulldozer was absent, and peace prevailed everywhere"; that, "in short, the situation was practically such as the friends of the Federal Election Bill hope to bring about throughout the South by the passage of that measure." What was the result? The colored vote was very light; in some places, where hundreds of negroes were registered, not a tenth part of them voted. Conceding that the suppression of negro suffrage in the past has probably caused the negroes as a class to relinquish much of their original tendency towards participation in political affairs, the *Globe-Democrat* insists that "such an explanation is not sufficient to cover the whole case." "It is evident," it adds, "that the colored man and brother is not imbued with a sense of the value of those rights and privileges which white men prize so highly. He does not care so much for the franchise as many people suppose. It is not to be doubted that much of the sympathy that we are in the habit of manifesting for him because of his political wrongs is wasted."

Mr. Henry C. Lea of Philadelphia has an article in the last *Atlantic Monthly* on "The Lesson of the Pennsylvania Election," in which, as far as regards that State, there is nothing to gainsay; but this passage puzzles us:

> "In the kaleidoscopic shiftings of American politics prophecy is proverbially dangerous, yet I cannot but think that the Republican party will eventually find itself stronger for its recent reverses. Containing, as I believe it does, the major portion of the intellect and culture of the land, it necessarily also contains a larger proportion of voters whose allegiance is lightly held, and whose support must be purchased by deserving. The grotesque spectacle afforded by the predominance in such a party of a man like Mr. Quay was in itself sufficient to repel from it enough voters to defeat it in the next Presidential canvass. From that danger it is to be hoped that Pennsylvania has delivered it. The rough good sense of the people elsewhere has taught its leaders a severe lesson; and such lessons, if rightly laid to heart, are the salvation of a party."

There are many objections to the law which enables the old Congress to sit and legislate after the election of the new one, but it has one merit: it enables the party in power, if it has been defeated at the polls, to show that it has profited by the lesson of the election. Has the Republican party given any sign that it has profited by the lesson of the last election? Not the smallest. Quay is not simply the Pennsylvania boss: he is Chairman of the National Republican Committee. Has the party taken any steps to oust him from this position which he disgraces? None whatever. Has he lost any of his influence with the majority in the Senate, or abated any of his activity there? None that is apparent. Is there any sign of repentance in the party over Speaker Reed's coarse tyranny? None whatever. Has Ingalls, twice elected President of the Senate, been made to make any amends for that gross insult to the conscience and intelligence of the party —the repudiation of the Ten Commandments and the Golden Rule? Not the least; in fact, he sticks to it bravely, and is seeking re-election on this devil's platform. We are omitting all reference to the tariff, out of regard for Mr. Lea's susceptibilities. We do not ask, Has the party shown any sign of regretting the McKinley Bill? We simply ask, Is it showing any desire to get rid of its thieves and liars? We agree with Mr. Lea in thinking that the party contains "the major portion of the intellect and culture of the land," but this makes it, in the absence of a sound morality, all the more dangerous to the country.

Postmaster-General Wanamaker has been caught again rather neatly by the Civil-Service Commissioners, owing to his practice of wandering about outside his reservation and trying to commit depredations on the reformers. In his last report he startled the Civil-Service Commission by the allegation that the examinations for the inspector force of the Railway Mail Service "ought to be made more difficult, so that the candidates for places will better stand the test of actual work." The Commissioners have taken this up, in a letter to the President, and say that, "notwithstanding repeated importunities, they have never received a hint from the Department officials that their examinations were not proper." They take it for granted, too, that the Postmaster-General would not complain of the character of the examinations unless he had some definite plan of improvement to suggest. On this point, in fact, they might have done execution on him out of his own report, for he says (p. 38-9) it is "dishonest to pretend to be friendly to the spirit of reform, which, as I understand, is nothing more nor less than a steady effort, under the laws of reason and human nature, to improve the public service, and not suggest means by which the regulation under which the instruments of reform operate may possibly be improved." This is gospel truth, but was evidently not thought of by Mr. Wanamaker when expressing his dissatisfaction with the work of the Commission.

The Commission caught him again and drove him back when he said that only a quarter or a third of the railway mail eligibles fill the requirements of the service, by showing that of 1,525 eligibles appointed since June 20, 1889, when the examinations for this branch began, only about 145, or about one-eleventh, have resigned or been removed, and it is reasonable to suppose that some of the resignations have been voluntary, so that 90 per cent. have remained in and proved satisfactory, there being no restriction on the power of dismissal. On this point again they might have effectually cornered the Postmaster-General out of his own report, for he says (p. 5) "that there is a spirit of loyalty and devotion throughout the ranks of postal employees, *notably in the Railway Mail Service*, which the best postal authorities declare to be in better shape than it ever was before." The Commission tackles him again on a third point, where he says, speaking of removals he had made in the Railway Mail Service of persons appointed under the Cleveland Administration, that "their room was more valuable than their bungling assistance." The Commission rightly calls attention to this as an indirect admission of the value of the competitive system of appointments. These removals took place between March 4 and May 1, 1889, and amounted to about one-half of those appointed under Mr. Cleveland through the old spoils system, of which, therefore, Mr. Wanamaker's charge is a strong condemnation.

The disappearance of the "Christmas Article" from the morning papers, which last week was practically complete, is, taken in connection with the abandonment of New Year's calls, a striking sign of the growth of the city in all directions. Only one journal has attempted it this year, but in an entirely new vein, showing that Christmas as a promoter of good-will "is not what it is cracked up to be," as Horace Greeley said of Westminster Abbey; with other reflections of a characteristically diabolical nature. The "Christmas Article," which we ourselves always read with genuine enjoyment, was really a reminiscence of Dickens. He introduced it into journalism some fifty years ago, and has supplied materials for it ever since. Each generation of young writers, as they came into action, brought to the notice of their elders, in Dickensian phraseology, the various suggestions of Christmas in the matter of forgiveness, brotherly kindness, and charity, and the peculiar unsuitability at this season of any indulgence in the passions of envy, hatred, and malice. It was all excellent in its way, but it began after a while to be rather wearisome to the judicious. Not all the preachers of good-will were up to the level of the occasion, and they too often degenerated into bathos, and began to excite a kind of mirth which was injurious to Christmas as a festive and happy season. So they have stopped supplying Christmas thoughts for the multitude; but we doubt much whether they would have done so but for the growth of the city into a huge metropolis, in which it is increasingly hard to produce effective sentimentality about anything, and in which everybody is more and more easily bored by any kind of repetition.

The effect of the Parnell-McCarthy row on

the Bering Sea question is involved in a good deal of obscurity. That it should have its influence is too plain for argument, although some little time must be allowed for our politicians to decide what they ought to do about it. If the Parnellites and the McCarthyites should be hotly engaged in Ireland for a long time, and if their sympathizers in this country should be very much absorbed by the struggle, they might lose control of the foreign policy of the United States. In such case Mr. Blaine would perhaps find the principle of arbitration not exactly *contra bonos mores*. Senator Frye is evidently of this way of thinking. The Portland *Press* quotes him as saying that the first thing to be done about Bering Sea is for the United States, "either alone or in conjunction with Great Britain," to find out whether the fur seal is diminishing in numbers or not. "If it is shown that the seals are disappearing, then the matter should be referred to a board of arbitration." If they are not disappearing, the poachers should be allowed to poach, and of course our own law, which forbids poaching by Americans, should be repealed. This is all very well. The question now is, whether the preoccupation of the Irish with their own internal affairs has made the way clear for such enlightened views.

Mr. Parnell has been expressing great displeasure with the priests for helping to defeat him at Kilkenny, but this is, in truth, a further confession on his part of extraordinary political ineptitude. Just as he ought to have foreseen the unwillingness of the English Liberals to act with him after the judgment in the divorce court, so also he ought to have foreseen the probability that the priests would work against him in Ireland. In fact, nearly everybody else who knew anything about Ireland foresaw that they would. It was one of the reasons which led most other observers to believe that Parnell would be defeated in Ireland. One of the most important elements in every Irish problem is the influence of the priests. The priests have influence not only because they are the spiritual directors of the masses in the south and west of Ireland, but because the agrarian question has made them almost the only educated or half-educated leaders the people can get hold of. They are, almost of necessity, in most parts of the country, the most available political orators and advisers the voters have. Even if Parnell had been a Catholic, he would, under the circumstances, have had no chance of their support, because there are no offences against which the Church sets its face in Ireland so relentlessly as offences against sexual morality. The spectacle of the Irish priests condoning an adultery while the English Nonconformists were condemning it, would have been a ridiculous one. That Parnell should not have foreseen all this when he was forming his plans a month ago, is one more sign that something has gone seriously wrong with his judgment. His denunciations of the priests now may relieve his pent-up feelings, but they must, on the morrow of defeat, make his situation worse than ever.

Gen. Booth's 'In Darkest England' has made considerable sensation in England, and has secured for the scheme it has proposed—the raising of $5,000,000, to be intrusted to Gen. Booth for a great work of social regeneration—a good deal of support from philanthropists, particularly clergymen. But it has also drawn forth an amount of criticism such as the Salvation Army has never before had to encounter, and which now seems likely to have serious consequences for the whole organization. It has come out that Gen. Booth did not write the book at all, that Commissioner Smith, his chief lieutenant, wrote it, and that the plan it proposed was in its main features Commissioner Smith's. To claim its authorship under these circumstances was an odd thing for the chief of a religious organization to do, particularly when he was asking the English public to intrust a million sterling to his discretion. But this is not all. The appeal and the comments it has called forth have let loose a great deal of hostility to "the Army," which has hitherto been for one reason or another suppressed. Some one sent £1,000 to Prof. Huxley, asking him to hand it over to Gen. Booth for use in his regeneration scheme, if he (Prof. Huxley) approved of it. Huxley announced publicly that he did not approve of it, on the general ground that large religious or semi-religious organizations, like the Roman monastic orders, held together by implicit obedience under one chief, were morally and politically injurious to the community. This fulmination brought him a shower of communications about the Salvation Army, which led him to return to the charge, accusing Gen. Booth of using the funds of the organization in such a way as to keep himself and his family in comparative luxury, while he paid his subordinate officers a mere pittance and treated them with great tyranny. He intimated, at the same time, that he had worse things than these about the funds in reserve, which would, if necessary, show the General's audacity in asking people to intrust a million sterling to his discretion. Prof. Huxley's attack was followed up by letters from the leaders and promoters of several societies which work among the poor in London, declaring that they had yet to light on a single case of permanent redemption or elevation of any victim of vice or poverty through the agency of the Salvation Army. The news of Commissioner Smith's resignation looks as if Huxley's assault had caused considerable perturbation of some kind inside the fort.

Cuba is demanding an unwonted amount of attention from the home Government these days. The question of representation in the Spanish Cortes is one which has long been a sore point with the Cubans. A law of 1878 put the Cuban representation at twenty-seven deputies, and authorized the Government to make a suitable division of the island into districts. This division has not yet been made. That is one grievance, and another lies in the fact that the abolition of slavery has added at least 300,000 to the free population, thus entitling Cuba to five additional deputies; but she has not had them. A similar state of things exists in Porto Rico also. But the Spanish Government has just issued a decree making the requisite enlargement of the colonial representation, and authorizing the Governor-Generals themselves to make the proper electoral divisions. In the matter of restricted navigation and commercial relations with the United States, the complaining Cubans are not likely to fare so well. Say the Cubans: "Our duty on flour is seven dollars the hundred kilos, while in Spain it is but $1.60; the result is, that American flour goes to Spain, and thence gets free entry into Cuba, making mockery of our tariff." The Ministry admits that this is done, but says that such flour bears only a small proportion to the total amount of flour exported from Spain, and, furthermore, that the Spanish duty is soon to be raised to the prohibitory point. That is the sort of answer the Cubans are going to get all around; their foreign navigation is to be put still more exclusively under the flag of Spain, and their wish for commercial reciprocity with this country will be met by higher tariffs, in defiant answer to McKinley.

Elections to the provincial legislatures took place in Spain on December 7, and the results fall in with the general Conservative trend; one estimate puts the supporters of the Administration elected at 354, against 162 for all divisions of the Opposition. The Conservative organs assert that there was never an election in Spain so free from governmental interference, pointing to the fact that in the province of Madrid, where, if anywhere, official influence could make itself unwarrantably weighty, the Government elected but two out of sixteen members, and confidently predicting an equally untrammelled choice of a Conservative majority in the next Cortes. The Liberal papers, on the contrary, after their first rejoicing over their unexpected success in Madrid, were loud in their declarations that grave abuses had been committed, and were definitely proposing to prosecute the Governors of five specified provinces for electoral frauds. Probably the truth lies somewhere between the two extremes. At any rate, the Opposition will approach the February general elections with scarcely concealed hopelessness. Castelar has recently issued a manifesto calling for an active union of all elements of the Opposition in the canvass, but as Sagasta is precluded from making terms with the avowed Republicans, the appeal can amount to little except to betray the weakness of the Opposition. One surprising feature of the elections was the low percentage of qualified voters going to the polls. Under the new suffrage law there were in Madrid, for example, 118,000 electors entitled to vote, but of these only 18,000 actually voted. Similar proportions were observable in the provinces. This, of course, takes away considerable significance from the result.

A WORD FOR OBSTRUCTIONISTS.

THE Anglo-Saxon world has been ringing during the past seven years with the complaints of parties in power over the obstruction offered to legislation by the parliamentary minorities. There has been a great deal of such obstruction, and it has led to very remarkable changes in the rules of English parliamentary procedure as well as in those of Congress. The American Senate, in fact, is to-day the only important legislative body in the world in which neither the majority nor the presiding officer has any power to restrict debate. Instead of prizing this distinction, however, preparations are being made by the majority in the Senate to get rid of it, and to adopt a rule giving the majority such complete control of the process of deliberation that it can put an end to it at any moment. The hostility to deliberation to which Speaker Reed gave such strong expression in the House, both in his rules and in his talk, for the benefit of the McKinley Bill, is now finding expression in the Senate for the benefit of the Force Bill, even through such men as Mr. Edmunds, whose partisan fervor is now only surpassed by that of Mr. George Hoar.

The case against the obstructionists on both sides of the water is a very plausible one. It is true, as Mr. Edmunds says, that the common parliamentary law has always been "that no man is to speak impertinently or beside the question, superfluously, or tediously." It is also true, as he remarks, that the Constitution of every parliamentary government must and does provide "that the majority of any legislative body has to do its business." But no action on these rules should ever be taken without consideration of the well-known fact that every man engaged in controversy is prone to believe that his adversary talks too much, and is prolix, impertinent, tedious, and superfluous. We have not yet happened to meet with or hear of a disputant who was not greatly flattered by the prompt surrender of his antagonist, and correspondingly provoked by his prolonged resistance. In nothing does human nature show itself more plainly than in argumentation. It is only very great souls who are not more or less irritated by inability to win a complete dialectical victory, although no victories are so hard to win. The old woman who signed "Scissors!" above water, as a sign of unconquerable adherence to her own opinion, is only a type of all that portion of mankind which tries to convince by argument.

All this is as true of deliberative bodies as of individuals. The power to close the mouth of an antagonist, on the ground that his talk is a mere waste of time, is just as likely to be abused by a parliamentary majority as by an individual. The conceit of one's own opinion is even stronger in a group of men than in any single man. A majority, therefore, although it may be the only possible judge of the proper length of debate, is far from being a fit judge of the proper limit of the minority's discourses. We do not suppose there is a Republican in the Senate to-day who has not considered every Democratic speech made against the Force Bill a mere waste of time. These very human weaknesses have to be borne in mind by every candid man in weighing a proposal to restrict debate in a legislative body. The majority, it is true, must rule, but in deciding how much the minority shall be allowed to talk, it is, in a manner, acting as judge in its own cause.

Another point worthy of attention is, that, by the general consent, we believe, of the public in the great democratic countries of the world—the United States, England, France, and the British colonies—the great legislative mischief of our time is not the difficulty which majorities find in legislating, but their disposition to legislate overmuch. Every one of these countries is complaining not of too little legislation, but of an excess. All Conservatives in England to-day are lamenting that the powers of the British Parliament are not restricted by a written constitution. We have not the smallest doubt that, if the parliamentary records of the last twenty years, in the countries we have named, were searched and collated, it would be found that each one of them had in that period profited in as great a degree by the failure of measures through obstruction in some shape, as it has done through the passage of measures, however useful or well conceived. In other words, parliamentary prevention has done far more for the world than parliamentary cure. The legislative fever of majorities is one of the great curses of the day.

Though last not least, it must be borne in mind that the parliamentary crises which have led to serious restrictions on debate, have been brought on, if not in every case, in nearly every case, by attempts at what is called "drastic" legislation—that is, by attempts to pass bills of a violent and unusual kind, about which the public is nearly equally divided, or which shock the moral sense of a large and respectable portion of it. Take, for instance, the occasion for these restrictions in England and in this country. The closure in its present stringent form was not due in the House of Commons to opposition to usual legislation of general utility. It was due to the determination of the majority to suspend the Constitution in a particular portion of the kingdom as a punishment for disorders caused by undenied grievances, before the grievances were redressed—a complete reversal of traditional English policy in dealing with popular discontent. It has appeared plainly, whenever any appeal was made to the voters on this subject, that they were nearly equally divided—that is, that the obstructive minority represented almost as large a proportion of the nation as the majority, and that the majority had no "mandate" on the subject so clear as to arm it with arbitrary power for its execution.

The same thing is true, *mutatis mutandis*, of Speaker Reed's rules, and of the closure which it is now proposed to introduce into the Senate. Reed's rules were concocted not to meet a popular demand, but to force through a measure of an extraordinary character, which had not been called for, and concerning which its promoters were wholly ignorant of the state of public opinion; so that, as the event has shown, the minority which resisted it represented far more truly the will of the people than the majority which pushed it *per fas aut nefas*. These observations apply with equal force to the bill on behalf of which it is now proposed to restrict debate in the Senate. It is essentially "drastic," extraordinary, violent, and even revolutionary in its character. It does not bear discussion. It has not been called for through any of the ordinary channels of public opinion. There is, in fact, much reason to believe that the bulk of the Republican party is opposed to it.

It is for measures of this sort that parliamentary bodies are gradually being deprived of their deliberative character, and converted into chambers in which arbitrary majorities hold "beds of justice" and order the registration of their decrees. There has been, so far as we know, nowhere any serious resistance to the ordinary legislation of plain utility, and in favor of which there is an undeniable preponderance of popular sentiment. The attempt to gag the minority in the Senate is made the more objectionable, and resistance a more solemn duty, by the fact that the majority has twice put in the chair a man who avows as his rule of action in politics a complete disregard both of the Ten Commandments and the Golden Rule. A majority which makes such a man its mouthpiece and the moderator of its debates, deserves no consideration as a deliberative body which circumstances do not make imperative. Obstruction of its action is "a fault not unallied to virtue," as a great orator once said, "and even capable of admiration."

STATE COPYRIGHT LEGISLATION.

MR. BRANDER MATTHEWS makes a fresh contribution to the voluminous literature of literary property by an interesting article on the "Evolution of Copyright," in the *Political Science Quarterly* for December. Starting with a quotation from James Russell Lowell to the effect that all property "is artificial, purely a creature of law, and, more than that, of local and municipal law," and another from Matthew Arnold, that "an author has no natural right to a property in his production"—opinions which we are to suppose Mr. Matthews shares, as he says nothing to the contrary—he proceeds to show how quickly, after the invention and spread of the art of printing, the author began to protest against any "disseisin" of the fruits of his labors and to attempt to obtain some legal (*i. e.*, State) intervention to prevent the wrong. There is little doubt that the advancement of the international-copyright idea, shown in the recent passage of a bill by the House, is very largely due to the education of public opinion in the right direction. But the victory is not yet ours, so there is room for more educating, and Mr. Matthews's article is timely and furnishes one useful method of teaching by setting before the reader certain facts of legislation at home and

abroad upon literary property, so that he may compare our position with that of other nations. In this matter we think there can be but one opinion after a perusal of Mr. Matthews's article. The United States does not occupy the proper place of a great and progressive country, and has entirely failed to keep pace with the evolution of the ethical question involved in copyright legislation.

Mr. Matthews sketches broadly the progress of legislation in behalf of the productions of authors, in England, continental Europe, and the United States, devoting a second chapter to the comparatively recent movement for international protection by means of treaty stipulations. The movement in this direction did not originate, however, as one might infer from his text, in France, but was started in Germany, in 1829, and the next move was made by Italy, some eleven years later. But from 1850 to 1870 France was indefatigable in her efforts to secure guarantees for the protection of the property of her authors abroad, and scarcely a year was allowed to elapse without adding the names of one or more countries to the list of those with which it had treaties, until this list included Great Britain, Belgium, Holland, Saxony, Prussia, Bavaria, Austria, Russia, Switzerland, Italy, Spain, and Portugal, besides thirty-two other smaller States. The example of France has been followed by almost every country in Europe, but the United States, in more than a hundred years of political existence, has failed to secure a single international treaty for the protection of her authors or artists abroad, and their valuable property has been, for more than a century, at the mercy of pirates.

In a paragraph relating to the United States, Mr. Matthews gives a chronology of the legislation upon copyright, and refers to what took place before the enactment of the first Federal statute of 1790. But his references are not entirely correct, and fail to do justice to the very interesting first chapter in the history of copyright in the United States. The proposal made by Congress to the original States was not that they should pass acts granting copyright for a term of fourteen years (in a resolution adopted May 2, 1783), but that the States should pass laws securing to authors and publishers and their assigns copyright for not less than fourteen years, and to authors, if surviving, for a second period of not less than fourteen years. This double term was copied directly from the British copyright statute then in force, the act of 1709. Twelve of the thirteen original States passed such acts. We cannot enlarge upon them here, but as we have never seen printed a correct list of these acts, we will briefly state the dates of enactment, and the term or terms of the protection granted in each case. Connecticut has the honor of heading the list; and we should not omit to mention that not only this State statute, but all the copyright legislation enacted within the United States between 1783 and 1831, was due to the individual efforts of Dr. Noah Webster. The Connecticut act was passed in the January session of the General Assembly of 1783, and granted copyright for two terms of fourteen years each, being a copy of the English statute, but amended to this extent, that while the British act allowed the second term of protection only to the author, if living, the Connecticut act extended the second term to the author's heirs or assigns, if he were not living. Massachusetts followed with an act passed March 17, 1783, the term fixed upon being twenty-one years from the date of the first publication of the work.

These two enactments, it should be noted, were passed before the date of the Congressional resolution referred to above. In prompt response to the recommendation of Congress, in the session of the Assembly of Maryland begun April 21, 1783, there was enacted a law granting security to authors for fourteen years, and, if living, for a second term of fourteen years. On May 27 of the same year, New Jersey passed an act with a double term exactly similar to that of the Connecticut act, a copy of which we know was before the committee appointed to draft the new law. New Hampshire was next in order of time, November 7, 1783; the term of the protection accorded by the act being twenty years. Although this act became inoperative upon the passage of the Federal statute of 1790, it was included in the various revisions of the New Hampshire laws up to 1830, but on December 23, 1842, it was formally repealed.

The General Assembly of Rhode Island was also prompt in acting upon the suggestion of Congress, passing, in the December session of 1783, an act which is a duplication of the Massachusetts law, with only such changes as were required by the change of location. Pennsylvania followed with an act passed March 15, 1784, with a fourteen-year period, followed by a second of like length for the benefit of the author, or his heirs or assigns. On March 28, 1784, South Carolina passed an act of considerable length granting to authors protection for their works for fourteen years, and for a second term of the same length, if then living, with a retroactive clause designed to protect for fourteen years, from January 1, 1784, books which already had been printed. Virginia was more than a year later in coming into line, the General Assembly passing no act until the session commencing October 17, 1785. The term of protection according to this law was twenty-one years from first publication, both for books already printed and for books to be printed. The General Assembly of North Carolina, in its session beginning November 19, 1785, passed an act granting authors' copyright for a single term of fourteen years. Georgia was more liberal, returning to the double term of fourteen years in an act passed February 3, 1786. New York was the last State to get into line, not passing any law until April 29, 1786, when an act was approved containing the usual double term of fourteen years. As regards Delaware, we find no trace of any enactment by that State.

THE GERMAN SCHOOL REFORM.

At a time when the proposed changes in the duration of the undergraduate course at Harvard have brought the old controversy between life and learning more forcibly than ever before the American public, a movement which for several years has been going on in Germany assumes an additional and practical interest. There seems to be little doubt that the position of the old-time Gymnasium, once the pride and glory of German humanism, has become wholly untenable; that, if it is to be saved from becoming a mere name and pretence, steps must be taken to reform it, and that these steps *will* be taken in the direction of reducing the amount of time given to studies which have no relation to the needs of actual life.

It is not too much to say that, with the single exception of the labor question, no problem is at present agitating the German people more deeply. An unprecedented high tide of educational literature is flooding the book market; the air is full of resolutions for and against the present curriculum passed by learned societies, teaching bodies, and legislative assemblies; and now even the young Emperor appears on the stump as a school-reformer. Among the evils of the system now in force which the advocates of reform have been most zealous in pointing out, three seem to be of paramount importance: (1.) The crowding of the Gymnasia by pupils attracted thither solely by the prospect of obtaining a certificate for a privileged position in the military service. (2.) The undue preponderance given to drill in the ancient languages. (3.) The absence of any rational method of furthering the development of a strong, harmonious, and healthy manhood.

With regard to the first point, it may be remembered that, under the existing laws, all persons who have completed half of the course of *Secunda*, the next to the highest class of a Gymnasium, are entitled to the privileges of the *Einjährig Freiwilligen* service, *i. e.*, they have to serve only one year in the army instead of three, on condition that they support themselves during that year. Leaving out of consideration the apparent inequality introduced into the military service by this provision, it is obvious that it also poisons the very heart of Gymnasium life. The young men who come to it with this aim in view have most of them no scholarly purpose whatever; they do not study for any of the professions, and a good many of them are a positive nuisance. And yet by their mere presence, if not by the weight of their number, they affect the whole tone of the school, lowering the standard of attainments, and forcing the teachers into mechanical and stereotyped methods of instruction.

About the necessity of reform, then, in this respect there is no dissension; the only doubt is about the method of reform—the more conservative hoping, by a deferment of the *Einjährig Freiwilligen* certificate to the end of the whole Gymnasium course, to frighten away the undesirable element, the

radicals condemning the *Einjährig Freiwilligen* privilege itself, and demanding the same amount of military service for everybody. Whatever the solution of this matter may be, it is clear that, through the elimination of this class of pupils, the Gymnasium will assume once more its old and true character as a preparatory school for the learned professions, and that then it will be possible to adapt the instruction to definite and well-circumscribed ends.

There is, of course, a much greater difference of opinion about the two other points: the weight to be given to classical studies, and their relation to the system of higher education as a whole. And yet it is apparent that the days of undisputed supremacy of classicism are numbered, and that the necessity of reconstructing the Gymnasium in conformity with the demands and ideals of modern life is becoming more and more recogn zed. Even so enthusiastic a champion of the existing order of things as Heinrich von Treitschke declares that the present method of stuffing the pupils with Greek and Latin grammar simply tends to destroy in the majority of them not only all respect for Greek and Roman life, but also the susceptibility for understanding the conditions and problems of our own time. So moderate and cautious a man as Prof. Eucken of Jena, himself one of the finest classical scholars in Germany, finds himself obliged to enter a vigorous protest against the dulling of the German youth through a system of abstruse book-learning and antiquarianism; and it seems that his own proposal to abolish altogether that stronghold of philological fanaticism, the final examination of the whole Gymnasium course, has called out a strong echo of approval from all over Germany. Herr von Gossler, the Prussian Minister of Public Instruction, has for years been insisting on the necessity of devoting a larger part of school life to the development of physical strength, and of all those manly faculties which have such a large share in building up character. And one of the most successful books of the year has been a pamphlet by the noted African explorer, Dr. Paul Güssfeldt, one of the intimates of Emperor William, which offers as a watchword for the future education of German youth, "Less knowledge and more culture." In short, the day has come when, as Prof. Paulsen predicted five years ago, the best intellect of the country demands that an attempt be made to fill up the gap now existing between the schools and nearly all the forms of professional, scientific, and commercial life.

It is under these conditions and in this state of public opinion that the Prussian Government has called a conference of forty-four distinguished professors, teachers, writers, officials, and business men, embracing such names as Helmholtz, Virchow, Zeller, Paulsen, Tobler, to deliberate on a reorganization of the foundations of higher instruction; and it is to this august assembly that the Emperor has unbosomed himself in a manner which leaves no doubt as to his sympathies and wishes. A curious spectacle it is, this dashing young officer talking to gray-bearded men of world-wide reputation about matters of gravest import in his high-handed cavalry fashion, and apparently without the slightest consciousness of his intellectual inferiority to most of his hearers. And yet, as a symptom of how completely the new ideas have taken possession of the younger generation in Germany, some of his words are well worth quoting. What could be better than this?—"It frequently happens in the Gymnasium that a young man writes a better Latin than a German composition; and for that he is praised. That fellow ought to be punished instead of being encouraged. We have to educate young Germans, not young Greeks or Romans; and German ought to be the centre of the whole instruction. Therefore I say, Away with Latin composition!" Or this?—"The roots of our present civilization lie in the age of the French Revolution; and I am firmly convinced that, if we teach our young men the transition from that period to the nineteenth century in a clear, objective manner, they will have a much better understanding of the questions of to-day than they now have." Or this?—"Men must not look at the world through spectacles, but with their own eyes; and above all they must see with their own eyes and enjoy what is nearest to them all, their fatherland."

It would be a mistake to expect of the present Conference a radical change of the constitution of the German Gymnasium. The Conference itself has only deliberative powers, and things will go slowly, even if the resolutions of this body should be as incisive as the Emperor evidently wants them to be. But so much is clear, that those who in this country advocate a shortening and simplifying of the college course are not alone in their contention.

THE CONFLICT IN THE IRISH PARTY.

LONDON, December 16, 1890.

EVENTS have passed so swiftly during the last four weeks that it is not easy to recall the successive phases through which opinion has passed, and to convey the exact impression which each incident in the always changing struggle made as it occurred upon those who watched the actors. No drama within the memory of any living politician has had so keen a personal interest; in none have the fortunes of a single man been followed with a more anxious sense of the far-reaching consequences which his failure or triumph may involve.

The result of the suit of O'Shea vs. O'Shea and Parnell in the Divorce Court did not surprise members of the House of Commons and such other persons as had been "inside politics" during the last seven or eight years. Some, indeed, of them had been led, by declarations emanating from Mr. Parnell himself, to believe that he had a complete defence to the charges made against him. O hers had been so impressed by his resourceful vigor as to expect that he would somehow buy off or otherwise get rid of his antagonist. The majority, however, had heard so much of Mrs. O'Shea and his relations with her in 1883 and the years following that they had little doubt about the facts, and were prepared for the verdict, though not for the humiliating and indeed degrading details which were brought out in the evidence. They were, of course, annoyed and disheartened by an event which the Tories immediately rejoiced over, as confirming their bad opinion of Mr. Parnell. But inasmuch as they were not astonished, they failed fully to realize the gravity of the position, and said to one another that it was for the Irish to pronounce judgment upon their own leader, and that Englishmen and Scotchmen had better stand aloof and avoid all semblance of interference.

This was the view of the Irish members themselves, who promptly met in Dublin and passed resolutions of confidence in Mr. Parnell. With characteristic impetuosity, some of them went so far as to protest their unabated devotion to him, and talked of rallying around him as though he had been a hero or a martyr. This was the first mistake, and it was a terrible one, which has created a swarm of subsequent troubles. The first of these was the effect on the rank and file of the English Liberal party. Having been accustomed to admire Mr. Parnell as a patriot, having recently poured out a flood of sympathy upon him under the slanders of the *Times* and the forge ies of Pigott, they were dismayed and disgusted by the Divorce Court revelations, and expected either his abdication or his prompt deposition by the Irish party. To find him belauded was more than they could stand, and the cry soon went up in every part of England and Scotland that though their views about the intrinsic merits of home rule were unchanged, they could not work or vote for home rule while Mr. Parnell was the living embodiment of the principle. This outburst of popular opinion, in whose expression the Nonconformist ministers were conspicuous, was quite spontaneous. Not only was it unprompted by the leaders of the party—it actually surprised them by its vehemence and its unanimity. It so happened that a sort of convention of delegates from Liberal associations over the country was then meeting at Sheffield. These men, who represent the bone and sinew of the Liberal party, are largely Nonconformists, and are accustomed to apply their moral standards in politics more rigidly than people do in Parliament. With scarcely a dissentient voice, they declared that unless Mr. Parnell retired at once, the Irish policy of the Liberal party would be fatally discredited and the next general election lost.

Mr. Gladstone had been completely surprised by the issue of the divorce suit, but had waited for Mr. Parnell to take the course which the interests of Ireland required. Now that Parliament was on the eve of meeting, and the Irish members had to elect their leader for the coming session, some deliverance from the chief of the Liberal party became necessary. Accordingly, he saw Mr. Justin McCarthy, and conveyed to him his conviction of the absolute necessity of Mr. Parnell's retirement. Mr. McCarthy conveyed the message to Mr. Parnell, but the latter not only disregarded the warning, but gave no indication of it to the Irish members when they met, and Mr. McCarthy unfortunately omitted to convey it to them. They reëlected him, and in doing so, after they knew or might have known the sentiments of their English allies, repeated the blunder of the Dublin meeting. There was consternation in the Liberal camp, and men believed that the Ministry, taking advantage of the panic among their foes, were on the point of dissolving Parliament. Next day, and not a day too soon, Mr. Gladstone launched the manifesto in which he declared that Mr. Parnell's conduct had been such that no leader of the Liberal

party could henceforth coöperate with him, and that if the forces of home rule were to prevail in England, the Irish wing of the allied army must be commanded by some new chief of untainted reputation. The effect of this deliverance was immense and sudden. It stopped at once the English invectives against Mr. Parnell. The Liberal speakers and journals paused, because Mr. Gladstone had said all they wished to have said. The Tories stopped in surprise, and waited to see what would happen next.

The Irish members, startled and alarmed, summoned another meeting to consider their position; and Mr. Parnell himself, finding all England against him and Ireland breaking from his arms, shot his answering bolt, and denounced Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues as men who desired to palm off upon Ireland a hollow and unreal home rule, and to get rid of himself because they looked on him as an obstacle to their designs. The audacity of this flank movement took every one's breath away. Those who knew Mr. Gladstone's intentions, and remembered that it was Mr. Parnell's own conduct and the judgment of the English Nonconformists on it that had brought about the crisis, held his charges to be groundless. But the diversion succeeded. The susceptible patriotism of many Irishmen took the alarm. Others, who saw through Mr. Parnell's trick, nevertheless feared to ignore the issue he thrust upon them. And the Tory press, headed by the *Times*, gave them effective aid by professing to believe Mr. Parnell's version of his communications with Mr. Gladstone, and treating the question as if it were a struggle between the two men as to which should guide and direct the home-rule movement. In fact, from that moment on, the *Times* and many other organs of the anti-Irish party have done their best to back up and strengthen Mr. Parnell, whom till then they had loaded with abuse.

The second act of the drama opened with the meeting of the Irish members, at which an attempt was made to recall the previous vote and depose Mr. Parnell. Of the fierce debates that followed, marked by occasional violence, but adorned by many powerful and brilliant speeches, little need be said. Mr. Parnell's adroit manœuvre diverted them from the real issue—that of his own unfitness to carry to victory a cause which requires the support of English Liberals as well as Irish Nationalists—and made them turn on the question of Mr. Gladstone's attitude towards Irish autonomy and the probable provisions of his next Home-Rule Bill. The pertinacity, the courage, the resource, and the shameless unscrupulousness with which he fought his battle during many fatiguing days against able antagonists, have been seldom equalled in our Parliamentary annals. After having drawn the hostile majority into a trap by getting them to consent to send a deputation to interrogate Mr. Gladstone, and placed them in a false position when the Liberal leader declined to give pledges which would immediately have been twisted against him, he resumed his obstructive tactics, and showed plainly that he would not, as Chairman, put the question of his own dethronement. The majority have been much blamed for their submissive long-suffering, but it must be remembered that they foresaw a struggle in Ireland, and were anxious to prepare for it by giving their slippery foe no ground for complaining of harshness or foul play. When at last they broke away, and deposed him by a vote of forty-five to twenty-eight, every one felt that the second act did not end the drama, but that other and still more exciting scenes remained to be played out in Ireland. These scenes of the third act are still proceeding, and opinion is hotly divided as to the probable result. The crowds of the towns and generally the more violent sections of the Nationalist party are with Mr. Parnell. The country folk, who are more apt to follow local leaders, and are largely influenced by the bishops and priests, seem disposed to turn against him. Present probabilities point to his defeat, but he may be able, though defeated, to maintain himself for some time to come at the head of a considerable faction, both without and within the House of Commons.

To English observers his attitude appears a purely selfish one, and the conduct of those Irish patriots who support him is, in their view, sheer lunacy. He has hopelessly alienated English opinion, and the adhesion of English opinion to the home-rule cause is the first condition of success. He has been undoing the whole work of the last five years in denouncing the English to the Irish and in trying to rekindle the old distrusts and animosities. In spite of this, there are able and honest Irishmen who cling to him as their only possible leader. Some are fascinated by the strange personal power he possesses, the power of an intense, passionate, and self-confident nature. Some are swayed by sympathy and gratitude for what he has suffered and accomplished previously; and sympathy goes a great way when it induces them to believe (as many in Ireland do believe) that he is an innocent man, the victim of English prejudice and a foul conspiracy to which the judge and jury in the Divorce Court were parties. Some hold that he alone among prominent Irishmen has the dictatorial qualities which are needed to hold a fighting force compactly together, and that a united Irish Parliamentary party is more essential to success than even the help of a great English party. To argue thus, however, is so completely to ignore the blow Mr. Parnell has himself dealt at his own prestige and authority for the future, that it is scarcely less strange than the credulity which holds a man guiltless of acts which he did not deny in court and has not since denied.

Meanwhile, how have the prospects of politics in England been affected by this sudden change in the Irish landscape? The Tory press, with which of course the *Times* must now be classed, and not a few Tory speakers have played a somewhat discreditable part. They opened fire upon Mr. Parnell as soon as the verdict was given, and treated his immoralities with much more severity than has been shown to the graver transgression of several conspicuous personages during the last ten years. A far more revolting case, which was tried about the same time, and which affected the Governor of Madras, who had been a member of a recent Tory Government, was passed over with scarcely a word of comment. The *Times* treated the Liberal party as alone besmirched by Mr. Parnell's transgressions, though his criminal intrigue must have been well known to most Tory as well as to most Liberal politicians in 1885, when the Tory chiefs were in virtual alliance with him. As soon, however, as Mr. Gladstone's letter declared that he could have no more to do with Mr. Parnell, the Tory organs went round and began, if not to defend the Irish leader, yet to give him all the help they could by representing the anti-Parnellite members as no better, although less able, than he was, and by denouncing Mr. Gladstone's attempt to dictate to Ireland whom she should follow. Lord Salisbury, who is conspicuous in our politics for a want of good taste and good feeling, went so far as to say that, looking at the matter as a betting affair, he would "put his own money" on Mr. Parnell, and had no doubt that English Tories were doing so. Many Tories of the less violent sort have, it need hardly be said, refused to follow the Prime Minister's bad example. But on the whole, the tone displayed by the heads of a great party in this transaction has not raised their position in the eyes of impartial men, while the dignity of Mr. Gladstone's manifesto won for him a good deal of applause even from opponents, and rallied his old friends heartily round him.

Whether the respective voting strength of Tories and Liberals has been affected is a serious question, in view of the approach of a general election. The contest just decided in the Bassetlaw division of Nottinghamshire has gone rather heavily against the Liberals, but this may be due to local causes, and the district has for some time past been deemed a Tory stronghold. However this may be, it is plain that the spectacle of disorder and confusion in the Irish party, and the moral ruin of a man who had been looked on as the embodiment of Irish Nationalism, cannot but injure the party which has made home rule the main plank in its platform. This injury may be repaired if Ireland should herself declare against Parnell before Parliament is dissolved. But it will be deepened if he succeeds in regaining his control, or even in maintaining himself at the head of a powerful faction. T.

PARNELL VS. IRELAND.

LONDON, December 11, 1890.

ANOTHER miserable page has been opened in the miserable history of Ireland. She is again divided against herself. She showed the tendency of weak nations to seek union through the acknowledgment of a dictator. Power has demoralized that dictator. When obliged to choose between personal ambition and the unity of the movement he had guided, having come to regard himself as personifying the cause, he has proved ready to sacrifice all to personal ambition. In the transactions of the last three weeks no section of the National party is free from blame, yet to those of them who have been within the inner circle each phase is more or less accountable. On Tuesday, the 18th of November, the results of the divorce suit were known over Ireland. The incomparable services of Mr. Parnell, the belief that the unity of Irish feeling could be maintained only under his leadership, carried away all but a very few, and at the National League meeting that day only adulatory language found expression. A mass-meeting in the largest hall in Dublin had been called for Thursday, in advance of the verdict, by those expecting that Mr. Parnell's character would be cleared, and desiring an opportunity of announcing before the opening of Parliament their adhesion to a home-rule policy. It was not surprising that, under the circumstances, a resolution was unanimously passed "that in all *political* matters Mr. Parnell possessed the confidence of the Irish nation.' Mr. Justin McCarthy's statement carried much weight with waverers, that if counsel had been allowed by Mr. Parnell to cross-examine witnesses, a different complexion would have been put upon the case. Next Tuesday, the 25th, Parliament was to meet, and the Irish party was, as usual, to choose its chairman. Many came to London in bewilderment if not agony of mind. One at least consulted one of the most high-minded British statesmen and of

Ireland's best friends. He said it was essential for the party to maintain its unity, and that the meeting would have the advice of the Liberal leaders.

The meeting of the party was not entirely enthusiastic. Many members sat silent. Till the last moment it was thought by some that the way was merely being made easy for Mr. Parnell to retire; that, having been paid the compliment of a vote of confidence in him as political leader, he would, for the good of his country and the unity of the party, lay aside the proffered trust. For from the moment we mixed with our English friends in the lobby of the House the majority realized, as none of us had realized in Ireland, that the Liberal alliance was for the present at an end, and home rule indefinitely postponed, if Mr. Parnell's leadership were maintained. Also, many had not been prepared for the high and sincere firm stand, on moral grounds, of their English allies. We were puzzled by the absence of the promised communication from the Liberal chiefs; could it have been withheld because our conclusion was in consonance with their own? The non-communication of this advice, whatever its cause, has not been satisfactorily explained. Impressions had been given by some of the intimates of Mr. Parnell, that he meant to retire. The appearance next morning of the letter from Mr. Gladstone announcing his probable retirement from public life, and the certain abandonment of the combined action of his followers with the party, if Mr. Parnell's leadership were continued, completed our disillusionment. In some way we had been betrayed, and in acknowledging this, we acknowledged a certain want of judgment on our own part. We had created a Frankenstein monster that would impede our entire course. And all the events of the past fortnight (into which, to many of us, the feelings of a lifetime have been compressed)—the manifesto of Parnell, his turning upon Gladstone as "a garrulous old man," the utter absence of apology from him, his denunciation of any apology attempted by others, his perfect self-command, only interrupted occasionally by flashes of passion—convinced us that we were not dealing with a man weakened by any aberration of mind, but with one of iron will, of matchless determination, of indomitable persistency, who regarded himself as above and beyond ordinary men.

Irish history from Wednesday morning, the 26th of November, when we of the majority clearly conceived our position and duty, till the afternoon of Saturday, the 6th of December, when, as the only remaining means of concluding matters, the majority left Parnell and his party in possession of committee-room No. 15, was the history of a struggle between men of two turns of mind—those believing that home rule could be won only with Parnell, and those believing it could now be won only without him. With one or two exceptions, the decision appeared to be made that morning unanimously and simultaneously. The strangest and most inscrutable of all psychological problems was presented—a vital difference of opinion among men of equally honest intentions regarding a subject on which all had equal opportunities of judging. Anticipating such a division, knowing intimately most of the men as I do, I should have been utterly mistaken for the most part in my prognostications as to the sides individuals would take. Brother, it is true, stood to brother; son—though only at the last—stood by father; the closest friends, as a rule, kept together; but in the main the results were unexpected. For the first time is revealed the extent to which each man really believed in Parnell, really believed in Gladstone, really believed in an alliance with the English Liberal party. It is best so; the air is cleared, and, though the road is obscured, at least we fully know the position of our fellow-travellers. In the breaking it seemed to me that I for the first time fully appreciated the temper of which the party had been forged.

It can no longer be regarded as a mere instrument in the hands of Parnell: two-thirds of the members depending entirely for support on an ample fund, supposed to be completely at his disposal, ranged themselves against him. As to the attractions of London drawing-rooms, society and club life open to Irish members in alliance with the Liberal party, the very men who most enjoyed and appreciated them have followed Mr. Parnell into the cold. Religion had nothing to do with the decision: only four of the twelve Protestants have sided with Parnell. Nor had the sympathy of suffering and imprisonment: fourteen of the twenty-three who had so suffered, and among them those who had suffered most, are opposed to him. Nor does the majority include all those who were of primary importance in the working of the movement: I have noted twelve such, all Catholics, four of whom adhere to Parnell, and one of these, John Redmond, stands among them in the front rank for oratorical power, honesty of purpose, and statesmanlike ability. Mr. Parnell has certainly carried away with him the rougher elements. On the other hand, those members who spring most from the people, and who are most committed to the cause of the tenants and most responsible to them, have sided against him. The three gray-headed survivors of Butt's movement of 1870, who saw the entry of Parnell into public life, are now most opposed to him. He has the best organizer, Mr. Timothy Harrington. He apparently holds the "offices" in both London and Dublin; he carried the control of the League in Ireland; it is to be feared he has entire command of the Treasury. During late years he has steadily put aside all attempts at divided control. His overwhelming influence was sufficient to suppress even the suggestion of doubt as to the wisdom of such an arrangement. Is it not now clear that this was due to his foreseeing possibilities such as the present, rather than, as we supposed, to the broad looseness of arrangement through which alone, apparently, we had been brought so far safely, escaping the differences inevitable under a more rigid system?

To the majority it is evident that infatuation for a woman, a frenzied desire to have her as his wife, alone can explain his steady determination all through to offer no apology for his conduct, to make no excuse, where, doubtless, many might be made, to leave no loophole for the Queen's Proctor intervening to prevent a divorce. The overwhelming fascination she must have exercised over him accounts for much that was inexplicable in his conduct in the last eight years. Since the time when, as we now know, he became acquainted with her, Parnell was a different man from the Parnell of previous years, just as the Parnell of the past fortnight, who has now nothing to conceal, is again like a different individual. It has been well said that if he had exerted as much zeal and ability in fighting Lord Salisbury during the past four years, as he has during the past fortnight in maintaining his position, the Conservative Government would not now be in power.

But to return to the discussions in No. 15. They were carried on ably and in a fair spirit. Through sitting after sitting, some of ten hours' duration, ten minutes, perhaps, on the whole, would have covered the moments of excited passion. These moments were grossly exaggerated and emphasized by the press. The allegations regarding violence and disorder at the last were unfounded. From only one man at any time was physical violence feared. Never did Parnell show more astuteness than in the conduct of these proceedings; in managing *de jure* with fairness, insisting that each side should have a fair hearing, while *de facto* manœuvring to his own ends. The occasion appeared to lift men above themselves; lips till then in Parliamentary career silent or only faltering were, as it were, touched with fire. John Redmond exceeded himself. Arthur O'Connor's speech was most dignified and deeply pathetic. Mr. Sexton more than sustained his character for statesmanlike power. One of the best arguments against Parnell was advanced by a young man, M. J. Kenny, in listening to whom one of the party was renewedly impressed by Mr. Parnell's prescience and insight, remembering how, many years ago, when he had questioned the leader as to the advisability of restraining Mr. Kenny's youthful impetuosity, the answer had been, "No; that young man will come all right; it is best not to discourage him." I consider that a discussion on so burning a question could not have been carried on by any party in the House in a better spirit or on a higher plane, and I thought a certain wealthy British member was right when he said he would gladly give £50 to have been a listener. It was in the main a contest between men till then bound together by the strongest ties, and who still desired unity. In a great Irish epic, the 'Tain Bo Chuailgne,' it is related how, in the strife at the ford between Fergus MacRoy and Conor MacNessa, those heroes (once close friends) in the pauses of the struggle occasionally embraced and kissed each other. Much was there in our sad struggle of the last few days to recall this mythical incident.

But in Ireland, where the last appeal must be made, how does the question stand? We have acted regarding our constituents according to the views of Burke, that to these we owe everything, especially our "unbiassed opinion," our "enlightened conscience," our "mature judgment," which we "ought not to sacrifice to them, to any man, or to any set of men living." We hope that on mature reflection Ireland will approve our action. If not, we must go. At present, appearances are against us. When the leading National paper, the most influential organ of public opinion, the *Freeman*, strongly opposes us, when it has come to throwing aspersions on the character and intentions of William O'Brien and John Dillon, and assaulting T. M. Healy in the streets of Dublin, matters have gone far. The very man who a few weeks ago arranged O'Brien and Dillon's escape, and navigated their yacht to Havre, was yesterday the principal instrument in seizing the office of *United Ireland*, and destroying an edition of the paper because it supported views which they have espoused. The opinion of most of the conscientious and thoughtful and refined Home-Rulers of my acquaintance in Ireland is against us, and the general current of adverse opinion there must be powerful. The counsel of the Protestant Home-Rule Association has declared for Mr. Parnell. An able bank director, a man of the highest character, who returned to Ireland a few days ago strong for Gladstone, after having offered, if necessary, to contest an Irish seat against Parnell, wrote to me next day to reserve my judgment, and shortly afterwards that he had gone over

to Parnell. In a letter received a few days ago one of my best advisers there writes: "It seems to me that you might have sided differently if you had remained in Ireland; that you would almost certainly have done so had you never been in Parliament. As always, I sympathize more with Gladstone than with Parnell." The Ascendancy party in Ireland, with a keen perception of their own interests, are for the first time recognizing the merits of Parnell. For myself, from the first moment that I realized the feelings of our English allies, the course appeared clear. Never in all the distressing differences of the past twenty years had I less difficulty in coming to a conclusion. Through only one night was my rest disturbed, that following the day upon which compromise seemed probable. On the decision of Ireland during the next few months it depends whether home rule is attainable within a reasonable period, or whether it be relegated to the distant future. But in either case the position of thousands in Ireland is most pitiable, who, abandoning their homes upon the assurances of a speedy settlement in their favor, are now, through fatal divisions (and we of our party believe through the selfish ambition of one man), plunged into a condition from which it may be difficult for either party to extricate them. D. B.

NICOLAS FOUQUET.

PARIS, December 10, 1890.

I HAVE never been to Turin without glancing, on the way, as I arrived in the Italian plains at the foot of the Alps, at the distant castle of Pinerolo, which stands on one of the outlying branches of the chain, and without thinking of the Iron Mask, and of the Superintendent of Finance, Foucquet, who had been kept in the prison of the castle, at the time when Pinerolo was French and looked on Italy as a French sentry.

The name of Foucquet will always be associated with Pinerolo as well as with Vaux. "It is at Vaux," says Mme. de La Fayette in her 'History of Henrietta of England,' "that the ruin of M. Foucquet was decided on, and that the King consented to abandon him." Recent historical works show us that Louis XIV. had determined to condemn Foucquet, his Minister of Finance, even before he had condescended to visit him in this famous place, which had been built and adorned at so much expense. Some years ago M. Chéruel (who is engaged in continuing the publication of Mazarin's correspondence), published two volumes, full of information, under the title of 'Memoirs on the Public and Private Life of Foucquet.' Very recently M. Jules Lair has given us two volumes, 'Nicolas Foucquet, Procureur-Général, Surintendant des Finances, Ministre d'État de Louis XIV.,' which complete the work of M. Chéruel, and really exhaust a subject which will always be interesting to the lovers of French history.

When Mazarin was at the point of death, he spoke to the young King, Louis XIV., of his possible successor. He praised three of the ministers, Le Tellier, De Lionne, and Foucquet, and spoke at length of the last, who knew well what concerned the finances and the administration of justice. Mazarin died at the Château de Vincennes on the 8th of March, 1661, and the King called round him, with the three ministers just named, the Chancellor Séguier, the two Briennes, etc. Speaking to the Chancellor, the young King said: "Sir, I have called you here, as well as my ministers and my secretaries of state, to let you know that hitherto I have been willing to have my affairs conducted by the late Cardinal. It is time that I should govern myself. You will help me with your advice when I ask you to give it." Then, turning round to Foucquet, he said: "As for you, Mr. Superintendent, I beg you to employ Colbert, who has been recommended to me by the late Cardinal."

Consciously or unconsciously, young Louis XIV. (he was then only twenty-two years old) brought face to face two mortal enemies, Foucquet and Colbert, both self-made men, both remarkable administrators. Mazarin thought so well of Colbert that he said to the King, a short time before his death, "I owe you everything, Sire, but I believe that I acquit myself in some manner by giving you Colbert." Born in 1619, the son of a cloth-manufacturer of Reims, Colbert had himself worked for some time at a manufacture. He had risen by his own merit, and had become since 1648 the intendant of Mazarin. "He was a man," says Gourville (a good judge, who had made a similar fortune in the service of the houses of Larochefoucauld and Condé), "born for work above anything that could be imagined. He had a perfect judgment, an iron will, and a degree of integrity and honesty which sometimes bordered on harshness."

M. Lair gives very copious details on the family, the youth, and the early career of Nicolas Foucquet. He was one of the twelve children of François Foucquet, counsellor of the Parlement of Paris. He was born in 1615, was first destined for the Church, became counsellor of the Parlement of Metz, and, having bought the office of *maître des requêtes*, came to live in Paris, and became at the age of twenty-one the colleague of his father. His oldest brother was Bishop of Bayonne, and, his father having died in 1640, Nicolas became the protector of his family. Between the years 1643 and 1648, he was Intendant of Police, Justice, and Finance in the French armies, in Dauphiné, in Catalonia, in Flanders. Mazarin called him near him when the troubles of the Fronde began. Civil wars give resolute men fine opportunities. Mazarin soon discovered great qualities in Foucquet, and, being at drawn daggers with the Parlement of Paris, he resolved to appoint Foucquet Procureur-Général of the Parlement, so as to secure for himself a solid ally. Foucquet entered on his difficult office in 1650, and maintained himself with much ability during the difficult times of the Fronde.

Turenne and Condé were at war. Turenne fought in defence of the young King, and Condé was the head of the rebellion against Mazarin. The two adversaries met in the Faubourg Saint-Antoine, where a most bloody battle was fought. The "Grande Mademoiselle" saved Condé by firing the cannon of the Bastille on the victorious troops of Turenne. A few days later, after the massacres of the Hôtel de Ville, Foucquet urged the Parlement to leave Paris and retire to Pontoise. He took the minority with him to Pontoise; the majority remained in Paris. There were in reality two Parlements, but the secession of Foucquet with the "gens du roi" helped Mazarin in his negotiations; peace was signed, and all the members of the Parlement met again at the Louvre in what was called a "lit de justice." Young Louis XIV., after his exile from his capital, found himself again in it, and Foucquet made a speech in which he celebrated the triumph of the royal cause.

It is not to be wondered at if, after his great services in the Parlement, he obtained without difficulty the office of Superintendent of Finance in 1653, after the death of La Vieuville. After years of civil war, the finances of the country were in a most embarrassed state. M. Lair gives interesting details on this point, and has a long study on the administration and collection of the public revenues in the seventeenth century. All the sources of revenue were farmed, and much remained in the hands of the farmers; the royal treasury received but a small fraction of the direct taxes (which consisted of the *taille* and the *capitation*) and of the indirect taxes (which consisted of the *aides*, the *gabelles*, the *octroi*, the custom-house taxes). The confusion of ideas in these times was such that it was possible for Mazarin, who was Prime Minister, to be at the same time contractor for the armies; that Foucquet could be at the same time Minister of Finance and Procureur-Général of the Parlement. The division of powers which is now classic in all civilized countries did not really exist. All was confusion and disorder; the science of finance was not yet born.

Foucquet had a brother, the Abbé Foucquet, who was a man of pleasure, and who, after having been appointed by Mazarin chief of police, used his influence for the satisfaction of his pleasures. Among his mistresses Bussy-Rabutin names the famous Duchess of Châtillon; this love affair ended in a quarrel, and the Grande Mademoiselle writes in her memoirs: "Who would have said to Admiral Coligny, 'The wife of your grandson will be beaten by the Abbé Foucquet'? He would not have believed it." The Abbé Foucquet quarrelled with his brother and became one of his enemies. The Superintendent committed a great error at the instigation of Mazarin. Belle-Isle-en-Mer belonged to the house of Retz. Mazarin asked Foucquet, who had become rich in his office, to buy the marquisate and the estate of Belle-Isle. The price given for it was 1,300,000 livres. Foucquet had thus in his hands a stronghold; he was in position, if he so wished, to begin a civil war. His wealth began to scandalize many people; he was a sort of Mæcenas—he patronized Corneille, Molière, Le Nôtre, Mignard, Lebrun, Lafontaine; among his friends we find Madame de Sévigné, who remained faithful to him after his downfall. He had a squirrel in his arms, and his motto was "Quo non ascendam?" He was fond of fine bindings; I have seen some of them, on which, oddly enough, there is a royal crown above the squirrel. (I remember a fine Plutarch with this binding.) Some people maintain that for a moment Foucquet was a little out of his mind; he had what the modern doctors call "the insanity of greatness," a well-known cerebral disease.

Colbert was watching him all the time, and did not hesitate to hold up to Mazarin all the disorders of Foucquet's administration. Mazarin, who had acquired an immense fortune himself, and knew that his own record was not clear, did not push matters to extremities. It suited his policy to employ two men who hated each other. He told the truth about them both to Louis XIV., and, after his death, the young King made it his duty to do what the Cardinal would not do himself. Mazarin thought he could atone for his own malversations and robberies by making a donation of his whole fortune (valued at thirty millions) to the King. Louis XIV. nobly refused the gift—he could not be under obligation to a subject; but he determined to purify the administration, and everything tends to prove that Foucquet was lost as soon as Louis ascended the throne. The King only waited for an opportunity. Foucquet was so blinded that he thought for a moment he should himself fill the place of Mazarin; but Louis XIV. said distinctly that he would be his own Prime Minister. He made

the visit to Vaux on the 17th of August; on the 5th of September Foucquet was arrested at Nantes, by D'Artagnan, lieutenant of the King's musketeers (one of the heroes of Dumas's novel, 'Les Trois Mousquetaires'), and taken to the castle of Angers.

The trial of Foucquet was conducted without the forms of the time; his houses were confiscated, his papers were seized, and an inventory of them was made. Foucquet was transferred to Vincennes, and there he was examined and cross-examined on a number of points. A chamber of justice was appointed, and he was allowed to make his defence. The chamber of justice sat at the Arsenal, and afterwards at the Hôtel Séguier. We could fill the shelves of a small library with all the memoirs written by the lawyers during the trial, which lasted an unusually long time. Foucquet was accused of high treason; he was finally condemned to perpetual banishment, and the King commuted the penalty into a perpetual imprisonment.

Foucquet left the Bastille, where he had been imprisoned during the latter part of the trial, and was conducted to Pinerolo, where he was kept in the strictest confinement, without any news of his family. For a little while he was transferred to Le Pérouse, and then taken back to Pinerolo. His valet, Laforêt, tried to help him escape, and was hanged for it. Foucquet had a companion after a while, the famous Lauzun. The King allowed them to see each other, and, at the end, he allowed Foucquet also to see the members of his family. The two prisoners were transferred to Exilles; after the death of Lauzun, Foucquet was taken first to the Island of Ste. Marguérite, then to the Bastille, where he died in 1705, after thirty-four years of captivity.

Correspondence.

THE LOYAL REMNANT AND THE FORCE BILL.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: I transcribe below, from our State archives, certain hitherto unpublished resolutions adopted in Winston County, Ala., in November, 1861. These resolutions were passed at a meeting of Confederate sympathizers called to consider measures "for suppressing and holding in check a widespread spirit of disloyalty and rebellion which is found to exist to an alarming extent in Winston County." If it is considered that Winston County was at that time more or less fairly typical in opinion of a respectable minority in this State, it is possible to judge of the soundness, from a party standpoint, of a legislative policy, like the reconstruction laws, that disregarded this minority's existence. Whatever may be thought of the larger and more enduring consequences of reconstruction—for one, on this point, I accept the consistent teaching of the *Nation*—there can be no doubt that its immediate and continuing effect on the Republican party at the South was disastrous in the extreme.

Just now, when the harsher memories of that period have begun to fade, and the Southern whites have begun to divide on economic rather than race issues, the Republican leaders come forward with legislation the almost certain effect of which will be to restore solidarity to the Southern whites, and so insure the indefinite supremacy of the old order. There is, so far as the writer's observation extends, but one opinion at the South as to the effect the enactment of the Lodge Bill would have upon the fortunes of the Democratic party here, and that is, as a party, it could wish for nothing better. The enactment of the law is greatly dreaded because it is believed the result would be to embitter relations between the races, more kindly now than they have ever been, and in manifold ways break up the healing forces at work in the South.

Here are the Winston County resolutions:

"Whereas, according to the vote in the late election for Representatives, it appears that there are in this county only 128 secessionists and loyal voters, and that there are about 515 avowed Unionists, who declare themselves openly in favor of the Union;

"And whereas, these said Unionists have formed themselves into volunteer military companies for the purpose of defending the Union, and have banded themselves together in armed companies for the purpose of drilling and practising the use of firearms in obedience to public notice;

"And whereas, every effort has been made by the good citizens, both by personal and public appeals, to win the said Unionists to loyalty to the State of Alabama and the Confederacy;

"And whereas, by the special request of his Excellency, Gov. A. B. Moore, the Hon. Geo. Houston lately visited the county of Winston, and made the most fervent and eloquent appeals to the said disaffected citizens, with the hope of exciting in them a spirit of fealty to the Government;

"And whereas, all these efforts have not only failed to produce any good effect, but, on the contrary, it appears that the spirit of rebellion grows more open and violent every day;

"And whereas, out of the 128 loyal citizens of the county 70 are in the service of the army, but not one single man of the 515 Unionists has volunteered, but, on the contrary, whenever an effort is made to get volunteers, the said Unionists concert together to prevent it and declare that they will fight for Abe Lincoln before they will fight for Jeff Davis;

"And whereas, strangers of suspicious character have been lately seen among said Unionists, and from recent circumstances it is evident that they have communication with the enemy;

"Now, therefore, in view of these facts and many others which we might state,

"Resolved, 1st, That we earnestly petition his Excellency the Hon. John Gill Shorter, to intervene by a vigorous exercise of the Executive authority to suppress and strangulate the said spirit of disloyalty and rebellion;

"Resolved, 2d, That we recommend that each citizen of the county be required to take the oath of allegiance, and that all who refuse to do so be dealt with as aliens;

"Resolved, 3d, That we recommend, if it can be constitutionally done, that a requisition be made upon the county of Winston for at least 250 soldiers for the Confederate Army."

Thomas H. Clark.

Montgomery, Ala.

FELO DE SE.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: That a penny-a-liner should write of a man's "perpetrating felo de se" is not at all surprising, when one considers how frequently juries are found to announce that "the verdict is felo de se," parallel to which, however, would be the announcement, "the verdict is a burglar." But the mistake here indicated, that of substituting a person for an action, as in the case of *suttee* for *sutteeism*, has not been, by any means, confined to the vulgar. Like *homicide*, *parricide*, and the rest, *suicide*, apart from its context, is ambiguous; and its equivalence, in one of its acceptations, to *felo de se* may have led to the idea that the legal technicality represents also its other acceptation. The fact that it was the Low Latin *felo*, *felonem*, that gave us *felon*, just as the classical *carbo*, *carbon-em*, gave us *carbon*, cannot have occurred to the authors who have supplied the subjoined quotations:

"I made some occasional attempts at *felo de se*." B. R. Sheridan, *Critic* (1779), act. i., scene ii.

"Such fools commit *felo de se* on sense." W. H. Ireland, *Modern Ship of Fools* (1807), p. 109. Here the misused term stands for "murder," not "self-murder." "To become a plagiarist upon himself, by committing a political *felo de se*." *Id.*, *Scribbleomania* (1815), p. 48, note.

"The unhappy Duke of W——n had committed *felo de se* in a state of insanity." Albany W. Fonblanque (1830), *England under Seven Administrations* (1837), vol. ii., p. 52. But the suicide of the insane is not accounted felony.

"We shall expect to see it illustrated in acts of *felo de se*, or deaths by melancholy." *Id.* (1831), *ibid*, vol. ii., p. 109.

"And the Jury debated, from twelve to three, What the Verdict ought to be; And they brought it in as *Felo de Se*, 'Because her own Leg had killed her.'" Thomas Hood, *Miss Kilmansegg* (1840), in *Works* (ed. 1848), vol i., p. 269.

"The supremacy of the Crown . . . has died by *felo de se*." Cardinal Manning, in *Essays on Religion and Literature*, Second Series (1867), p. 19.

It will be admitted that, of all men, a learned lawyer should be counted on for employing the phrase in question with unfailing propriety. Yet Mr. F. N. Rogers, Q.C., in his 'Ecclesiastical Law' (1840), p. 129, after rightly speaking of "the private interment of the remains of a person *felo de se*," has "the verdict of *felo de se*," thus lapsing into the inaccuracy so common among laymen.

Not wholly dissimilar to the solecism animadverted on is, "he has *malaria*," or "he has caught *malaria*," an expression often seen in American newspapers, and heard in conversation with Americans. Before this can be legitimate, *malaria* must, after the analogy of *cold*, come to mean a disease. At present it is not a whit less wrong than would be, "to have *frost* or *lightning*," where what is intended is the effects of one or other of them.

Your obedient servant, F. H.

Marlesford, England, November 22, 1890.

P. S. Turning over my notes, I find something to add to two of my recent letters.

Of rare, and mostly frivolous, verbs in *-fy* the list which I gave can be largely supplemented. A few more that seem to be new to the Dictionaries are: *Complexify*, *drunkify*, *essayfy*, *hypocrify*, *jollify*, *lilify*, *partify*, *preachify*, *popefy*, *scenefy*, *superdevilify*, *Torify*, *tutorify*.

In Act v., Scene iv., of the *Cheats* (1662) by John Wilson, is found, as printed in his *Dramatic Works* (ed. 1874), p. 98:

"Mrs. Whitebroth—How will the old enemy erect himself!

Mrs. Mopus—And the holy sisters be humbled!

Mrs. Wh.—Who shall carry on the great work?

Mrs. Mop.—Or perfect that which you have begun?

Mrs. Wh.—Mr. Scruple *transmogrify*?

Mrs. Mop.—Ah, no! (Both of them. Hui!)"

F. H.

Notes.

Harper & Bros. have nearly ready an 'Elementary Latin Dictionary,' by Charlton T. Lewis.

The next volume of the series of "English Actors," edited by Mr. William Archer and published here by Longmans, Green & Co., will be a Life of Betterton, by Mr. R. W. Lowe, the editor of the recent excellent editions of Cibber's 'Apology' and Doran's 'Annals.' It will be ready next month.

Mr. Elkin Mathews of Vigo Street, London, is about to issue a pamphlet "addressed to authors and others," by Mr. C. T. Jacobi, the manager of the Chiswick Press. It is to be called 'On the Making and Issuing of Books.

Prof. Garnett of the University of Virginia has made a volume of 'Selections in English Prose from Elizabeth to Victoria' (Boston: Ginn & Co.), which serves very well as a substitute for a library, where books or time is wanting. He includes only thirty-three authors, but the list is, within its limits, satisfactory, and the small number permits a length of extract to each author which is a gain. We do not believe that either knowledge of style, or acquaintance with literature, or a critical taste can be acquired by such "specimens," or that they are of such use to the young student as would be the reading of a few, even a very few, complete works by great authors; but if the method be adopted by a teacher, a more serviceable body of good English prose than this volume contains is not available.

Henry Holt & Co. have brought out a second edition of Bellows's well-known compact 'French-English and English-French Dictionary,' in which the two parts are carried along concurrently on each page, instead of being separate at the beginning and the end—a very convenient arrangement; and in which there are numerous ingenious typographical devices for assisting the eye or the memory. In essential particulars there is nothing better than this dictionary, especially for conversational purposes. The type is so small, however, that it calls for very careful press-work, even under the best conditions, much more when the plates are somewhat worn. The effect of some pages of the present issue is like that of photographic reduction, and is very trying to the eyes.

The tenth volume of M. J. J. Jusserand's well-edited series of "Grands Écrivains Français" is M. Maxime du Camp's sketch of his friend Théophile Gautier (Paris: Hachette; New York: F. W. Christern). No reader of this book will wonder why it was that Gautier, a man of great ability, made no mark as a dramatic critic; M. du Camp makes it obvious that Gautier hated music and the theatre almost as much as he loved travel and poetry. It is only when a man delights in his work that he puts into it the vital spark. Gautier's dramatic criticisms, or a few of them, are to be had in six volumes, and they gather dust on the shelves of students of the French drama, while 'Tra los Montes' and 'Émaux et Camées' pass from hand to hand, and get themselves worn out by perusal. Hating the theatre as he did, and despising it, Gautier's honesty is the more to his credit; he did his work carelessly often, but never under influence. M. du Camp sets down a conversation he had with Girardin (once Gautier's editor-in-chief), who called his critic a fool for not selling his *feuilleton* to the theatrical managers. M. du Camp divides his biography into five chapters, devoted to Gautier's youth, his criticisms, his travels, his tales, and his poetry. On p. 200 we learn that Gautier wrote a *feuilleton* the day his mother died, and that the pay served to bury her—just as Dr. Johnson wrote 'Rasselas' to pay for his mother's funeral expenses.

The seventh volume is now ready of M. Auguste Vitu's 'Les Mille et Une Nuits au Théâtre' (Paris: Ollendorff; New York: F. W. Christern). It contains the dramatic criticisms which M. Vitu published in the *Figaro* from April, 1880, to June, 1881, during which period "Divorçons" and "Le Monde où l'on s'ennuie" were the most important plays produced. There is also a pleasantly erudite article on the revival of Molière's "Impromptu de Versailles."

Obviously incited by the success of Mr. Jerome K. Jerome's clever little book on 'Stage-Land: Curious Manners and Customs of the Inhabitants,' Mr. Percy Fitzgerald has now prepared a little book on 'Music-Hall Land: An Account of the Natives, Male and Female, Pastimes, Songs, Antics, and General Oddities of that Strange Country' (London: Ward & Downey); but his theatrical gazetteer lacks the liveliness and the point of Mr. Jerome's. Nor is it as exact as the paper on the same subject contributed to the January number of *Harper's* by "F. Anstey." Yet in either production the American reader can find a record of one of the strangest of London products—the music-hall—at once like and unlike the Parisian café chantant and the American variety show. It was Planché who called certain songs "most music-hall, most melancholy," and neither Mr. Fitzgerald nor Mr. Guthrie can explain why the British music-hall is inexpressibly depressing to an American.

The second part of vol. ii. of the Final Report of the State Geologist of New Jersey is concerned with zoölogy, and is divided between catalogues of insects and of vertebrates. The first has been drawn up by Prof. John B. Smith, under difficulties, for the collectors have been very unequally distributed, and have confined themselves mainly to *Coleoptera* and *Lepidoptera*, so that, except in these orders, "New Jersey is practically unexplored," and even in these "northern and northwestern New Jersey are entirely unrepresented." Prof. Smith thinks his 6,098 listed species will probably be increased by at least 20 per cent. A certain acknowledged incompleteness attaches also to the descriptive catalogue of the vertebrates, which is a working over, by Dr. Julius Nelson, of Dr. C. C. Abbott's catalogue of 1868. Each species has been described with a view to distinguishing it from its allies, and for the benefit of the gunner and the angler in particular. Dr. Abbott's notes on the habits of the several animals have been retained, and make this section of the volume not unreadable.

From B. Westermann & Co. we have the *Almanach de Gotha* for 1891, still somewhat stouter than heretofore, and more densely packed than ever with the information for which it is famous. A great extension has been given to the third part of its genealogical division, which embraces the princely houses of Europe, non-sovereign, and particularly in the case of those of France. Thus the Duchesse d'Uzès, who poured money so unstintedly into Boulanger's bottomless pocket, is represented with her family, of an old feudal house in Languedoc. The editors of the *Almanach* cruelly give, with the arms of this ducal family, the sadly falsified device, "Ferro, *non auro*." An enormous labor has been undertaken in regard to the princely host, namely, to supply the dates of births and deaths, etc., and naturally only a beginning has been made. One house has lapsed from among the sovereigns, that of Braganza, though it still maintains its place in the *Almanach*. Two of the regulation four portraits in the present volume are of the new King and Queen of Portugal; another is of Gonthier, the new Prince of Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt; the fourth, of Germany's new Chancellor, Gen. Caprivi. Finally, among the useful innovations we remark the localization by street and number of the foreign embassies in the chief European capitals.

The same firm sends us Part I. of the new (fourth) edition of Flügel's 'Universal English-German and German-English Dictionary,' the English-German leading off. We shall review it with care hereafter, and will now only say that it will appear in twelve parts at a monthly rate of issue; that the form is about that of the 'Imperial Dictionary,' but with broader margins and a smaller printed page, in three columns; and that though the type is fine, the impression is remarkably clear. The present instalment reaches the word *bok*.

The most sumptuous of all the Christmas annuals is *Paris-Noël* (New York: F. W. Christern), now in its sixth year. The literature is not remarkable, the most entertaining article being an outline sketch of Paris in winter by M. François Coppée. But the large size of the page allows great variety and richness of illustration. Among the inserted plates are two etchings by M. Mongin and M. Le Rat after Rousseau and Dupré, a double-page lithograph after a drawing in three chalks by M. Chaplin, a double-page photogravure of a picture by M. Brozik, and a double-page half-tint plate of a panel of the new ceiling M. Gervex is painting for the Paris Hôtel de Ville. There is music also to accompany a little pantomime by M. Paul Arène, which Mlle. Abbéma has decorated with tablets in red and black. The color-printing is not remarkably good, but it is very much better than the cheap and empty colored plates of the Christmas *Graphic*, for example. Of all the Christmas numbers published in English, that of *Puck* was most successful in the effectiveness of its color-printing.

L'Art, during the past few months in which we have failed to keep up with its regular fortnightly appearance (New York: Macmillan), has had for its chief continued article, just finished in the number for November 15, the Cathedral of Orvieto. The accompanying designs have been abundant. The Exposition of 1889 is not yet done with, and the reporter who reviews a century of engraving arrives at lithography, an art which suffered directly from the rise of photography, and has fallen into undeserved neglect. Numerous interesting examples are given in *L'Art*. For the rest, we remark a short article on Palladio, and one on Mr. John G. Low and his decorative tiles produced at Chelsea, Mass., in which the writer has some just reprobation of what he calls "le Bill Mac Kinlay," and what our Italian friends call "la legge Kinley," and which by any name is utterly abominable. Among the full-page etchings we remark that after Jean Béraud's painting of the staff of the *Journal des Débats*—more curious for its portraiture than for any artistic qualities. A praiseworthy innovation is found in two photogravures direct from the canvases of old masters. One of these, "The Falconer," was admirably etched many years ago by William Unger for the *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*.

The French centennial exhibit is the real subject of Mr. Hamerton's two articles in the November and December *Portfolio* (Macmillan) on "National Supremacy in Painting," though it begins with generalizations which lead one on unsuspectingly. Mr. Hamerton has much to say of the French boycott of English art, which he sums up in the sentence, "There is no conceivable degree of merit that could overcome the objection against English nationality." He thinks this prejudice is giving way before cosmopolitanism in culture and an approximation of the two schools; but one who viewed the Exposition of 1889 is hardly prepared for the remark that "it was possible to go from the Continental to the English galleries without being taken aback by insular peculiarities," whereas in 1855 the transition was "like alighting on another planet." The American school he of course classes with the French; and as he ends by giving the palm of mastery to the latter nation among all who wield the brush, the association is not unpleasant. Some of his remarks on David, Ingres, Delacroix, on Bastian-Lepage (for

whose "Joan of Arc" he imagines the French contempt had it proceeded, as it might have done, from an English pre-Raphaelite), Dagnan-Bouveret, Millet, Rousseau, Corot, etc., are just and very instructive.

With its issue for December, the *Library Journal* completes its fifteenth volume. The number is wholly taken up with the proceedings and papers at the White Mountains Conference of the American Library Association last summer. They are full of interest.

A remarkably good number of the *American Meteorological Journal* is issued for December. It contains an account of local storms at New Haven by H. J. Cox, the Signal-Service observer there; a translation of Hann's important paper on the Temperature in Cyclones and Anti-Cyclones; a special account of observations on Mt. Washington by Prof. Hazen of the Weather Bureau; a discussion and correction of some of Hazen's previous work by Prof. Marvin of the same Bureau (and we may mention here a review of Hazen's book on tornadoes by Blanford, formerly Chief of the Weather Service of India, in *Nature* for October); and several shorter papers, among the latter being a criticism of Russell's theory of cold waves.

Goldthwaite's Geographical Magazine makes its first appearance with the date of January, 1891 (New York: Wm. M. & J. C. Goldthwaite). It has qualities which recommend it for popular reading, and seems to be edited with earnestness; but the time for judging it at its best has not come, as the editor has evidently not yet secured a full collaboration. The magazine is illustrated.

Another new journal with the new year is the *Surrogate* (102 Broadway, New York), edited by John L. Branch. It calls itself "a popular and practical magazine for lawyers, executors, administrators, trustees, guardians, heirs, and legatees," and is published monthly for ten months in the year. Number one has a portrait of Surrogate Ransom of this city.

The first two parts of *Dialect Notes* have come to hand. This is the organ of the American Dialect Society, of which the Secretary is Mr. E. S. Sheldon, No. 27 Hurlbut Street, Cambridge, Mass., and membership in which (securing the *Notes* free) is obtainable on payment of a yearly fee of ten dollars. The contents of these initial numbers may be roughly described as materials for an American dialect dictionary, and will call for a very full index to make the collection available. There are also biographies of American English and of works on Americanisms. The *Notes* are attractively printed, and should find a wide and interested circle of readers and students. The annual meeting of the Society took place on December 30 at Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn.

We notice in the London letter in a recent number of the *American* an instance of the lamb's muddying the wolf's water which deserves attention. This, writes the correspondent, "is the golden age of fourpenny-halfpenny literature, and in witness thereof have we not the *Review of Reviews*, with its melodramatic rhetoric and sentimental cant? . . . Now, judging by its sales, it is the most popular monthly in England . . . It has its imitators in *La Revue des Revues* in France." But instead of the latter publication being an imitation, it is probable that Mr. Stead got his idea as well as his title from the French periodical, which was mentioned in the *Nation* as early as July, 1886.

—The library of the late Professor Heitz of the University of Strassburg is offered for sale, as we learn, upon terms that ought to secure its purchase by some one of our colleges or universities as yet insufficiently provided with the material of classical scholarship. Professor Heitz was himself a learned scholar, known especially for his reëditing and continuation of Otfried Müller's 'History of Greek Literature,' and his Aristotelian studies. His library comprises about 3,500 volumes and about 1,800 pamphlets (programmes, etc.). The best part of it consists of Greek authors (about 1,600 volumes and more than 1,000 pamphlets). Aristotle is uncommonly well represented, not only in the best editions, but in commentaries and treatises on his various works. Latin literature claims about 900 volumes and 300 pamphlets. The history of Greek literature, with that of ancient philosophy, ancient history and geography, has a good proportionate representation, and many rare *opuscula* are to be found in the catalogue under various heads. The books are, with few exceptions, in excellent condition, many of them nicely bound. A card catalogue of them exists, made by Prof. Heitz himself. The principal librarian of the University of Strassburg has made a valuation of the library, estimating it as worth *en bloc* eight thousand marks. This price appears moderate. If further information is desired concerning the library, with a view to its purchase, letters of inquiry may be addressed to Prof. Norton, Cambridge, Mass.

—*Harper's* for January begins a new serial, Charles Egbert Craddock's "In the Stranger People's Country," but otherwise does not signalize the new year's first number. Mr. Warner writes seriously and at length on the prospects of Southern California, with particular reference to the desirability of emigration to that paradise, as he describes it, of climate and fruit-culture; and Mr. Theodore Child contributes an all-inclusive general paper upon Peru, in the South American series. Mr. F. Anstey gives by illustration, but much more by a vivacious and sympathetic pen, a glimpse of the London music-halls; and of most of them a glimpse is quite enough for the reader of ordinary sensibilities. The most interesting paper is Mr. De Blowitz's account of how he became a journalist, and this narrative is of least importance in that part which deals directly with the particular incident that gives it a title; but in the preliminary portion we have a vivid and admirable picture of the political condition of the city of Marseilles in 1870, of the rule of the Commune there in the weeks before it was expressly proclaimed, and of the manner in which the authority of the central Government was restored. Incidentally the sketches of the appearance of southern France during the invasion, of Thiers at Bordeaux and Versailles, and of Paris after the fall of the Commune, are of the best sort of contemporary history. If Mr. De Blowitz's memoirs contain much of the same quality as this chapter from them, they will be of historical value as well as of exciting personal interest.

—*Scribner's* suffers somewhat from a certain belatedness in the contents. To pass over the inevitable misadventure of the article on the Rothenburg Festival-Play, which is saved from being a mere repetition of the account we lately had of it only by its illustrations, the leading article, by Stanley, on the pigmies of the African forest adds nothing to what he has already told us of the race, either in his London addresses or in his volumes, and is noticeable only for the curious effect he notes in himself of contact with undeveloped races, in consequence of which the difference made in man by civilization appears less than we are naturally inclined to think it must be. Prof. Royce's article on Australia also suffers from the fact that he has already told the story at greater length in another magazine, and has cut himself off from that freshness which is requisite in such a contribution. In Mr. W. P. P. Longfellow's survey of the state of architecture at present we find enough to compensate. He takes in a broad field, and he has the happy faculty of throwing side-lights upon his subject from other arts, by means of which his criticism becomes more general and widely applicable. Among the points he makes it is proper to observe his protest against the habit of drawing architecture for magazine illustration with more regard for its pictorial effect than for its architectural value. He singles out Mr. Herbert Railton as a conspicuous example of the designer who resolves a building into a picture. His argument goes to call attention to the firmness, resistance, and in a word the body which architecture must have as its central thought, and to discourage mere color, picturesqueness, and decoration.

—The reports of the Alabama Insane Hospital, at Tuscaloosa, contain matter of such peculiar interest as to deserve the attention of those who are not specialists in alienism. Controversy can hardly arise as to the exceptional merit of this institution on the score of economy and occupation of patients. During the year ending with September, 1890, about 1,050 patients, requiring the attendance and service of over 150 officers and employees, were regularly cared for at an expense of about $130,000. Deducting the amount received from 45 paying patients, some $14,000, the average cost of maintenance was but $117 per annum. This includes, moreover, the expenses of new buildings, repairs, and improvements, which were between $18,000 and $19,000; a new heating plant having been introduced, and a new kitchen and several other structures having been erected. This remarkable result appears to have been attained without stinting the patients, so far as can be inferred from the attractive list of articles of food and clothing supplied. It is partly due to the fact that the hospital premises include a farm and a coal-mine, partly to the fact that the patients labor productively, but principally, of course, to good management. More than 90 per cent. of the female patients and 75 per cent. of the males are usefully employed. The women spin thread from the raw cotton, and make nearly all the clothing worn by both sexes, knitting stockings, making patch-work quilts, doing laundry work, etc. The men work on the farm and in the shops, and grade and terrace and keep in order the grounds. Dancing, in which all the patients are encouraged to join, occupies two evenings a week, while the others are devoted to games, music, and entertainments of various kinds.

—All this, of course, implies the existence of the policy of non-restraint, as to which experts differ and which, of course, we cannot here consider. This policy has been followed at Tuscaloosa for ten years, during which "there has been no resort whatever to any kind of mechanical restraint; not a vestige of restraining apparatus of any kind is to be found about the premises." Dr. Bryce, the Superintendent, declares that he is more and more convinced of the safety and utility of this policy. "The comparative order and quiet that prevail among our 1,100 patients, is evident to every one who visits the hospital; the industry, cheerfulness, and spirit of contentment

which are everywhere apparent, and the absence of all complaints of ill-treatment or neglect of any kind, as well as the universal feeling of confidence and respect evinced for both officers and nurses, are some of the fruits of this system which we would not willingly forego." The percentage of recoveries is about 40; that of deaths 7, a rate partly due to the grippe and to an unusual influx of aged and decrepit patients. As to the suggestion of the disbelievers in this system, that "restraint by drugs" is practised, the physicians of the hospital declare that it is less resorted to than formerly. As the Treasurer's statement shows only $900 expended for "medical supplies and instruments," or less than ninety cents a year *per caput*, the use of drugs must be extremely limited. Altogether, these reports are extremely suggestive, and as we are all prone to doubt whether any good thing can come out of Nazareth, it is really an act of justice to direct the attention of our readers to this remarkable record of progress.

—A work of special value to bibliographers and librarians, and involving an immense amount of scholarly research, is Dr. Gottlieb's volume 'Über Mittelalterliche Bibliotheken' (Leipzig: Harrassowitz. 1890. 8vo, pp. 520). It consists of a series of papers in which the author has collected and presented in available form all accessible and authentic information concerning the character and contents of mediæval libraries, of which he publishes or summarizes more than fourteen hundred catalogues, many of them derived from manuscript sources and here printed for the first time. His account of the formation and growth of libraries before the invention of printing, and of the manner in which this work was carried on by monks and princes, is an interesting contribution to the history of culture as well as to bibliothecal science. The efficiency of cloisters in preserving the remains of classical literature has been greatly overestimated. Long before the close of the middle ages, monastic institutions had ceased to be seats of learning, and naturally took no care of the manuscript treasures which had been confided to their keeping. Many abbots, as, for example, Conrad and Rumo of St. Gall, towards the end of the thirteenth century, could neither read nor write. In 1440 the works of Propertius were discovered in a cloister—not, however, in the library, but in the cellar, where they served to support a cask of wine. And we learn from contemporary descriptions into what utter neglect even the library of the famous Monte Cassino had fallen at this time. For critical editions of classic authors, the genealogy of the manuscripts in which they have been transmitted to us is a matter of first importance. It is impossible to determine the worth of a manuscript unless we can trace its history and know its origin; and it is only by learned and laborious investigations, such as Dr. Gottlieb has undertaken and prosecuted with so untiring industry and conscientious care, that satisfactory results of this kind can be obtained.

NICOLAY AND HAY'S LINCOLN.—I.

Abraham Lincoln: A History. By John G. Nicolay and John Hay. 10 vols. 8vo. New York: The Century Co.

THE Lincoln biography, which was so long followed with great interest by the multitudinous readers of the *Century*, is nearly doubled in size in the book form. The greatest increase is in the chapters on the military history of the war, most of which were omitted in the serial publication. In the treatment of political subjects also we find considerable new matter. The ten stout and handsome volumes certainly contain one of the most notable literary works of our generation. The authors, who were intimately associated as private secretaries of President Lincoln, have continued their partnership in labors which began in the Executive Mansion; and as Mr. Lincoln was the object of their loyal personal devotion while he lived, his memory and his history have been the centre of their joint activity during the quarter of a century that has passed since he died. They have continued, by voluntary self-devotion, through all the active part of a lifetime, the private secretaryship which they shared during the great war period. The world has seen other literary partnerships, but this is unique, not only in the extent and importance of the work, but in the affectionate dedication of two lives to the building up of a noble memorial to their dead chief.

To none could the memory of Lincoln more naturally become a cult than to the two young men who stood in a peculiar way between him and the public during the overwhelming events of his Presidency, and who were often the confidants of his most private thoughts and the instruments of his personal purposes. They would have been his literary executors by force of circumstances, if he had not indicated them by any expressed wish of his own. We have now the fruits of many years of labor—the completion of the task they assigned themselves as they followed him to the grave. They have, in another way, rivalled the widow of Mausolus in the lavish bestowal of wealth and of labor upon a monument.

It is not hard to see how their work shaped itself into 'A History' instead of a biography. Lincoln's Presidency was the culmination of an historical epoch. His election was the last civil struggle between negro slavery and the nineteenth century. He became the commander-in-chief in the war to which the Slave Power appealed when it was defeated on the field of politics, and he died in the moment of his victory over it. His life was an important part of history during the last four years of it, and he had become prominent in the political arena from the time of his notable debate with Douglas a couple of years before. It was natural, therefore, that his biographers should broaden their plan to include an historical treatment of public affairs, at least from the formation of the Republican party and the struggle over the organization of Kansas and Nebraska as States. In a similar way they no doubt found themselves impelled to attempt something more than a sketch of the military history of the civil war. The early campaigns of the Army of the Potomac were so directly under the eye of the Government at Washington, and Mr. Lincoln was himself so responsible a factor in them, that there was no little difficulty in drawing the line between a narrative of what was personal to him and what more properly belonged to technical military history. When a full history of events on that theatre of war was decided upon, many reasons besides the literary sense of proportion would urge them to treat the campaigns of other armies with approximate completeness. The choice really lay between a rigid restriction to matter strictly personal to him, with a careful editing of his papers and correspondence, and a history of the time, with Lincoln as the central figure.

When the choice of what may, in no bad sense, be called the more ambitious plan was made, the difficulties were by no means over. Numerous subjects would demand attention, each of which might well fill volumes. The work would widen as it went on, and the inevitable result was that gaps must be left from sheer inability to do everything. The most notable example of this is the Congressional and legislative history of the war. The composition of parties after the secession of the Southern Senators and Representatives, the analysis of the elements of the Union party, as it was called, the relative strength of its different wings and the personnel of the leading men, the attitude of these towards the President and his Cabinet, the growth and consolidation of party elements, the progress of public opinion as the war went on, and its effect upon Congress and upon the Administration—all these things are so lightly touched, if touched at all, that the legislative history of the war must be said to be practically omitted. The same is true of its financial history. We see Mr. Chase prominent in the general councils of the Government, and his personal relations to the President are not neglected, but the great work done in the Treasury Department is only vaguely sketched. Yet, even as it is, the work is so voluminous that one doubts whether the personality of Mr. Lincoln is not partly lost or obscured by the extent of the picture and the crowds of events and persons which fill it. On so vast a canvas, with so many figures, and each painted rather large, the dominance even of the chief can hardly be maintained without exaggeration.

The authors seem to have felt this difficulty, and to have tried to overcome it by constantly pointing out how, in their judgment, Mr. Lincoln's hand was upon the springs of every movement, and that all the actors in the great drama were strictly subordinate to him, in intellect, in will, and in purpose, as they were in the official hierarchy of the Government. Herein lies, we think, the unsatisfying element of the book. Those who cherish most reverently the memory of Mr. Lincoln, and who unhesitatingly accord him the first place among the great men of the war period, generally recognize the fact that the President was still only first among his peers, and that there was no great gulf between him and his lieutenants such as in ancient legend separated the hero from common mortals. The realism of the present day is in no small part a protest against illusions. To paint an historic character as ideal is held in itself to be proof that the portraiture is not real. Limitations, weaknesses, and errors in judgment as in action, are so universal traits of human nature that their absence is looked upon as a mark of unreality—we would say of fiction, had not the general tendency to realism so thoroughly invaded fiction that fiction is likely to become a protest against all that is ideal instead of being its refuge. The thoughtful reader finds it impossible to conclude that even Mr. Lincoln was always right in judgment and right in action. He cannot assent to the theory that the administration of the Government from March, 1861, to April, 1865, was the best conceivable. He is conscious of internal protest when asked to assume that whenever Congress differed from the President, Congress was wrong, or that such difference on the part of the Cabinet, collectively or individually, was a necessary proof of unwisdom.

The tone and key which will suit the fervor of a brief eulogy will not adapt itself to a history upon a large plan. It is here, we think, that the authors have found their problem practically insoluble. The history suffers by the necessity of making the personality of one man dominant throughout the whole, and the biography suffers from the inexorable "logic of events," which will not brook the conclu-

sion that but one wise and able man lived in so great an epoch. We are made conscious of a certain strain upon our appreciation of the man, from the beginning of his public career. Lincoln's manly protest against the extreme pro-slavery resolutions of the Illinois Legislature in 1837 is weakened by the authors' comment that the right was "reason enough for the Lincolns and the Luthers." Lincoln was no Luther—least of all a Luther in the anti-slavery cause; and the juxtaposition of this characterization with that of Garrison, "the boldest and most aggressive non-resistant that ever lived," one "taking no account of the expedient or the possible," and of Lovejoy, who is described as "a predestined martyr," gives the incongruity a too sharp accentuation (vol. i., pp. 147–151). The high key thus taken in the first volume continues to the tenth. When the narrative reaches Mr. Lincoln's suggestion to his Cabinet in February, 1865, that they should propose to Congress the offer of four hundred millions to the Southern States as a compensation for the slaves, on the condition of immediate surrender and emancipation, the unanimous dissent from the policy of such a proposal is said to prove "it turned out that he was more humane and liberal than his constitutional advisers" (vol. x., p. 135). Mr. Lincoln would have been the last to give it this interpretation. Even so much of the Cabinet discussion as the authors report, shows that perfectly legitimate considerations of public policy and probable effect were the motives by which both they and he were influenced, and no question of personal humanity or liberality was involved.

When our authors give us their general estimate of Mr. Lincoln's character, and try to put the finger upon the trait which most distinctly marks his mental peculiarity as a statesman, they have done it very happily in saying that he was a great opportunist before the word "opportunism" had been invented. This means that he was ready at all times to secure what for the moment seemed the best thing attainable. It means that he set great store by the practical, even at the risk of seeming to neglect the theoretic. It means a devotion to the general good to the extent of willingness to sacrifice particular and subordinate advantages for its sake. When joined with a devoted patriotism, it is still consistent with seeming to go slow in pushing reforms until he sees that the time is fully ripe for them. It will almost inevitably appear laggard to those most ardent for progress, and will in fact be full of caution and conservatism even when most strongly committed to a great purpose. To such a nature, if backed by clear insight and sagacity in judging men and events, there will, of course, come many a fork in the road when the reasons for going to right or to left are so nearly balanced that either path may be taken without sacrifice of principle. A more positive and ardent character might scorn or condemn every route but a straight line; but this one will be quite indifferent to seeming deviations, if he thinks he may thus reach his end most safely and surely. Even when the end is reached, such a one will be ready to admit that there might have been a shorter and directer way, but may fairly waive the discussion in the satisfaction that the goal is won.

We think the popular judgment of Mr. Lincoln is based upon an instinctive appreciation of these traits in his character. He meant to restore the Union and national supremacy, and never faltered in the purpose till it was accomplished. To this all else was subordinated. It is not necessary to argue that he was wiser in diplomacy than Seward, that he was more unselfish and of broader patriotism than Chase, that he was a better anti-slavery man than Blair. In this respect not only are comparisons odious according to the proverb, they are also unnecessary and unwise. What Lincoln accomplished is enough. How he did it, to the minutest detail, will always be matter of fascinating study to all who find interest in human affairs, and we have good old authority for saying this will include all who are really human.

It is necessary to remember that Mr. Lincoln was by nature conservative. He saw clearly that every question of reform had two sides, and the peculiar clearness of his intellect within its range made him appreciate so fully the objections even to his chosen course, that he often seemed undecided when he was only showing that he understood the cost of his decision. He was apt to be impatient (as far as he ever was impatient) with those who were for driving on without, as he thought, recognizing the difficulties in their way. This temperament made him seem slow even to those with whom he had in his own mind agreed. His whole life warrants us in assuming that he was naturally distrustful of men who were regarded as radicals. He began public life with great reverence for such leaders as Henry Clay. He came to the Presidency with a similar respect for such statesmen as John J. Crittenden. He no doubt had a real distrust of himself when he found himself at the head of affairs, with several States declaring themselves, as to us, foreign nations. He shrank from being responsible for any act which would be the beginning of war, and was willing to go to the verge of safety for the sake of preventing an armed conflict. This made him seem hesitating or lukewarm to more ardent men who did not share his responsibilities, and was the beginning of a misunderstanding between him and leaders in Congress which was never wholly removed. It does not matter whether he or they were more nearly right, he had to work out his results according to the laws of his own nature, or become merely a follower of some one else. He was too genuine a character and altogether too much of a man for this last; yet his sincere modesty made him feel his way towards confidence in himself and his own conclusions by hesitating steps. Through the first year of his administration, and to a certain degree through the whole of it, he seems to be wistfully peering into the future with no full assurance as to any step he took; but still he took step after step as one who feels the ground quaking and uncertain under him, but is still resolute to go on. We may think he could have gone more rapidly or more confidently, without detracting at all from the sympathy and admiration for his character as our providential leader. As he measured his thoughts with other men's, he evidently gained faith in himself. As he tested his courage by theirs in great crises of peril, he learned that he was no more dismayed than they. He found his resources as much at command as theirs, and his judgments as often proved right by the event. He thus grew into a statesman and a leader—in his own way and with his own peculiar traits and qualities—but a leader, nevertheless, recognized by the nation and by the world as such when he died.

LOCKYER'S METEORITIC HYPOTHESIS.

The Meteoritic Hypothesis: A Statement of the Results of a Spectroscopic Inquiry into the Origin of Cosmical Systems. By J. Norman Lockyer, F.R.S. Macmillan & Co.

THE title of this latest book of Mr. Lockyer's does it scant justice. An inquiry into the origin of cosmical systems based entirely on spectroscopic evidence would be as futile an undertaking as one could well engage in, and if there is in the book any special inquiry into the origin of nebulæ, suns, or planets, we have failed to notice it. An order of progress in the evolution of such bodies is, indeed, implied, but the main purpose—we might say the whole purpose—of the book is to propound a new theory of the constitution of all self-luminous celestial bodies, as they now exist. The new "meteoritic hypothesis" is that all such bodies as the aurora, the zodiacal light, comets, nebulæ, and stars are composed either of swarms of meteorites or of masses of meteoritic vapor produced by heat. And a meteorite is simply a mass of matter whose weight may be estimated by milligrammes or by tons, moving through the celestial spaces. If this were all, the hypothesis would amount to little more than that all the celestial bodies are made up of pieces. But the kernel of the theory is that these supposed meteorites are hard bodies in rapid motion, which generate heat and vapor and, to use a familiar term, strike fire by their mutual collisions. Were the meteorites which make up a celestial body but few in number, the light thus emitted would appear only as a succession of flashes, no one of which would be visible even in the most powerful telescope. Actually, however, the number of meteorites in the faintest comet are to be counted by billions of millions, and the collisions among them may number millions in a second, thus giving to the flashes the appearance of a continuous light, bright enough to be seen at a distance of millions of miles.

The architectural plan on which Mr. Lockyer erects his structure eaves nothing to be desired. He builds, step by step, from the earth upwards, taking the same pains to prove things that no competent authority has denied for twenty years (the cosmical origin of meteoric masses, for example) that he does to prove what no one will admit. The falling of meteorites on the earth, the phenomena of shooting-stars, the aurora, the zodiacal light, comets, meteor swarms, and nebulæ are all reviewed in logical order. As a record of facts and references on every branch of celestial spectroscopy, if in no other way, the work may be of value both to the investigator and student. The suspicion that one might entertain of facts opposed to his theory being ignored, is materially allayed by the consideration that the author has unlimited confidence in his ability to explain all such facts away.

The hypothesis has, in its purpose, at least, one great merit. If proved, it would simplify the theory of the constitution of most of the heavenly bodies almost as much as the discovery of gravitation simplified the theory of their motions. If all the mysterious and hitherto inexplicable phenomena of comets, nebulæ, and auroras are results of something so familiar to us as the sparks of light which accompany the blows of flint and steel, then indeed we have a discovery of the first order. But we fail to see that Mr. Lockyer adduces any sound evidence in favor of his view that has not been familiar for twenty years, and this evidence only shows that the orbits of comets and meteoric streams are closely related. The very first step in the proof is not only wholly wanting, but left quite out of consideration. The only possible way in which the spectroscope can show that the light of a heavenly body arises from the collision of hard masses is through making known some resemblance between the spectra of the light from

the body and from such collisions. Now, we do not know that any one has ever systematically examined the spectra produced by collisions, and Mr. Lockyer says nothing on the subject, so that one term of his comparison is non-existent. He does not try to prove his thesis by comparing the two sources of light which he holds to be identical, but by comparing the spectra of different orders of celestial bodies with each other. He labors hard to show that the spectra of comets, auroras, nebulæ, and the zodiacal light all have certain distinctive features in common, and hence concludes that they arise from collisions. This form, bad as it is, is the only logical one to which we are able to reduce the reasoning.

But even when we leave this fatal defect out of consideration, it seems to us that Mr. Lockyer signally fails to show that the numerous spectra which he tries to interpret have in common any features which do not belong to all spectra. His efforts to prove that two things wholly unlike on the face of them are really very much alike, remind one of the efforts of the "Baconians" to show that the underlying ideas of the works of Shakspere and Bacon are identical. Indeed, Mr. Lockyer has the harder task of the two, inasmuch as differences of spectra are evident to the eye, while differences of literary style are evident only to the trained intellect. Take, for instance, the spectra of the aurora and of the zodiacal light; the one made up almost wholly of bright lines, the other a continuous band of light without a well-defined bright line in it. The first observer of the latter spectrum, Angstrom, thought he saw a bright line, identical with the principal line of the aurora; but his high northern latitude was extremely unfavorable to his observations, and more fortunate observers have since shown that he was mistaken. But this does not daunt our author in the least. The spectrum of the zodiacal light is very likely variable, and although it was not like that of the aurora when the later observers saw it, it might have been so when Angstrom saw it. Again, the spectra of most comets are as different from both the sharp lines of the aurora and the band of the zodiacal light as any spectrum well could be, being made up almost entirely of "flutings"—broad bands sharp at one edge, but fading off gradually at the other. These flutings are also found in the flame of carbon, so that we here have a well-known resemblance between a comet and a terrestrial flame; but this has no bearing whatever on the meteoritic hypothesis. The fact is, that the spectroscope has so far done little to lead us to solutions of the numerous problems of celestial chemistry to which its use has led. The simple canons of Kirchhoff and Bunsen are true as far as they go, but it was soon found that the same substance would, under different conditions, give very different spectra, and that the changes could not be reduced to any general law. When even the spectrum of so familiar an agent as lightning, where the physical agencies which come into play are fully understood, is one which we should not have anticipated, and can hardly explain to our own satisfaction, how shall we draw any conclusion from the spectrum of a nebula?

It is one of the great merits of Mr. Lockyer's book that one need not go outside of it to see how baseless are its conclusions. The quantitative fallacy, if we may use the expression, is one which runs through the first part of it. This is the fallacy which one should fall into if, hearing of the tens of thousands of ships afloat on the ocean, he should conclude that they must have difficulty in finding sailing-room. In the same way, Mr. Lockyer talks of the upper strata of the atmosphere being "charged with meteoric dust" from the twenty millions of meteorites which daily strike them. A simple calculation will show that if all the meteorites which our planet encountered in ten years were to remain suspended in the air, the most delicate physical test would fail to show their existence. He talks of a meteoritic swarm "ploughing its way through a meteoritic plenum," while he elsewhere quotes calculations which show that in the densest part of this "plenum" the meteoric particles are many miles apart, so that if a person should make the circuit of the sun in the midst of the swarm, the chances would be against his ever coming in sight of a single meteorite.

Our conclusion is, that if the reader of Mr. Lockyer's book would find it either instructive or valuable, he must first eliminate from it all arguments in favor of the meteoritic hypothesis, and remember that all we yet know about the physical constitution of nebulæ can be condensed into a very few sentences. Countless meteoroids, as Professor Newton has called them, are moving through the celestial spaces, but that they are all hard metallic masses we have no reason to believe. Of those which encounter our atmosphere, only one out of a thousand millions ever reaches the earth's surface, and this one is, of course, a very dense mass. What the others are we have, so far, not succeeded in learning. They may be like grains of sand or puffs of vapor or little pieces of the "chaos" of the Greek philosophers. The only circumstance which connects them with comets is that a stream of them is known to move in the orbit of each of two comets; but this affords no sufficient basis for so wide-reaching a theory as the one we have considered.

BOOKS ABOUT THE STAGE.

Curiosities of the American Stage. By Laurence Hutton. Harper & Bros.

The Art of Playwriting: being a practical treatise on the elements of dramatic construction, intended for the playwright, the student, and the dramatic critic. By Alfred Hennequin, Ph.D. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

The Othello of Tomasso Salvini, described by Edward Tuckerman Mason. G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Between the Whiffs. By Henry Herman. Bristol, Eng.: J. W. Arrowsmith.

Dramaturges et Romanciers. Par Émile Montégut. Paris: Hachette; New York: F. W. Christern.

Mr. Laurence Hutton writes about the 'Curiosities of the American Stage' with the same fulness of knowledge and with the same loving attention to detail that he wrote about the 'Literary Landmarks of London.' The title of his new book is at once comprehensive and non-committal; it would permit the author to insert almost anything which bore upon the history of the theatre in America. What it does contain is five well-considered essays on "The American Play," the "American Stage Negro," the "American Burlesque," the "Infant Phenomenon in America," and a "Century of American Hamlets." Three of these (including perhaps the most interesting and the most valuable paper of all, that on the origin and development of negro-minstrelsy) appeared originally in *Harper's Magazine*, and reappear here with all their abundant illustrations, each of which has now an unbacked page all to itself. Indeed, no other recent book about the stage, except possibly Mr. Jefferson's 'Autobiography,' has been as admirably or as amply illustrated as this of Mr. Hutton's. No other book certainly has had as careful a list of the portraits it contains, as full an index of persons, or as exact an index of places. These three things are denominated the "Dramatis Personæ," the "Cast of Characters," and the "Synopsis of Scenery" in the "Bill of the Play"—as the author fancifully calls his table of contents: the five chapters also appearing as five "Acts," and the first essay—that on "The American Play"—being broken into sections, here termed "Scenes." Naturally, the preface is called the "Argument," and from this we learn that the author modestly disclaims the critical attitude, and proffers his volume to the "Old Playgoer" and the "Dramatic Collector," two distinct entities not always coupled and inseparable.

Although the author's attitude is not deliberately critical, he collects his many facts and marshals his frequent anecdotes with a full sense of their relative value and importance. Despite his disclaimer, Mr. Hutton is in no wise deficient in what is one of the prime requisites of the true critic—the perception of perspective. Praise and space are here proportioned justly enough, and even the casual reader, while he is amused, will probably pick up a stray hint or two as to the vital principles of the art of the stage. To one of Mr. Hutton's positions we feel bound to take exception. In the most elaborate of his essays, that on the "American Play," in which he considers at length and with a wealth of titles and dates and anecdotes the Indian play, the Revolutionary play, the Frontier play, the play of American character, the New York "local" play, and the so-called "society" drama—in this chapter Mr. Hutton takes occasion to declare that an American play is a play which is American not only in its authorship, but also in its "incidents and scenes and characters" (page 6). There is something to be said for this limitation, no doubt, but a general application of the same principle would force us to maintain that "Hamlet" is not an English play, since its characters and its scenes are Danish, and that "Le Cid" is not a French tragedy, "Wilhelm Tell" not a German drama, and "Aïda" not an Italian opera.

M. Hennequin has a French name, but his 'Art of Playwriting' is subdivided with German minuteness, not to say Teutonic tediousness. He explains the technicalities of the stage with confusing "finickyness"—if the word is permissible; and his explanations are not always accurate. The *wings*, for example, are not "a series of chambers or platforms on each side of the stage" (p. 6); and in three places (p. 45, 87, and 139) he confuses "catch-word," which is a characteristic phrase used by a character more than once, with a "gag," which is an interpolation of the performer; while he nowhere explains the "tag," the concluding lines of a play. We may remark, also, that he has no warrant for calling the entrance of a character on the scene an "enter." These things, of course, are trifles, like the misspelling of *féerie* (p. 49), the attribution of the "Silver King" to Mr. Wills (p. 55), or the accrediting to Scribe alone of the "Bataille de Dames," which M. Legouvé has told us owed but little to Scribe.

Trifles as they are, they seem to indicate a certain carelessness; and, in fact, we discover that with all his multitudinous details, M. Hennequin has no firm grasp on the vital principles of dramatic construction. It is difficult to conceive of the person who can find

his book profitable. A tyro so ignorant of the theatre as to need instruction of this elementary sort had best give up all hope of writing successfully for the stage. Of the mere mechanical processes of the dramatist more can be learned from Mr. Julian Magnus's essay in *Lippincott's Magazine* a year or two ago, or from the very British and rather vulgar book on 'Playwriting,' reprinted from the London *Stage*. Of the more artistic requirements of the dramatist, M. Hennequin reveals no capacity to say anything of value, and the novice can be recommended rather to read certain passages in Mr. Jefferson's 'Autobiography' and of Lewes's 'Actors and Acting,' and to study the advice in the elder Dumas's 'Souvenirs Dramatiques,' in the younger Dumas's prefaces and 'Entr'actes,' in M. Legouvé's 'Souvenirs' and 'Conférences,' and in M. Abraham Dreyfus's lecture on the art of the dramatist.

In his biography of Forrest Mr. Lawrence Barrett likens the actor to a statuary who carves his image in snow; a few days of sunshine, and it is gone for ever. Whatever helps to fix the fleeting image for the judgment of posterity is most welcome. The late Fleeming Jenkin (whose biography Mr. R. L. Stevenson has written with needless condescension) published the notes of Prof. Bell on Mrs. Siddons's *Lady Macbeth;* and Mr. Mason has now attempted a like record of Salvini's *Othello*. Mr. Mason prints the complete text of all the scenes in which *Othello* appears as they are arranged in the Italian version which Salvini acts; gives a diagram of every successive scene, marking the exact positions of every character; and accompanies this with a commentary in which the Italian actor's "reading" and all his "business" are duly recorded with unfailing accuracy. This has been read by Salvini himself, who has added such correction and comment as seemed to him needful. Therefore we have now, as far as may be, an exact record of the way in which one of the greatest Shaksperian parts was performed by one of the greatest actors of our time. This record is most valuable, and for it Mr. Mason deserves the ample thanks of all sincere students of the stage and of Shakspere. Admirable as is George Henry Lewes's criticism of Salvini, it is an æsthetic impression only, and in some ways of less worth than this scientific description. The power and the sweep of Salvini's *Othello* cannot be preserved by mere words, but the means whereby this majesty was attained may, some of them at least, be set down in black and white. It is greatly to be desired that other great Shaksperian performances of our time should be preserved as far as may be in like manner—Mr. Booth's *Iago* for example. Despite the interminable writing about Shakspere, there is still one thing left undone, and this is a history of each play as it has been seen on the stage, with details as to the modifications deemed advisable at each revival.

Mr. Henry Herman is half-author of the "Silver King," one of the best of modern melodramas, and he is the entire author of 'Between the Whiffs,' one of the poorest of theatrical jest-books. Actors have perhaps a broader sense of humor than most of us, and they tell a story better, and have many a good story to tell; but by some strange stroke of ill-fortune no one of these has found a resting-place in this little book of Mr. Herman's. It extends to one hundred and eighty-eight wholly unnecessary pages, and it has a brick red paper cover, depicting a scene at once offensive and impossible.

Reading M. Montégut's 'Dramaturges et Romanciers' is like turning over back numbers of the *Revue des Deux Mondes*—from which distinguished magazine, indeed, these essays are reprinted. And, to borrow a phrase of the day, M. Montégut's criticisms are themselves "back numbers." In 1890, articles on 'Le Roman en 1861,' and on 'Le Roman en 1876,' are curious rather than interesting; and the same may be said of the essay on the plays of the late Théodore Barrière, which seem now sadly old-fashioned. The criticisms of the dramatic work of the late Octave Feuillet, M. Sardou, and the late Emile Augier, are of more value, but, like most French dramatic criticisms—except M. Sarcey's—their point of view is literary rather than theatric; and this is a fatal defect, Charles Lamb to the contrary notwithstanding.

Mungo Park and the Niger. By Joseph Thomson. Dodd, Mead & Co. Illustrated. 8vo, pp. 338.

THE editors of the "Great Explorers" series, of which this is the third volume, have been fortunate both in the choice of a subject and of a biographer; for Mungo Park's tragic career, though short, has an interest equalled by that of few explorers, while to Mr. Thomson's literary skill is added the higher qualification of a wide experience in various parts of Africa, including the Niger. His personal knowledge, therefore, of the difficulties which beset the traveller in savage Africa enabled him to form a just appreciation of Park's extraordinary success, so incommensurate with the means at his disposal. It also lends peculiar weight to his occasional comments, scattered through his narrative, on points connected with the opening up of the continent to commerce and civilization.

In the first chapters he briefly sketches the history of the Niger from the earliest times down to the foundation of the African Association in 1788. During the first three years of the existence of this society, it sent out four expeditions in search of the river, whose existence then was merely known through the accounts of the Arab writers. Though all were unsuccessful and three terminated fatally, Mungo Park, in 1795, offered his services for the same object. He was then twenty-four years old, a Scotchman, whose birthplace, on the Yarrow, was not very far from that of Dr. Livingstone, to whom in many respects he was so like and yet in one important particular so unlike. He started from the west coast with general instructions to trace the course of the river as far as possible, and especially to visit Timbuktu, of whose wealth extravagant ideas were then entertained. In our day a traveller into the interior of Africa requires an army of porters to carry his luggage, but Park had but two, negro servants, all his effects being borne by a single donkey. For the account of this memorable journey, which still remains unexcelled in the annals of African exploration for pure heroism and steadfastness to duty, as well as for its romantic adventures, we must refer our readers to Mr. Thomson's book. After seven months of wandering amid perils innumerable from the lack of food and shelter, from wild beasts, robbers, and especially from the hostile Moorish traders, who naturally looked upon him as a rival, he reached the river alone. One of his servants had deserted him; the other had been made a slave. "I hastened to the brink," says Park, whose account here we prefer to the rhetoric of his biographer, "and, having drank of the water, lifted up my fervent thanks in prayer to the Great Ruler of all things, for having thus far crowned my endeavors with success." Although he was some 2,000 miles from its mouth, the river was "as broad as the Thames at Westminster."

It was a bitter disappointment to the traveller to find, after riding about eighty miles down the stream, that further progress was impossible from the hostility of the people, and he determined to turn back. Before him lay a journey of 1,600 miles, which he must travel alone and on foot, for his horse soon after this failed him, while, to add to his anxieties, the rainy season was at hand. For weeks he struggled on, sometimes being hospitably treated, sometimes being driven from the negro huts at night to find shelter in the forest. On one such occasion, the country being infested with lions, he lay down at the gate of the village, but did not dare to sleep. About midnight the roar of a lion was heard at a little distance. In an agony of apprehension he waited as the beast gradually drew nearer his defenceless prey. "Driven frantic at last by the horror of his situation, he rushed to the gate and madly tugged at it with all the energy of one who struggles for dear life. In vain; his utmost efforts were as little able to move it as were his urgent appeals to touch the hearts of the natives." A little later, however, the gate was opened and he was permitted to enter, the natives being convinced that he was not a Moor, "none of whom ever waited any time outside a village without cursing it and all it contained."

At length his strength was utterly exhausted from hunger, exposure, and repeated attacks of fever, and a wilderness lay before him, intersected by eight rivers, which would be impassable for many months. A slave-trader took pity on the wretched traveller and cared for him during a terrible illness, which kept him hovering between life and death through six dreary weeks. But it was eight months before he could again set out for the coast, this time in a slave caravan under the lead of his benefactor. The caravan numbered about a hundred persons, among whom were "six singing men to lighten with song and antic the toils of the route." In his weakened condition Park could only by the most determined effort of will keep himself from sinking by the way during that terrible march. "The poor slaves," he says, "amidst their own infinitely greater sufferings, would commiserate mine, and frequently of their own accord bring water to quench my thirst, and at night collect branches and leaves to prepare me a bed in the wilderness." And yet, notwithstanding this kindness, and although he saw the slave-trade in all its horrors, even those of the middle passage (for a part of his return voyage was made on an American slave-ship), he has not a single word of condemnation for this traffic, and even indirectly upholds it! Various explanations have been made of this strange attitude of a deeply religious and humane man towards what is now recognized as "the open sore of the world." Possibly his intense feelings of gratitude to the slave-trader Karfa, as well as the general indifference of his time, when the anti-slavery agitation had but just begun, will sufficiently account for it.

Park reached England at the end of 1797, where he was received as one raised from the dead, having been absent two years and nine months. Shortly after this he married and settled down to the practice of medicine at Peebles. But while the mystery of the Niger remained unsolved, he could not rest content in Scotland. In 1805 he was again in Africa, at the head of an expedition consisting of some fif-

ty or more men, all but three or four of whom were whites. It was unfortunate from the beginning, for it started "at the worst possible time of the year, and with the worst possible selection of men." He succeeded in reaching the Niger after superhuman exertions on his part, but only four of the Europeans were with him; the rest had perished by the way. Here his native guide left him on the point of embarking on the river "with the fixed resolution to discover the termination of the Niger, or perish in the attempt." For a thousand miles he sailed safely down the stream, but, when almost within sight of his goal, Park and his companions were drowned while defending themselves against the attack of the natives who were attempting to prevent his further progress. For years his fate remained unknown, and although at length authentic tidings of his death were received at the coast, his family refused to believe that he was not alive. So late as 1827 his son Thomas lost his life in a mad attempt to penetrate into the interior to search for his father.

With this tragedy the main interest of Mr. Thomson's book ceases. The remaining chapters are devoted to necessarily brief accounts of the explorations of Clapperton, the Landers, the French traveller Caillié (not Caillé, as Mr. Thomson persistently spells it), and of his own recent journey in the interests of the Royal Niger Company. It is to be regretted that he has neglected to mention the work of that remarkable African, Bishop Crowther, whose contributions to our knowledge of the geography of the Niger were publicly recognized in 1880 by the Royal Geographical Society. He condemns with righteous indignation the gin trade, which, singularly enough, began about the time of the decline of the slave trade. His well-known views in respect to the civilizing influence of Mohammedanism on the negro are also again stated with much force. Although to one familiar with Park's simple narrative, Mr. Thomson's style seems at times diffuse and rhetorical, his book is of unusual interest and value, not only as a biography, but as a history of one important part of the exploration of Africa. The illustrations are fair, some of them being apparently reproduced from those in the early editions of Park's travels; but we miss the one familiar to our childhood representing Park as driving the frogs from a pool that his horse may drink. There is an excellent index, and several maps showing the various views of the geographers as to the course of the Niger, as well as Park's routes.

Essays in English Literature, 1780-1860. By George Saintsbury. London: Percival & Co. 1890.

Mr. Saintsbury includes in this volume thirteen of the minor authors of the first part of the century, and to give an impression of the work they must be named. They are Crabbe, Hogg, Sydney Smith, Jeffrey, Hazlitt, Moore, Hunt, Peacock, Wilson, De Quincey, Lockhart, Praed, and Borrow. Most of these are out of vogue now, and the principal use of this book is to relieve the reader from the perusal of much dead literature which it is, nevertheless, well to know something about. The best of these essays we have commented upon from time to time as they appeared in magazines. They are all written after a faithful reading of the authors, many of them with spirit and some with an enthusiasm of appreciation which, however, the critic carefully keeps out of his style.

Mr. Saintsbury prefaces the whole with a brief paper on the kinds of criticism, in which he declares his preferences, insists that knowledge of other literature is a necessary qualification of a critic, and praises the comparative method. He protests, also, against the tendency to biographical and impressionist criticism, and calls for a return to the criticism based on fixed principles of taste. All this is in the right direction. His own writing, however, is overburdened with trivialities of fact, and is tedious in its fulness of talk about the subject. He does not present the individuality of the author's genius, his traits, with much body or grace; and in particular he is continually offending by looking over his shoulder at an imaginary somebody who "will say" so and so about the critic's present sentence. One cannot help noting, also, that though aware that these are minor authors and acknowledging it, he usually contrives to insert some judgment which declares the author under examination very remarkable indeed. Thus, he says that Hazlitt "was the greatest critic that England has yet produced," and that Sydney Smith, "for goodness as well as for cleverness, for sound practical wisdom as well as for fantastic verbal wit, has had hardly a superior and very few equals." Similar passages could be quoted from other essays. His account of Peacock, his defence of Lockhart, and his paper on Borrow seem to us excellent, and may be read with profit by any literary student; but it must be acknowledged that Mr. Saintsbury's style is uninteresting, his matter second-rate, and his idiosyncrasies (which are Toryish of a very old-fashioned kind) trying. Neither is his English so pure as should belong to a professional wide reader of the best English as it has been used by great and small writers.

An Introduction to Social Philosophy. By John S. Mackenzie. Macmillan & Co. 1890.

It seems indisputable to the ordinary mind that, if human society is to be made over, there should be some determination of its ideal end; for otherwise, as Aristotle says, we should be like archers without a mark, rather unlikely to attain the needful. Yet most of the social reformers who now flourish are so eager to get at work that they are disposed to omit this indispensable preliminary, and thus discourage intelligent people from following them. It is the merit of Mr. Mackenzie that he recognizes the illogical character of this procedure, and endeavors to throw upon the future of mankind some light from the lamp of philosophy. In this attempt he displays considerable dialectical power, and his treatise is distinguished by lucid and methodical statement. His claim is, moreover, a very modest one, for he declares that philosophy can offer no certain conclusions (for if it did they would be necessarily wrong), and it can never have any results which are not subject to modification by a deeper insight.

"It would appear as if we must either grant that there is no philosophy worthy of the name at all, or else hold that philosophy is nothing more than a vague effort after system, and not in any sense the attainment of it—which, again, would only be another way of granting that there is no philosophy worthy of the name. But the solution of this difficulty is to be found in the consideration of the nature of an ideal. The possession of an ideal may be said to lie midway between the attainment of an end and the mere struggle towards it. In guiding ourselves by an ideal, we are struggling towards an end to which we already possess with more or less completeness the conditions of attainment. Such an ideal is not in the full sense knowledge; but it is a kind of prophetic insight which, for a developing being like man, is as good as knowledge—or, in a sense, even better."

Philosophy, therefore, is the effort to attain clear insight into the meaning of our conceptions, guided by the ideal of knowledge as a completed system. It is higher than science, yet depends upon it—to use Hegel's illustration—as eating depends upon food. All philosophies prove inadequate, and yet through them philosophy gradually takes shape. We must remain unscientific, depending upon a kind of faith—the faith that things have a meaning, that the world is a rational system. Social philosophy, or the metaphysic of social life, is possible, because the structure of society must be regarded as logically prior to the existence of any human being. It comprehends ethics and politics, and has a useful part to play in regulating these subjects. It must "guard against the danger of confounding history with prophecy—of supposing that that which has been is necessarily that which will be, or at any rate that when we have investigated past conditions, we are in possession of a complete clue to the future."

As we cannot here discuss the limits of science and metaphysics, we shall confine our criticism to a statement of what is involved in Mr. Mackenzie's position. He assumes not only that things have a meaning, but also that we can find out what it is. He rejects the view, not that past conditions furnish us a *complete* clue to the future (which no one holds), but that they furnish the only clue. The only basis of science is the uniformity of nature—including man's nature. But Mr. Mackenzie holds that prophetic insight is a further basis of philosophy; that we may divine the future independently of our experience of the past. Now, even if we admit the existence of prophets and prophetic insight in this sense, it is evident that we must have some criterion of their insight before we are in position to determine whether they are true prophets or false. Not every one that says Lo here! or Lo there! is to be followed. This criterion corresponds with verification in science, but we do not observe that Mr. Mackenzie supplies it. The analogy that he refers to between prophetic insight and the scientific imagination is misleading on this account, for the latter is mere dreaming unless tested by verification; while the only verification applicable to the former is to wait until it is fulfilled.

However this may be, Mr. Mackenzie proposes to make a practical use of his philosophy in solving the social problem, which is "to raise up the humble and teach the victorious how to use their power." Society has become plastic and disintegrated, and organic filaments are only beginning to form. "Men were first exploited by men; then they were exploited by things; the problem now is to combine men together so that they may exploit things." Democracy is the culmination of the integrating process. "The possibility of a democratic government is consequently one of the inspiring elements in our present social condition, opening up an almost infinite prospect of improvement in the organization of industry and of life in general. Democracy is, in fact, the ideal form of government for a perfect fluid, as aristocracy is for a solid; and the more our society tends to liquefy, the more entirely does democracy become at once possible and necessary."

The deliberative function in democracy is foreshadowed by the "numerous voluntary associations for social ends which are everywhere growing up," among which Mr. Mackenzie includes the Knights of Labor in America. We apprehend that the social ends of this body are such that his prophetic insight will not gain credit in this country from the

remark—"It seems difficult to over-estimate the good that may be done by such associations as are here referred to, as means for the diffusion of that light and culture which are required to temper our democracy." But we will do Mr. Mackenzie the justice to say that he is not always so unfortunate in his prophecies, and we find many of his observations acute and suggestive. It is not very strong or profound thinking that he does, but it is careful, and those who consider a philosophy of society as attainable will be interested in Mr. McKenzie's ideal. He has read widely, but with the rather annoying result that he finds it hard to express himself except in the language of others. There is scarce a paragraph in his book that does not contain at least one phrase or sentence in quotation marks, and many paragraphs are fairly peppered with inverted commas.

U. S.: An Index to the United States of America, historical, geographical, and political; a Hand-book of Reference, combining the "Curios" in U. S. History. Compiled by Malcolm Townsend. Boston: D. Lothrop Co.

WHILE the making of scrap-books is an interesting and commendable pursuit, the publishing of them generally results in a production of little value to any one except the compiler. This is principally because everything which comes into the net of the scrap-book-maker is treated as good fish, so that, while part of the catch has more or less value, much of it has none. In such collections, along with facts as undisputed as the rise of the tide, one frequently finds other "facts" whose sole source is the inventive faculty of some reckless or facetious journalist. We mention these characteristics of this class of books because 'U. S.,' if no better in plan than many others, is much better in execution. Though we do not altogether approve the selection of facts to be presented nor their arrangement when chosen, the compiler deserves the great (because unusual) credit of having, in most cases, verified their correctness. He is careful to tell the reader, for instance, that the Declaration of Independence was *not* signed on the Fourth of July; that Maine was not so named in honor of the wife of Charles I., as commonly asserted, because, at the time the name was first used, there was no prospect of his marrying a French Princess.

The book is rich in appropriate maps and illustrations—the former hideous to the eye from the coarse drawing and coloring—and in documents. In addition to the text of the Constitution and the Declaration, which are always found in similar works, we have the Confederate Constitution, with a joint index to both papers, very useful for purposes of comparison, and many other reprints. Space fails us to describe the remaining contents, which include a great variety of statistical and other information, some useful, as the history of geographical names and terms, elections and Cabinets, coins, etc., and some that is trivial. We have noticed but few loose statements, though that "In February, 1866, slavery was abolished for ever by act of Congress" must be classed as such, as well as the assertion that Mugwumps were exclusively those "who favored the Democratic candidate for the reason that a change in administration was necessary, as 24 years was long enough for a party to be in power." Of positive misstatements we have observed only one, that Pickering was appointed Postmaster-General from Massachusetts.

Owing partly to its unalphabetical arrangement and to the inadequacy of the index, the book will be less useful, though perhaps more amusing, than better arranged publications, such as Brown's 'Dictionary of American Politics.' In the index, which is well made as far as it goes, we notice an odd error, by which certain attributes of the Presidents in general are attributed to one of them.

Le Opere Italiane di Giordano Bruno ristampate di Paolo de Lagarde. 2 vols. Göttingen. New York: G. E. Stechert. 2 vols. Pp. 800. 8vo.

THE Italian works of Bruno have hitherto been accessible only in the collective edition of Wagner (Leipzig, 1830). The original editions are so excessively rare that a complete set of them is hardly to be found in any one library. Several of them were printed at places—not always, it would seem, those named on the title-page—where type-setters and proof-readers skilled in Italian were scarcely to be had, and Prof. Lagarde gives reasons for thinking that the 'Candelaio' is the only one of them which Bruno himself can have corrected. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that errors of the types, anomalies of spelling, punctuation, and the like, are very numerous, even judged by sixteenth-century standards. The question of an editor's duty in such a case is one of some difficulty. Wagner took a liberal view of his functions, and undertook not only the correction of obviously accidental faults, but a far-reaching modernization of the language of Bruno. That in this he was not uniformly consistent or successful, cannot be wondered at. His procedure has been sharply criticised by Imbriani and others, who have also shown that, apart from intentional changes, the accuracy of Wagner's reprint leaves much to be desired. Numerous examples of omissions of words and clauses, departures from the reading of the original, and erroneous emendations are given by Professor Lagarde (p. 771 *seq.*). The reader can enlarge the list to any extent that he thinks worth while. For instance, in the sentence (Wagner ii. 301, l. 41=Lagarde, 611, l. 6), "la nostra simplice libertà et l'altrui maliciose regole, censure, et institutione," the word *libertà* is omitted, and the sense wholly destroyed. It is not ungrateful depreciation of the work to which we are indebted for whatever knowledge we have of Bruno's Italian writings, to say that Wagner's edition does not at all meet the need of the present-day student. Besides, it is out of print and scarce.

A new edition was therefore a desideratum, and this one is doubly welcome because Prof. Lagarde has done just what his predecessor did not. With an accuracy for which his name is a guarantee, he has reprinted the original editions just as they left the press. Palpable misprints are corrected, but even in this case the original reading is given at the foot of the page. For the student of the Italian language this must be a great gain. The editor points out a number of interesting peculiarities of inflection, which Wagner's modernization consistently effaced, such as the forms *hauessiuo*, *fussiuo*, *harestiuo*, in a single line (53, l. 18), and the third persons in *-eno*, *e. g.*, *discorreno=discurrunt*, etc.

The external form of the edition is worthy of the pains which have been taken to secure the correctness of the text. For the convenience of scholars in citing the edition, the pagination runs through the two volumes, and every fifth line is numbered on the inner margin, so that any line can be referred to by a simple formula, say 100_{10}. A full index of names of persons and places is added. As an appendix, is reprinted a notice of the edition by the editor which originally appeared in the *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, February 1, 1889. In it Prof. Lagarde has given the impressions of Bruno which he has formed in the long and minute study of these writings. His estimate of the man differs materially from the two ready-made opinions between which the world now seems to be divided. It will doubtless be unacceptable to those who cannot bear to hear Bruno spoken of except in the language of indiscriminate eulogy. Nevertheless, it was a singularly unfortunate mistake of a reviewer in the *Academy*, who could think of no better way of accounting for Prof. Lagarde's judgment than by ascribing it to the prejudice of a Roman Catholic of the common type, and who, being corrected, fell into the almost more surprising error of making Lagarde a Protestant of the common type. Whether we wholly agree with the estimate or not, we must recognize in it a contribution toward a juster appreciation of the Nolan philosopher by a scholar who, like all men of strong individuality, has fixed opinions—prejudices, if you please—enough of his own, but who is singularly free from the worship of the idols of the tribe or the market-place. And does he not hit very near the mark when he points out, as the defect of Bruno's philosophy, that he attempted to solve philosophical problems with an astronomical key?

The interest in Bruno's Italian writings is, however, not exclusively in this philosophy, to get at which through its hard shell requires some perseverance. The picture of the men and manners of Elizabeth's England in the 'Cena de le Ceneri' is not flattering, but it is very entertaining. 'Gli Heroici Furori' is a panegyric of ideal love, in a tone befitting its dedication to Sir Philip Sidney; while the 'Candelaio' is a piece of realism which, in subject and execution, must delight our newest school. Has any one ever investigated its relation to Ben Jonson's "Alchemist"? But, after all, Bruno is not for many; and Prof. Lagarde very frankly says that he has had students more in mind than readers in preparing his edition. Some day, it is to be hoped, we shall have, in addition to this critical edition of the text, a commentary such as the text requires. Prof. Lagarde is his own publisher, which perhaps accounts for the fact that his Bruno has received but little notice.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Abbott, Mary. The Beverleys. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. $1.25.
Adams, Rev. J. C. Christian Types of Heroism. Boston: Universalist Publishing House.
Alarcon, P. A. de. The Strange Friend of Tito Gil. A. Lovell & Co. $1.
Almanach de Gotha. Gotha: Justus Perthes; New York: B. Westermann & Co.
Bacon, F. The Essays or Counsels, Civil and Moral. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. $1.
Balch, F. H. The Bridge of the Gods. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. $1.25.
Baucher, F. Dressage Méthodique du Cheval de Selle. Paris: J. Rothschild.
Ball, W. W. R. Elementary Algebra. London: C. J. Clay & Sons.
Black, Wm. Stand Fast, Craig-Royston! Harper & Bros. 50 cents.
Blaikie, J. A. Love's Victory. London: Percival & Co.
Dawson, W. H. The Unearned Increment. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co.
Canfield, C. W. The American Annual of Photography. Scovill & Adams Co.
Chambers's Encyclopædia. Vol. VI. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. $3.
Compton, A. G. First Lessons in Metal-Working. John Wiley & Sons.
Conger, Janet C. A Daughter of St. Peter's. J. W. Lovell Co. 25 cents.
Coy, E. G. Greek for Beginners. D. Appleton & Co.
Cunning, J. N. The New Constitution. Chicago: Donohue, Henneberry & Co.
Emerson, Elizabeth U. and Kate L. Brown. Stories in Song. C. H. Ditson & Co. 75 cents.
Flügel, Felix. A Universal English-German and German-English Dictionary. Part I. B. Westermann & Co. $1.
Ford, W. C. The Writings of George Washington. Vol. VIII. G. P. Putnam's Sons. $5.
Gautier, T. One of Cleopatra's Nights. Worthington Co.

Gerome, P. The Shadow of the Millionaire. Belford Co.
Giddings, E. J. American Christian Rulers. Bromfield & Co.
Givins, R. C. The Rich Man's Fool. Chicago: Laird & Lee.
Goodwin, Mrs. H. B. Dorothy Gray. Boston: Damrell & Upham.
Haskins, Rev. D. G. The Bible Abridged. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co. $1.50.
Heimburg, W. Christmas Stories. Worthington Co. 75 cents.
Holden, H. A. The Cyropædia of Xenophon. Books VI., VII., and VIII. Cambridge, Eng.: University Press; New York: Macmillan.
Lang, A. The Strife of Love in a Dream. London: David Nutt.
McRae, Charles. Fathers of Biology. London: Percival & Co.
Molière, J.-B.-P. Les Précieuses Ridicules. London: C. J. Clay & Sons.
Montagu, Lady Mary Wortley. Best Letters. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. $1.
Nansen, F. The First Crossing of Greenland. 2 vols. Longmans, Green & Co. $10.50.
Nicholson, M. Short Flights. Indianapolis: The Bowen-Merrill Co.
North, R. The Lives of the Norths. 3 vols. Scribner & Welford. $4.20.
Norton, C. L. Political Americanisms. Longmans, Green & Co. $1.
Norway, G. Hussein the Hostage. Scribner & Welford. $1.50.
Parker, Maria H. Aunty's Elfin Land. Boston: J. G. Cupples Co.
Paulton, E. A. The American Faust. Belford Co.
Peskett, A. G. Cæsar de Bello Civili. Liber I. Cambridge, Eng.: University Press; New York: Macmillan.
Phelps, A. My Note-Book. Charles Scribner's Sons. $1.50.
Pyle, Howard. The Buccaneers and Marooners of America. Macmillan & Co. $1.50.
Racine, Jean. Les Plaideurs. London: C. J. Clay & Sons.
Riley, J. W. Rhymes of Childhood. Indianapolis: The Bowen-Merrill Co.
Robinson, F. W. Her Love and His Life. Harper & Bros. 30 cents.
Saintsbury, G. Essays in English Literature. 1780–1860. London: Percival & Co.
Secrétan, Charles. Les Droits de l'Humanité. Paris: Félix Alcan.
Schnée, E. Diabetes. London: H. K. Lewis. $2.
Schiller, F. Wilhelm Tell. London: C. J. Clay & Sons.
Scribner's Magazine. Vols. VII. and VIII. 1890. Charles Scribner's Sons.
Sousa, J. P. Airs of All Lands. Philadelphia: Harry Coleman. $3.
Stables, G. 'Twixt School and College. Scribner & Welford. $1.50.
Stevenson, R. L. Ballads. Charles Scribner's Sons. $1.
Symes, J. E. The Prelude to Modern History. Longmans, Green & Co. 80 cents.
The American Digest. (Annual, 1890). St. Paul, Minn.: West Publishing Co.
The Green Bag. 1890. Vol. II. The Boston Book Co.
The Public Schools Year Book. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co.
The Scotch-Irish in America. Cincinnati, O.: Robert Clarke & Co. $1.
Uz, J. P. Sämtliche Poetische Werke. 2 vols. Stuttgart: G. J. Göschen.
Whyte-Melville, G. J. The Gladiators. Chicago: Rand, McNally & Co.
Wiggin, Kate Douglas. Timothy's Quest. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $1.
Willard, E. Julius Cæsar: An Historical Tragedy. Philadelphia: Horace Willard.

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NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JANUARY 8, 1891.

The Week.

THE war with Great Britain which was declared by one of our morning contemporaries on Monday, and the news of which, when cabled to London, caused much consternation there, has come to a sudden end. The British Foreign Office authorizes the statement that there is no such war, and now the President sends to Congress the latest correspondence with Great Britain on the Bering Sea question, and all of it up to January 5, 1891. It consists of only two despatches, one from Lord Salisbury, dated August 2, 1890, and a reply from Mr. Blaine, dated December 17. The text of Lord Salisbury's communication occupies fifteen printed pages. Mr. Blaine's fills thirty-seven. If the strength were in proportion to length, Mr. Blaine's paper would be two and one-half times more powerful than the one he replies to. Its repellent force will be found to be even greater than that by those who attempt to comprehend it at one sitting. But it has one great merit in that it formally abandons the *mare-clausum* doctrine as applied to Bering Sea, and substitutes for it some general considerations respecting the preservation of the fur seal from extermination which were laid down by Minister Phelps on the 12th of September, 1888. In other words, Mr. Blaine has got back to the place of beginning. He has boxed the compass, and is now ready to take up the subject where Mr. Bayard left off. He now says: "The repeated assertions that the Government of the United States demands that Bering Sea be pronounced *mare clausum* are without foundation. The Government has never claimed it and never desired it. It expressly disavows it."

"What has the long-winded controversy been about, then?" the public may ask. Reference to Mr. Blaine's letter of June 30, last year, supplies a sort of answer to this query. It would seem that he draws a distinction between *mare clausum* and the alleged right of exclusive jurisdiction over a space of one hundred miles from any coast or island belonging to us, this distance being fixed in the ukase of Alexander I. of Russia dated September 4, 1821. Mr. Blaine is well aware that international law knows nothing of the Emperor Alexander's ukase or of any local regulations touching the high seas, and that it prescribes one marine league as the limit of territorial waters which are not strictly *mare clausum*. So he seeks an *argumentum ad hominem* against Lord Salisbury by citing a British statute which forbade a vessel "hovering" within eight leagues of the island of St. Helena while Napoleon Bonaparte was confined as a prisoner there. What would have happened if any vessel not British had been caught "hovering" in that place would have been something like this: it would have been brought in as a prize to a British admiralty court, and when the fact was established that it was on the high seas and was not a ship subject to British jurisdiction, it would have been discharged, and the Government of the country to which it belonged would have had a perfectly valid claim for compensation. The upshot of the correspondence is, that we are not only not near a war with England, but rather further from it than before. Whether we are any nearer a settlement of the dispute is not so clear.

The taking up of the Finance Bill by the Senate, in preference to going on with the Force Bill, does not indicate in any way the passage of the former measure. Still less does it look to the passage of Senator Stewart's amendment for the free coinage of silver. Votes were cast for the motion to take up the Finance Bill merely because it shelved the Force Bill, and on the other hand votes were cast against taking up the Finance Bill which would have been cast against the Force Bill if the question had been on the passage of the latter measure. The setting aside of the Force Bill has split the Republican party in the Senate, if not in the country at large. Consequently, we may expect the twenty-nine Senators who have been voted down by the eight bolters and the twenty-six Democrats to be particularly alert and determined to defeat what they consider a treasonable coalition. The prospect is that there will be no financial legislation at all at this session. In addition to all other obstacles, the lateness of the period at which the measure is reached, and the necessity of passing the appropriation bills before the 4th of March in order to avoid an extra session with the terrible Democratic majority of the next Congress, will conspire to prevent any decisive action on the bill. There are, in fact, several Senators who habitually lash their sides and paw up the earth for silver, who will favor postponement whenever they can do so by indirection.

Gen. Miles, who is probably as competent to speak on the Indian question as any man living, has a very instructive article on the subject in the last *North American Review*, which we commend to the perusal of everybody who is afflicted by the reports of slaughter and terror which have been reaching us every morning from South Dakota during the last few days. A worse system than our Indian system for the civilization of savages—that is, their maintenance at the public expense as armed and mounted paupers—could hardly be devised, even if it were well administered. But it is not well administered. The agencies are made part of the spoils of office, and their distribution forms one of the steadily recurring scandals of each Administration. Not only are they bestowed nearly every four years on new and inexperienced men, but they are apt to be bestowed on men who have failed in the ordinary pursuits of civilization, or have never turned their attention to any industry but electioneering. And yet the proper charge of a great Indian agency probably requires a rarer combination of talents and attainments than any of the non-professional subordinate offices of the Government. It calls not only for character good enough to bear removal from public observation, but for business capacity, for tact, patience, self-control, and capacity for command and for teaching the ignorant and the dull. That such qualifications are hardly ever thought of in appointing Indian agents we need hardly say. There is, in fact, a mass of literature devoted to the exposure of abuses caused by the incapacity or dishonesty of Indian agents. The story of every Indian trouble begins with some account of the sins, negligences, and ignorances of the agencies. There is a touch of humor given to the tragedy, too, by the arguments, constantly employed by politicians who want the agencies as spoils, that it will not do to intrust the care of the Indians to hard, cold, unfeeling men of war like the army officers; that it is only from old "heelers" and "workers" that these untutored men can get the tender and watchful care which their unhappy situation calls for.

Gen. Miles's article shows that the notion that the danger of Indian outbreaks has been removed by the disappearance of the buffalo is a great mistake. The place of the buffalo as sustenance for roving bands of rebellious warriors has been taken by the cattle of the settlers. Warriors can now maintain themselves fully as well over a vast range of country by raids on the white man's cows as they ever could by the slaughter of the buffalo herds. The Indian is, too, every year supplied with the latest and best firearms, so that the more civilization closes in about him, the more dangerous he becomes. In fact, the time has come for a radical change in our Indian policy, not on grounds of humanity simply, but as a measure of protection for the great civilized communities which are growing up around the Indians. The savages must either be civilized or extirpated. To be civilized they must be [illegible]ed, and they cannot be protected by [illegible] instrumentalities we now employ for that [illegible]pose. We had hoped that when a really [illegible]ligious man like Gen. Harrison got into the Presidential chair, the moral aspect of the Indian question would make a deep impression on him and profit by his spiritual culture.

Of all the lobby forces ever congregated at Washington to promote indefensible measures and robbery of the public Treasury, those which have been precipitated upon Congress to promote steamship subsidies have been the most shameless and persistent and cor-

rupting. The motive power of this lobby comes this time from Mr. H. K. Thurber's Brazil Steamship Company, with some help, perhaps, from the Pacific Mail Company. Mr. Thurber is one of the patriots who distinguished themselves by peddling forged quotations from English newspapers during the last Presidential campaign. The Pacific Mail Company would probably have been content to rest upon its laurels and leave Congress alone, if the allurement of a subsidy had not been dangled before its eyes by the pernicious activity of the Brazil interest. The Subsidy Bill comes up in the House as the first business after the holidays. It contains a flagrant untruth in its title, which recites that it is a bill to put the American merchant marine on an equality with that of other nations. Equality with what nations? If all the maritime countries of Europe were paying subsidies and bounties to shipping of the same kind and amount as this bill calls for, it would still be for the friends of the measure to show two things: first, that it is right and expedient and just to their taxpayers under their several circumstances to do so; second, that our circumstances are the same as theirs. Neither of these things has been proved, nor has it been proved, except in the case of France, that such subsidies and bounties are paid. France does tax the farmer and the wagon-driver to pay the shipbuilder and the ship-owner, but with most discouraging results so far as the promotion of commerce goes. French ships are built and sailed for the bounty, rather than for the trade, and so it will be here if the bill has any effect at all beyond the putting of money into the treasuries of the Brazil and Pacific Mail Companies. The English Post-office pays a fair compensation for actual transportation of the mails, and to this there is no objection. Norway, which comes next as a maritime country, pays nothing. Germany pays nothing that can be called a subsidy. What is paid by Italy or Spain or other third-rate shipping Powers is of no consequence to us, since we are not seeking to emulate them. They are not the countries referred to in the title of the pending bill.

This measure seeks to bind the Government to annual cash payments of unknown amounts for twenty consecutive years. The crowding of such a bill through a Congress discredited and beaten as the present can only be regarded as the desperate resort of men who have a few days left to work the Treasury in. They know very well that the people have pronounced against them in tones of thunder. They know that the Congress elected two months ago would reject such a measure by a two-thirds vote, because the people themselves would reject it if they had the opportunity to pass upon it. Both parties in the West are at heart opposed to it. The man who drives his canvas-covered "prairie schooner" over the plains of the Dakotas without Government aid will not be easily reconciled to the doling of his money out to ship-owners of the Atlantic seaboard under any kind of pretence. He ought not to be. The man who ploughs the land is as much entitled to bounties as the one who ploughs the sea.

There is nothing surprising in the report which comes from Ohio, that there is much less talk than heretofore among Republicans in that State about making Mr. McKinley their candidate for Governor next fall. The impression is gaining ground, even in Ohio, that the task of educating the people to a proper conception of the beauties of the McKinley tariff is a very arduous one. Instead of liking the tariff better the more they see of it, experience appears to have quite the contrary effect. At the present rate of progress, two years, Mr. McKinley's own limit, will be entirely too short a period in which to convince anything like a majority of the voters of the country that high prices are good for them and low prices "nasty" and degrading. As less than one year intervenes between the present popular ignorance and the next Ohio election, Mr. McKinley himself would probably admit that he ought not to attempt to force the issue by running for Governor this year. By the time the Presidential year comes round, his limit will have expired so nearly that he may be willing to take a Presidential nomination. If he consents to allow the Republicans to nominate him, we venture to predict that the Democrats will do nothing to interfere with the programme.

The farmers of Minnesota have got their heads cleared of the protection humbug if the resolution of the Alliance may be taken as an expression of their aggregate opinion. They adopted the following resolution at their Convention at St. Paul on Thursday:

"We demand that the war tariff, which has too long survived the object of its creation, shall be radically revised, giving very material reductions in the necessaries of life, and placing raw material on the free list, to the end that we may compete with the world for a market, and that such luxuries as whiskey and tobacco shall in no measure be relieved from internal taxation till the high protective tariff has been wholly rid of its extortions; and we especially denounce the McKinley Bill as the crowning infamy of protection."

Where, we should like to know, were those working farmers Delano, Harpster, and Lawrence when this resolution, with its demand for free raw materials, such as wool and goat's hair, was under consideration? And where were Uncle Jerry Rusk, Secretary of the Department of Agriculture, and Statistician Dodge, the farmers' guide, philosopher, and friend?

A new kind of Republican club is starting up in Massachusetts, which takes for its creed on the tariff question the following resolution:

"(2.) We believe in a protective tariff that shall impose duties where they are needed, *and only where needed*, to equalize the labor cost of production and to develop American resources and American commerce, but not to relieve favored corporations or individuals from foreign competition."

This is not McKinleyism. It is the kind of Republicanism represented by the Chicago *Tribune*, the St. Paul *Pioneer Press*, the Omaha *Bee*, the Keokuk *Gate City*, etc., in the West. It has one representative journal in Boston, however, in the *Transcript*, which says:

"The McKinley prices for all household supplies, from dry goods to provisions, are the true educators of the people on the tariff question, and ex-Congressmen are not needed to instruct them. The lesson is a severe one, and its severity is daily increasing, but it is getting in some most important work for the good of the country.'

Apropos of Mr. Henry C. Lea's hopeful view, in the *Atlantic Monthly*, of the improving effect on the Republican party of its late reverses, on which we recently commented, it will be remembered that he said among other things that the Pennsylvania election had delivered the party "from the grotesque spectacle of the predominance in such a party of a man like Quay." But has it? We find in the *Ledger* of January 3 the following account of the visit of "such a man" to Philadelphia on New Year's Day:

"He was visited yesterday at the Continental Hotel by many political workers, including friends of Bromley Wharton, who have been active in their support of that gentleman for appointment as Magistrate, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Magistrate Smith.

"The delegation included Surveyor of the Port John J. Ridgway, J. Edward Carpenter, Richard M. Cadwalader, Frederick M. Bissel, E. C. Knight, jr., Lewis H. Redner, G. Heide Norris, Dr. James F. Hayes, E. Waterman Dwight, John S. Forbes, George Q. Horwitz, Samuel T. Pemberton, Hobart Miller, and Frank E. Bond.

"They assured the Senator that the sentiment which demanded the reëlection of Councilman Etting was equally strong in favor of Mr. Wharton, and that this sentiment should be recognized in the appointment.

"The delegation received an assurance from Senator Quay that he appreciated the position of affairs, and was anxious that the person appointed should be of irreproachable character, so that there might be no friction when the time came to select the appointee."

There is much richness in this, particularly in the character of the members of the delegation—all highly respectable and some belonging to old Philadelphia families; and in Quay's anxiety that the appointee should be a man of "irreproachable character." Quay is said to be a wag; if so, he must be having lots of fun just now.

The Buffalo *Courier* and the Plattsburgh *Republican* are having a joint debate on the fitness of Mr. Smith Weed to represent the Democrats of New York in the United States Senate, especially in his character as a supporter of the present tariff of 75 cents per ton on iron ore. The Plattsburgh paper, which supports Mr. Weed's claims, made the erratic statement that "far more labor in proportion to capital invested is required in the production of iron ore than in any other branch of iron manufacture." This certainly has a suspicious ring. It sounds like all the unprincipled rubbish which the McKinley Bill is composed of. But the *Courier* meets it with a quotation from the testimony of Abram S. Hewitt before the Tariff Commission of 1882, in these words:

"In New Jersey, where I am a miner of magnetic ores on a large scale, and in Pennsylvania, there is not a pound of ore—and I mine at least 100,000 tons—that is not put on the cars for less money than the freight from Africa and Spain to New York. This freight alone *is more than it costs me to dig my ore and pay* $1.50 *a day*."

This means that if the labor of mining iron ore in Spain and Africa cost nothing at all, the freight charges would be ample protection to the American miner without any tariff duty whatever. Now, if Mr. Weed and the Plattsburgh *Republican* cannot controvert Mr. Hewitt on this point, the less they say about Labor, the better for themselves.

The *Tribune's* Albany correspondent throws some light on the Senatorial contest. "The election of Smith M. Weed," he says, "a protection Democrat, as Senator from New York State, it is said, was strongly pressed upon Gov. Hill by Senator Gorman as one means of allaying the alarm of manufacturers at the prospective coming into power of the Democratic party, and also as showing these men that Gov. Hill is not a free-trader, like Grover Cleveland." It may well be doubted whether so shrewd a politician as Senator Gorman has shown his hand in the politics of New York on either side, but it is well known that his leanings have heretofore been towards the "protection Democrats." There are a few of these still extant, here and there, but Mr. Gorman will be the only one remaining in the Senate after the retirement of Mr. Payne of Ohio. It is for the Democrats of New York to decide whether they want to perpetuate the variety by sending Mr. Weed to Washington to take Mr. Payne's vacant place as a Senator out of harmony with nine-tenths of his party. Any Democrat who is concerned to "allay the alarm of the manufacturers" had best join the Republicans at once and give in his adhesion to the McKinley Bill.

According to the Albany correspondence of the *Times*, Tammany has sent two advance agents to the Governor demanding practical control of the incoming Legislature through its committee chairmen and clerks. Both Tammany and the Democratic machine in Brooklyn have, it is said, demanded more chairmanships, clerkships, and other minor positions than there are in the gift of the Assembly. There is nothing improbable in these reports. The Tammany appetite, always large, has been stimulated beyond all bounds by the recent victory at the polls, and it long ago became evident that this city alone would not be able to give it complete satisfaction, though extraordinary efforts have begun to be made to that end. Salaries are being increased in many instances, larger appropriations have been made for nearly or quite all of the municipal departments, every newly elected official has been compelled to distribute the subordinate offices within his gift as Tammany dictates, and it will be found, as time goes on, that the number of "places" will be steadily multiplied throughout all branches of the service. As for the demands on the Governor both from this city and from Brooklyn, it is natural that they should be made, for his following is composed exclusively of the kind of men who expect to be paid for their support at the public expense.

In the current *North American Review* the "Scholar in Politics" engages Statistics, that "modest handmaid of political science," to teach the American people how to deal with the problem of immigration. He has found in some official returns the following figures, in which the immigrants for the years 1873 to 1886 are classified:

Professional	31,803
Skilled	587,349
Miscellaneous	2,052,294
Occupations not stated	128,782
Without occupations	2,596,188

Mr. Lodge is much terrified by the great number returned under the last head, and thus comments upon the untoward circumstance: "Throwing out those immigrants with occupations not stated, it appears that, of all the vast immigration during those fourteen years, nearly one-half are persons avowedly without occupation or training, or, in other words, unskilled labor of the lowest kind, while professional and skilled labor amounts to nearly 11.49 per cent. of the whole. 'Miscellaneous,' which is neither skilled nor professional labor, amounts to 38 per cent." Further on, he finds indications that of late years this dangerous class of persons "without occupation" has "slightly increased" in proportion to the whole number of arrivals, and concludes that we have here one of the reasons why America should close the wide doors heretofore opened for newcomers from all parts of the world, and open a little postern only for the élite of mankind. Now, whatever grounds there may be for notifying Europe, as we have already notified Asia, that we want no more of her surplus millions, the 2 600,000 persons "without occupation" do not furnish any; for these persons are simply the *wives and children* of the adult men whom they accompany or follow. That only 48.1 per cent. of the immigrants are thus classified, instead of 60 or 65, shows that much of the immigration—say one-fourth of it—does not come in family groups, but is made up of young men and young women seeking to better only their own fortunes.

The *Engineering News* publishes statistics of railway-building during the past year which show that 5,981 miles were added during the twelve months—viz., 3,181 miles in the South and Southwest, and 2,800 miles elsewhere. The Northwestern section (Minnesota to Montana) had 991 miles, the Pacific States, including Utah, 696, the Northern Central States (Ohio to Wisconsin) 693, the Middle Atlantic States 328, and New England 92 miles. The year's work brings the total mileage in the United States to 167,255, or more than sufficient to span the world six times. Hitherto the business prosperity of the country has been intimately associated with new railway construction. The building and equipping of new lines puts countless wheels in motion, and provides employment for capital and labor in a great variety of forms and places. The work is nowhere near completion. It will go on for many years, and even after the country is laced with as many lines as the traffic will support, the work of improving the existing roads will call for very large outlays, as is the case in old England and in New England at the present time. But the heyday of railroad-building in our own country is past. There is much undeveloped territory still in the Northwest, much in the South, and there are spots all over the Union which will bear some further elaboration. But the great distances have been spanned, and the wide expanses of fertile soil and valuable timber have been pretty well covered, so that we must look eventually, and at no very distant day, beyond our own borders for the profitable employment of surplus capital which has heretofore been absorbed in new railway construction.

The establishment of savings banks in the South is a noteworthy evidence of progress in that part of the country. Such institutions have been almost unknown there, and the absence of secure repositories for savings has been a great obstacle to the development of thrift. Memphis has been one of the first among Southern cities to realize their importance, and they have multiplied within the past two years until there are now seven. The fact is both the cause and result of the fortunate condition of the city as thus described by the *Appeal-Avalanche*: "Memphis is remarkable for its peace and good order. At night the streets are quiet. The average man prefers to spend his evenings at home. During the day groups of loiterers are rarely seen. Everybody seems to be at work. There is no lack of employment. In all quarters of the city scores of new residences, valued at from $2,000 to $5,000, have been built within the past two years, or are in course of erection. These structures are the work, in large measure, of men and women of moderate means. To them, and to those who wish to build homes at a future time, the savings banks are essential." The negro has suffered perhaps more than the white from the almost entire absence of savings institutions in the South. Thrift was the first lesson which a race just entering upon freedom needed to learn. It is not too much to say that the failure of the Freedman's Bank was the greatest misfortune the negroes have suffered since emancipation, for it was calculated to destroy the virtue of thrift just as it was beginning to develop. Practically it put the race back in this respect fully twenty years, for the bad effects have been felt down to the present day.

R. G. Dun & Co.'s tables of mercantile failures in the United States for 1890 foot up 10,882, with liabilities of $189,856,964, as against 10,679 with liabilities of $148,784,337 the previous year. The showing is by no means unfavorable when compared with the years 1873, 1875, 1876, 1877, 1878, and 1884, all of which showed a larger aggregate of liabilities of failed firms. The failures of the year 1857 exceeded those of 1890 by $2,000,000, although the amount of capital invested then was probably not more than one-third what it is at present.

"DEATH OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY."

By the votes of eight Republican Senators uniting with the Democrats, the Force Bill was on Monday set aside in the Senate. The shelving of the measure is universally regarded as equivalent to its rejection, and even Senator Hoar admitted that it would be useless to press it further.

This result is occasion for hearty rejoicing on the part of all patriotic citizens, North and South, and congratulations should be extended to the Republicans who brought it about—Messrs. Teller and Wolcott of Colorado, Washburn of Minnesota, Stewart and Jones of Nevada, McConnell and Shoup of Idaho, and Stanford of California. It is an ideal retribution upon Republican Bourbons of the Hoar school that the two new Senators from Idaho, who had been admitted before the Territory was qualified to become a State, in order that they might help to impose radical legislation upon the country, should have cast their first votes on the other side.

The significance of the result will appear more clearly as time passes. Senator Hoar, extraordinary as it may seem, perceived it instantly, and stated it clearly. "Five minutes after the vote was taken which announced the death of the Force Bill," says the correspondent of the *Sun*, "the Massachusetts Senator walked down the marble steps leading to the restaurant, and, in answer to the query of a friend, said in an emphatic and solemn manner, 'That means the death of the Republican party.'"

In truth, the Force Bill scheme was the last rational attempt which is possible to maintain the theory that "the mission of the Republican party" is not yet fulfilled. That party was organized for a single purpose—to resist the aggressions of slavery. Its first national convention, in 1856, assembled in pursuance of a call addressed "to the people of the United States, without regard to past political differences or divisions, who are opposed to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, to the policy of the present Administration, to the extension of slavery into free territory, in favor of admitting Kansas as a free State, of restoring the action of the Federal Government to the principles of Washington and Jefferson." The second national platform, adopted in 1860, began with a declaration that "the history of the nation during the last four years has fully established the propriety and necessity of the organization and perpetuation of the Republican party, and that the causes which called it into existence are permanent in their nature, and now, more than ever before, demand its peaceful and constitutional triumph."

From 1856 to 1888 the Republican party continued a political organization primarily devoted to issues growing out of slavery. For the first half of the period it really had a "mission." Before the war it was necessary to restrict the progress of slavery. When, through the war, slavery had been abolished, it remained to pass the constitutional amendments which made the black man the equal of the white before the laws of the land. That done, the work of the Republican party as it was organized in 1856 was completed. But its managers had found the slavery issue so profitable that they sought to perpetuate it. When the party came into power for the second time in 1889, it was on a platform which proposed two important policies growing out of the slavery issue, both of which were contrary to all the traditions and precedents of our history during the century from Washington to Harrison.

One of these policies proposed that the Federal Government should assume control of the schools in the States, by making appropriations from the Treasury at Washington for distribution among them, supervision necessarily following the appropriation. The other proposed that the Federal Government should assume control of the elections for Congressmen in the States, such control necessarily involving interference with the supervision by State authorities of the State elections held at the same time. Both of these measures were advocated expressly in behalf of the negroes, and as essential sequels to their emancipation. The Blair Bill was urged on the plea that the Southern States would not educate the blacks, and that consequently the Federal Government must interfere; the Lodge-Hoar scheme on the plea that the Southern States would not give the blacks fair elections, and that consequently the Federal Government must interfere.

The first of these policies was rejected last March, by reason of the defection of a number of Republican Senators. The other was rejected on Monday, by reason again of the defection of a number of Republican Senators. In each case Republican Senators rejected fundamental principles of the last Republican national platform, and declared their conviction that the Democratic party was right in opposing those principles. The eight recalcitrants of Monday voted against the principle which was set down as first and chief in the resolutions adopted at Chicago in 1888.

Moreover, it is well known that the open opposition to the Force Bill in the Senate represented only a small part of the actual desire for its defeat on the Republican side. What is still more important, the opposition in the Senate, both open and secret, does not equal the opposition among Republicans throughout the country as their views find expression in the party press. In other words, a large proportion of those who have called themselves Republicans are against a policy the enforcement of which the last national platform declared to be the chief reason for the party's existence. Under these circumstances Mr. Hoar is probably right if he said that Monday's vote "means the death of the Republican party."

Political organizations, like individual politicians, often do not recognize that they are dead for some time after the event. The Whig party really expired in 1852, although the funeral ceremonies did not occur until a good while later. In like manner, the Republican party may survive for some time as an opposition to the apparently eternal Democracy, but its fate as an organization based upon the slavery issue is sealed. There is no longer any "propriety or necessity for its perpetuation."

The defeat of the Blair Bill last March meant that the black man must "take his chances" with the white man in the matter of schooling. The rejection of the Force Bill means that he must take his chances also in the matter of voting, like the "Canuck" in New England, the "Dago" in New York city, the Pole in the manufacturing cities of Pennsylvania, or the Scandinavian in the agricultural regions of the Northwest. "When a man has emerged from slavery," said truly the Supreme Court of the United States in annulling for unconstitutionality the Civil-Rights Act, "and by the aid of beneficent legislation has shaken off the inseparable concomitants of that state, there must be some stage in the progress of his elevation when he takes the rank of a mere citizen, and ceases to be the special favorite of the laws, and when his rights as a citizen or a man are to be protected in the ordinary modes by which other men's rights are protected."

The rejection of the Force Bill means that this "stage" has been reached, and consequently that "the mission of the Republican party" has been discharged. The future of political organizations cannot be forecast, but Senator Hoar is right in regarding Monday's action in the Senate as ending a chapter in our history.

SENATOR SHERMAN ON FREE COINAGE.

When the debate on free coinage of silver was started in the Senate by the setting aside of the Force Bill, the cause of sound money found a ready and well-equipped champion in Senator Sherman, who led off in a speech of unusual strength and earnestness. The text of this speech, as published in the *Record*, is much more effective than the newspaper reports indicated, and much less crippled by the commitments of the Senator to the Finance Bill of the last session or the one now pending. As to these half-measures, Mr. Sherman was particular to say that he yielded his own judgment to the supposed necessity of a compromise, but he did not refrain from pointing out the erroneous principles of those measures. Both measures, providing for increased purchases of silver by the Treasury, are bottomed on the thesis that Government ought to do something for that suffering metal, something to lift up its drooping head and advance its price in the market. The judicious and benevolent intentions of Congress, as expressed in the bill of last session, had (it was said) been frustrated by speculators. The Government had been buying four and a-half million ounces per month, but in spite of these well-meant efforts to revive silver and bring it to a parity with gold, there had been an accumulation of twelve million ounces from various parts of the world in the New York market, and the Committee on Finance had been besought to take off that load, and so give silver another

chance. Upon this point Mr. Sherman remarks:

"I do not believe that was a wise idea; but still, in common with the President, the Secretary of the Treasury, and the general feeling on this side of the Senate, we thought it was better to relieve the minds of our friends from this load, as they said, which bore down the market, and we proposed by the first section of the bill to buy that bullion at its market price and get it out of the way."

Something might be said here about Mr. Sherman's own shortcomings. Apparently he puts some blame on the speculators for frustrating the good intentions of the act of last year. "If they had waited," he said, "and allowed the ordinary course of the business world to deal with the masses of silver that were brought out; if we had purchased regularly at the market price four and a half million ounces of silver a month, the advance in the market value of that silver would have gone forward slowly and gradually, and in a few years it might have reached the standard of gold. But that was not the policy. Speculations were entered into," etc. If we are to treat this conception seriously, was it not incumbent on the statesmen who passed that bill to take speculation into the account as a factor to be reckoned with? People will always be found ready to make money by buying property that they think is going up, or by selling what they think is going down. To legislate as though such persons did not exist would be very foolish indeed. But it is not true that the speculators prevented any beneficent results from following the Silver Act of last year. They could no more make a permanent price for silver than the grain or cotton speculators can make a permanent price for those staples. Moreover, it was not for their interest that the price of silver should fall. On the contrary, it was greatly for their interest that it should rise—the higher the better for them. They set out, according to the programme published at the time, to carry the price up to 129. They got it up to 121, and at that point so much bullion came forward from one place and another that they could not carry it.

All this by way of apology for a bad measure in order to avoid a worse one. But it appears that the worse one is not avoided—not if the free-coinage phalanx, led by Stewart and Teller, can muster a majority of votes in favor of the amendment proposed by the former to the pending bill. That amendment is for free coinage of silver, or rather for free bullionage, which is worse, since coinage takes time, while bullionage precipitates upon the country, in the form of legal-tender certificates, all the surplus silver in the world at once, or as fast as it can be collected together and presented at the mints. Against free bullionage or free coinage Mr. Sherman brings all his powers as a debater, a financier, an economist. He shows that this means the demonetization of gold and the striking out, at one blow, of the larger half of the circulating medium, and the oncoming of a financial crisis more sweeping and disastrous than the world has ever seen. He shows, too, that instead of raising the price of silver bullion, the free-coinage bill would cause it to fall, since then it would exchange for other commodities only at its actual value, whereas now its value is enhanced by the Government's purchasing arbitrarily the entire product of our own mines.

It is a noteworthy fact that one of the effects of the recent pinch in the money market has been to close a large number of silver mines in Colorado. The operation of cause and effect in this case is perfectly clear. The apprehension of the silver standard led to a hoarding of gold. Every gold dollar drawn causes the banks to curtail at least four dollars of their loans and discounts. The banks of Colorado could no longer make their customary advances to the smelters, who could no longer buy the ore from the miners. Hence all of the latter who were not forehanded and able to do their own smelting or to pile up their ore were obliged to stop work. If this was done in the green tree, what shall be done in the dry? If the small mines have suffered by reason of a slight contraction of the loans and discounts of the banks, what will happen when one-half of the metallic money of the country, which is the half upon which loans and discounts are based, is stricken out altogether?

Mr. Sherman has presented in stronger terms and with greater fulness the ideas embodied in the letter of President Cleveland to Mr. Warner of Ohio in February, 1885. It is easy to say that the trouble which Mr. Cleveland predicted has not come to pass. The truth is that it was only postponed, and it is not far distant now, if the present programme of the silver-men is to be carried out. We have had a foretaste of it in the past sixty days, and we shall get another and a more bitter one just in proportion as we approach, or as the public think we are approaching, the silver standard. And this experience will be repeated just as often as that apprehension comes. We shall live in a semi-panic until all such fears are dissipated. Industry will be ground down, factories and mines will be closed, bankruptcy will be chronic, and distress will be so great that even the misery of the McKinley Bill will be forgotten.

A LESSON IN BALLOT REFORM.

THE grave controversy at Hartford over the Governorship is a most timely warning as to the unwisdom of all secret-ballot laws which do not provide a genuine official ballot. To the absence of any such provision in the existing Connecticut Ballot Act, passed in 1889, many of the present complications are due, and many more are certain to ensue hereafter unless there is an essential change in the new voting law of the State. The experiences with that statute are an instructive chapter in ballot-reform legislation, especially at the present time, when many State legislatures are soon to meet and either pass new ballot acts or revise those already adopted.

Near the close of the long session of the Connecticut Legislature of 1889, there was passed an excellent ballot bill, modelled on that of Massachusetts. There was at the time of its passage little doubt that Gov. Bulkeley would approve the measure, as he had intimated that he would do so. But at the eleventh hour some of the "practical" politicians of the State got his ear. They professed to have discovered "complications" in the bill which would make it "clumsy" in its operation. So, acting partly under their advice and partly under his own later and more partisan impulse, the Governor vetoed the measure, and his veto was sustained by influences brought to bear on certain legislators. But the clamor excited by the Governor's act, his public likeness to Hill which the Connecticut papers began to point out, and the grave responsibility which the Republican party had assumed, scared its leaders. So, almost at the last legislative day, the present crude law was hatched, rushed through both houses, substantially without amendment, and promptly signed. Naturally enough, it was filled with verbal blunders and with doubtful phrasing, but to these we do not now refer. The point we wish to emphasize as the immediate warning, is the fact that, although it compelled the State to stamp the ballot as "Official," to supply the paper for the ballots, and to specify the type to be used, the law gave the printing and the distribution of the ballots, in any number desired, to the party managers.

Now let us see how these pseudo-official ballots have worked in practice. Altogether there have been held under the Connecticut law, since it was passed, two local elections in each city and town of the State, and one general State election. At all of these contests there have been endless wrangles as to the proper and legal form for printing the ballots, the use of pasters, the places where the ballots could be put, and half-a-dozen other matters. A number of cases, moreover, have already got into the courts. One was the case of the "Citizens' tickets" put out at Hartford last spring, which the Supreme Court in October found illegal, and which so tarnished Gov. Bulkeley's name. Besides, there has been the contest over the "For" votes which now awaits a Supreme Court decision; the blanks on the Prohibition ballots left under the title of Judge of Probate, which Judge Hall of the Connecticut Superior Court has decided to be illegal, and which may yet throw out several thousand votes in the State; the rejection by the moderator of more than a hundred votes in Bridgeport said to have been marked; and other questions without number which either party can raise if it wants to. All but one of the cases stated enter into the Governorship contest now pending. As a direct result, therefore, of the blunder of letting the parties handle the ballots, the State is plunged into a bitter and involved party conflict affecting the whole administration of the Commonwealth during the next two years, the outcome of which no man can now see.

Another old and familiar device which has been tried anew in Connecticut and has been found defective is the "envelope" plan. It was held by the promoters of the new

law that the envelope assured secret voting, and to some extent it did protect the voter, as the election returns from the "bull-dozed" factory towns showed. But, on the other hand, in almost every Connecticut town at the last election a number of votes were lost from failure to seal the envelopes, and the total number of votes thus nullified in the State must have been several hundred—enough, perhaps, to have changed the whole result of the election and to have averted the impending contest. Again, at each election some of these envelopes have been missed. This means their possible misuse by political tricksters in working the "Tasmanian dodge," and sending around the bribed voter with a sealed envelope to bring back one unsealed to prove his fulfilment of his evil compact. Unless the State Ballot Act is changed, or unless the Secretary of State varies, as he has not hitherto done, the form or color of the envelopes, those that are outstanding now may be used at future elections, not only for purchasing the voter, but also for certifying the delivery of his venal ballot.

The sharp lesson which these Connecticut experiences teach us is, that for the State ballot pure and simple, without any clumsy "envelope" attachment, there can be no adequate substitute. Any other plan necessarily leaves the party with its blunders and trickeries as an agent in the voting mechanism. Between the old method of voting and the real official ballot there is no compromise. We must either adopt a plan in which the ballots are prepared and given out in the voting-room by officers sworn under penalties to the faithful and accurate performance of duties, or else let the politician "run" the ballots, with the certainty that they will be botched by his knavery or ignorance. To a real official ballot we can justly attribute the smoothness and accuracy with which the Massachusetts Secret-Ballot Act has done its work; and to a hybrid system we can with equal certainty charge the legal snarls and the befogged Governorship contest in which the sister State of Connecticut, just over the Massachusetts line, is now so deeply involved.

CORRUPTING TESTIMONIALS.

During the examination of Mr. Porter, the Commissioner of Charities and Correction, the other day, before the Fassett Committee, the appointment of "Fatty" Walsh to the Wardenship of the Tombs came up, and Mr. Porter mentioned the names of several prominent citizens who had signed testimonials recommending him for the place. Mr. Ivins, who was examining the witness, thereupon added, as reported in the *Evening Post*, that "if he had been asked to sign the recommendation for his [Walsh's] appointment, he would have done so, as he thought he was a good enough man for the place and able to do the work." As this seemed somewhat startling, Mr. Ivins was asked for a confirmation of it, and he corrected it as follows:

"The reporter who wrote that caught the spirit of what I had said, but not the letter. I did say that if I been asked *at that time* to sign the recommendation for his appointment, I should have done so. I considered Mr. Walsh at that time a good enough man for the place. If anybody had asked me to recommend him for appointment as warden of a penitentiary or State's prison, I should have refused, because I never should have considered him fully capable of filling such a position."

Now, the difference between a State prison or penitentiary and the Tombs is that the two former are places of punishment, while the Tombs is a place of detention in which persons are confined while awaiting trial or the execution of the death penalty, or in default of bail. The inmates of the Tombs, too, are a much smaller number than those of the penitentiaries, and therefore, on this account, that prison presents fewer difficul ties of administration. But Mr. Ivins's notion that persons confined in the Tombs are not entitled to as much consideration from the city government as persons confined in any other prison, is, coming from a reformer engaged in actual reform work—taken *flagrante delicto*, so to speak—so curious and likely to prove so mischievous, and has already produced so much mischief, that it deserves some notice.

There appears to be at the bottom of it some sort of vague impression that the character of jailer should in some degree depend on the character of his prisoners, and that if they are mostly riffraff, such as find their way to the Tombs for want of bail, anybody is good enough to take charge of them. There is nothing new in this idea. It governed the prison administration of nearly every prison in Europe before Howard's time, and produced the horrors in English and Continental jails of which people now read with a shudder, and the disappearance of which is used in histories as illustrating social and religious progress. It was succeeded by the idea, which is now supposed to govern the penal system of all Christian nations, that the officers who represent the State in its management of the helpless portion of its population, namely, its criminals, paupers, and lunatics, should be taken, to use the words of our illustrious Mayor, "from the highest order of citizenship the county affords"; that is, that no man can be too wise, or too good, or too humane, or too experienced to take charge of a jail or an almshouse. He should represent to the unfortunate inmates the community at large in its best moods, and show, both in his character and career, the qualities on which it teaches its children to set most value.

That the services of such men cannot always be procured for such work does not affect the rule. It is the duty of civilized governments to seek them by every means within their reach, and the duty of all good citizens, and especially reformers, to proclaim the need of them in season and out of season. We have no more right to allow cruelty or injustice to be practised on the prisoners or paupers than on any other class of the poor or unfortunate. Our duty to them is not measured by their deserts, but by our obligations as civilized men administering a Christian government. Moreover, the prisoners in the Tombs are not necessarily criminals. Every man in America is held to be innocent of crime until he is proved guilty, and most of the Tombs prisoners are persons who have not been proved guilty of anything. It probably contains throughout the year many scores who are innocent in fact as well as in law. But whether really guilty or simply friendless and unfortunate, we are none the less under a solemn obligation not to put them into the hands of men of bad character or ruffianly temper.

Mr. Ivins's qualification in his corrected statement, that he would have signed "Fatty" Walsh's recommendation at the time of his appointment, with the suggested inference that he would not sign it now, having seen "Fatty" dismissed for misconduct in office, does not mend matters very much. All candidates, everywhere but in Bouffeland, for administrative offices which they have never filled before, rely mainly on their character and previous career to prove their fitness. If they have no marks for experience, their standing in honesty, integrity, and efficiency must be at least 100. The theory that if the work desired be the care of bad men, the candidate need not be a good man, is about as rational as the famous assumption that a man "who drives fat oxen must himself be fat." There is no rationality in it. It is a nursery theory. If "Fatty" Walsh was fit to take charge of the chief prison of a great metropolis, it would prove the folly of inquiring into a man's antecedents before giving him any responsible place whatever. Fatty's career, in fact, ought, anywhere but in Bouffeland, to have proved his special unfitness for the care of the criminal class. A rumseller and gambler is in New York the very last person to receive a share in the administration of criminal justice. Whatever would be considered a disqualification for any respectable private place, ought to operate as a disqualification for this.

The incident on which we are commenting is a good illustration of the way in which the growth of the criminal and semi-criminal class in this city is fostered by the moral and religious and well-to-do. We venture to assert that this reckless signing of testimonials in which so many respectable men indulge is a direct premium on crime and disorder. There are thousands of young "toughs" in this city beginning life very much as Fatty Walsh began his, and who, if they reach middle age, will have passed their lives as he has passed his. We invite the lawyers and merchants and judges who sign these testimonials to ask themselves what the effect on the juvenile criminals and rowdies of our streets must be of seeing careers of violence and disorder and lawlessness rewarded with well paid wardenships of prisons and seats on the judicial bench. Every year the mire of our semi-criminal politics gets a little deeper, but we never unearth one of its scandals without coming on a lot of semi-religious promoters of it in the persons of certificate-writers.

THE ENGLISH UNIVERSITIES IN WINTER.

London, December, 1890.

Cambridge and Oxford lose much of their enchantment, in externals at least, to those who have seen them only in their summer attire, if they revisit them at the wintry season. There may be green turf in the courts of the

colleges, and here and there an ivy still of dark green; but the bare anatomy of the trees and the dull expanse of many leafless vines on their walls serve to emphasize the naked decay of a large part of the buildings, and one looks upon them as upon monarchs in tatters, and they are easily dethroned in the imagination. I never felt before so much—for this is my first sight of these university towns in the cheerless season—that hoar antiquity, or the *quasi*-antiquity which the English climate so speedily produces, gains most of its loveliness from the verdure which shrouds it. It seems, too, as if there had been of late years a good deal of stripping of the ivy from the walls, to arrest the decay and disintegration which, with all its beauty, it serves to produce. The grimy and ragged aspect of the worn-out stone facings of many of the college buildings—more, perhaps, in Oxford than in Cambridge—is far from pleasing; nor is the sensation much helped by the painful contrasts where a spotted restoration has been made.

But friendly sympathy, eliciting the most hospitable of courtesies, makes the visitor in this season, when so much depends on indoor intercourse, delay his departure from either of these academic circles. I came to them from Edinburgh, where the professors of the University had been very kind, and even endeared to me; but the absence of the college halls is an unpleasing contrast, and the cosiness of a don's chamber has no counterpart in the Scotch University, or even in our own. One remembers a dinner or a lunch at a master's lodge as a board of which one may have some conception at the table of the president of an American college; but a dinner at the high table of Trinity or King's, or St. John's at Cambridge, or at New College or Queen's at Oxford, is something not within our American academic experience. The Latin grace at the beginning is said, by varying custom, sometimes by a scholar and sometimes by whatever senior officer may chance to be at the high table. At Trinity in Cambridge, it was read in alternating sentences by the Vice-Chancellor—now the Master of that College—and by Aldis Wright, the Shaksperian, the Vice-Master. It is, perhaps, owing to the less diversified dinner of the undergraduates on the floor of the hall that their repast is sooner ended than that of the dons. They steal out of the hall, each one as he finishes, and the stranger on the dais, eager in talk with his neighbors, suddenly awakes to the apprehension that there is no one left in the hall but the occupants of the high table.

Customs in the two towns and at the colleges in the same town vary much. The final grace is said at the high table. The sign for it in at least one hall in Cambridge is that the head-waiter places a large silver loving cup before the presiding officer. On rising from the table the dons retire to a room which they call in Cambridge a "combination" room, and in Oxford a "common" room. It is usually a large and handsome room, hung with the portraits of eminent graduates of the College. In retiring to this room, it seems to be the custom in Oxford to take the dinner napkin along with you; in Cambridge it is not. Here again I found different practices prevail in the half-dozen halls in which I dined at the two universities. At Trinity in Cambridge, for instance, you sit in this room at a long table and help to keep the decanter in motion, and have some biscuit and cheese with celery to nibble at. The usual practice, however, is to sit in a semi-circle before the fire with little round tables for the dessert and glasses, either in front of each chair or between each two. The propulsion of sherry, claret, and port—these seem to be the orthodox wines of this after feast—gives a man something to do, in the gaps of conversation. With the fireplace forming the link which connects the ends of the horse-shoe curve of sitters, there is a difficulty in the course of the viney propulsion. At some colleges I found they got over it by reversing the direction; but at New College and Queen's in Oxford, they had devices of their own. At the one a little track ran along the hearth and sustained a little carriage, in which the restless and viney vessel sped across the hot side of the circle; and at Queen's the track was placed upon the mantel-piece. After a half hour or more spent in this room, the dons separate for the smoking-room, if they have one, or break up into little parties, and go to the rooms of one or more of their number, and continue the talk in a cloud of smoke. By this time the intercourse becomes more friendly, and the guest of the evening, who is likely to be of the same party, finds a succession of companionships in talk likely to keep him amid such hospitality till towards midnight. As he makes his somewhat angular march to his lodgings, forced into zigzags by the perversity of the short cuts in the narrow streets, he is pretty sure to encounter the proctors, with their attending "bull dogs," on the watch for vagrant students.

I saw something of the literary activities of the two universities; but that which most interested me at Cambridge was the work which I found Aldis Wright doing for a new edition of his standard Shakspere. The coming edition will appear under his sole charge, and his own critical instincts will have fuller play than when he worked on the earlier edition in connection with a collaborator. There will be accordingly some revision of judgments. The edition will be kept at its old number of volumes, but each will be increased in bulk. I found he had three volumes nearly finished; and the publication will begin, I think, with the New Year for volume i., and with a reserve of completed volumes sufficient to insure a regular periodicity in publication. The student of Shakspere will remember that this long-established Shaksperian text now under revision was made with the great advantage to be derived from the use which the editors could easily make of Capel's wonderful collection in the library of Trinity, and with such reference as was occasionally necessary to the twin accumulation which stands in Malone's name in the Bodleian at Oxford. I have recently looked, for the second time in twenty years, at these marvellous accumulations for the Shaksperian student. It was easy to observe that the catalogue of the Barton collection of Shaksperiana in the Boston Public Library—which collection it fell to my lot to arrange in 1873-'77—is a not unused key to the use of similar collections here.

At Oxford I visited Dr. Murray and his workshop, where the great historical Dictionary of the English Language which bears his name is in the course of compilation. The University people speak of Dr. Murray's *scriptorium*, and when I handed in my card at his house a little way out of town, the doormaid asked me to step round to the *scriptorium*. This is a building built of corrugated iron, which stands in the rear of Dr. Murray's residence, and it is the workshop in which he and his staff are engaged. You are struck first on entering it by the array of the fore edges of the slips showing by citation the use of words during the successive periods of the language. These slips stand on shelves, edgewise, as high or higher than you can reach, on all the walls of the room, and the mass represents the results of the reading of a large number of scholars who have been employed to read for changes in the use of words through the historic periods of the English tongue. The number of such readers embraces scholars wherever the English language is spoken—in Europe, America, or in Asia. On slanting shelves everywhere that the spaces of the room admitted, the leading dictionaries, whose collation is found necessary in passing on from word to word, are arranged, open at the points of present attention, so that the collator passes with the least impediment from one dictionary to another. It has been my fortune in years past to have been in the similar quarters of the staffs of the great dictionaries of Webster and Worcester, and more recently in that of the still larger 'Century Dictionary' in New York; but the work or aims of no other has required quite the same extension of detail. I have spoken in previous letters of two books which have come in my way during my present visit to England, which had been scored by Dr. Johnson when he was reading for his own dictionary. One I had found in the possession of Mr. Samuel Timmins of Arley, another at the Chapter Library at Lichfield, and a third Dr. Murray now showed me among the books in his own working collection.

I found Dr. Waldstein at Cambridge just closing up his University lectures preparatory to starting to take charge of the American School of Greek Archæology at Athens.

JUSTIN WINSOR.

TALLEYRAND IN LONDON AND AMERICA.

PARIS, December 25, 1890.

M. PALLAIN, the Director of the French Customs, employs his leisure in historical work. He has turned his attention to the diplomatic correspondence of Talleyrand, and published already the inedited correspondence of Talleyrand with King Louis XVIII. during the Congress of Vienna. He intends to publish later a relation of his administration while he was Minister of Foreign Affairs of the French Directory, his memoirs and reports addressed to Napoleon I., his instructions to ambassadors, his correspondence with his secretaries, etc. The volume just issued relates to Talleyrand's mission to London in 1792, and contains also his letters to Lord Lansdowne, written from the United States after 1794.

Talleyrand arrived in London on January 12, 1792, with the mission of forming a defensive alliance between France and England. On his deathbed, Mirabeau, who was the colleague of Talleyrand in the Diplomatic Committee of the Constituent Assembly, had recommended this alliance to him. All the recent researches and publications of Sybel and others have proved that Europe was never really united against the French Revolution. Prussia, Russia, Austria had views and interests of their own which could not well be reconciled. England did not really wish to make war so long as Antwerp and Amsterdam were not threatened. The first coalition had been broken after two years of vain and disconnected efforts. The death of Leopold and the excesses of the French Revolution had been the signal for a second coalition. Talleyrand suggested that a mission should be sent to Prussia, and offered to go himself to London in order to neutralize the efforts of the coalition. England was still neutral, and was in an expectant attitude.

Talleyrand felt convinced that England would not join the coalition if France did not attack the Netherlands. Lord Grenville clearly explained to the French Ministers that the

Netherlands were the tie between England and Europe; at the Congress of Utrecht, England had stipulated that the Belgian provinces should never go out of the House of Austria—they were to remain a permanent barrier between France and Holland. England remained in reality neutral, and resisted all the offers of the Continental Powers till the French Government adopted a policy of conquest and of propagandism. In vain did Talleyrand furnish arguments in favor of a policy of non-intervention; the Revolutionary Government wished to create new republics, and was not long in threatening the Stadtholder of the Netherlands. Talleyrand, by his ability, had brought England to the acceptation of the French occupation of Belgium; it was the maximum which England would and could accept. Holland was to be left outside of the influence of France. But the policy of Talleyrand was not adopted, and, after the famous 10th of August, his mission came to an end. He remained in London no longer as an Ambassador, but as a refugee. He asked first the Grand Duke of Tuscany for permission to retire to his States; his request was refused. In January, 1794, he received from the English Government an order to leave England in twenty-four hours. On the 3d of February, 1794, he left for America, where he remained till 1796.

His correspondence with Lord Lansdowne is published for the first time by M. Pallain, to whom it was generously lent by the present Lord Lansdowne. It begins with a letter written as far back as October 3, 1791, from Kensington Square. He replies to Lord Lansdowne, who had asked him to make him a visit at Bowood, that he is detained in London by the necessity of giving help to some French friends "devoted to the cause of liberty, but turned out by pikes." . . . "At a moment when everything is denaturalized and perverted, the men who remain faithful to Liberty, notwithstanding the bloody mask which atrocious scoundrels have put on her face, are very few in number. I cannot weary of admiring M. de Montmorency and M. de Beaumetz, who have come to me after having for a whole month been on the point of being murdered, and who still love liberty even for France and detest the foreign invasion." Then comes a good picture of the debasement of France under the Terror: "The clubs and the pikes kill all energy, and accustom the people to dissimulation; and if we allow it to contract this infamous habit, it will soon find happiness only in a change of tyrants."

The second letter of the collection is written long afterwards, in Philadelphia (Feb. 1, 1795), and it has so much interest that I may be allowed to give exceptional attention to it. Talleyrand was led to examine "what are the necessary relations that exist between the United States and England; what are the *true* dispositions of the two peoples towards each other." In order to answer this question, he looks beyond the present moment and makes conjectures regarding a distant future. The passions ruling in 1795 will not be the passions ruling in the nineteenth century. He tells Lord Lansdowne very frankly that "the ties which united America and England when America was the subject and England the sovereign, are inevitably destroyed; and all hope of resuscitating them, all effort in that direction, all expectations given or accepted on this subject, must be looked upon as the dream of a delirious imagination or of a coarse and lying adulation. This I hold to be admitted." It would seem at present (1795) as if there were in the United States a strong inclination towards France and a great aversion for England. Talleyrand explains this state of things by the remembrance of the War of Independence; he admits that there are moments when the new Republic, though it is in essence pacific, would seem to be inclined to let the balance of neutrality fall on the French side. He finds England at fault for exercising her neutrality, as far as America is concerned, in a manner which resembles open hostility. He adds, however, and here one must admire his foresight and his powers of observation, that "it requires more time and reflection than is at the service of an ordinary traveller to find out that, notwithstanding these circumstances, *America is still all English* [*tout anglaise*]; by which I mean that *England has still every advantage over France for deriving from the United States all the benefit which a nation can derive from the existence of another nation.*" (These words are underlined in the text.)

How can a nation be useful to another nation? It must first desire it and then be capable of it. Talleyrand boldly assumes that the natural inclination of America is "in favor of England." This proposition might seem paradoxical; but the war had come to an end, the pride of America was satisfied; the Americans are governed by their passions less than any other people; all their habits make them tributary to England with a force of necessity which no declaration could diminish.

"The similarity of language establishes England's right of ownership over all the inclinations of the Americans in an irresistible manner. It fixes between the men of the two countries a common character which will always unite them and make them recognize each other. They will naturally think themselves at home when they travel in each other's country, and they will exchange with a reciprocal pleasure their full thoughts and a discussion of their interests, while an insurmountable barrier is placed between peoples of a different language who cannot pronounce a word without warning each other that they are not brothers, and to whom all transmission of thought is a painful task and no longer a pleasure."

Talleyrand notes besides in the Federal Constitution a great resemblance to the leading traits of the English Constitution. He speaks of the habeas corpus, of trial by jury. In the discussion or application of the laws who is cited? Whence are the analogies taken, and the examples? In the customs and rules of the British Parliament, in the common law, in the statutes and judgments of the English courts. "It is in vain that the words republic and monarchy seem to raise distinctions between the two Governments which cannot be confounded. It is clear to any man who goes to the bottom of ideas that something savors of *republic* in the representative constitution of England and something of *monarchy* in the Executive power of America." When Talleyrand wrote these lines, Gen. Washington was President, but their truth was independent of his great prestige and popularity.

Talleyrand explains afterwards how the French Ambassador tried to interfere with the establishment of the Federal Constitution and to keep the States disunited. "He wished to condemn them to a long and painful infancy before they could be emancipated without having the wisdom to conduct themselves or the strength to protect themselves. Such were the instructions of M. de Ternant, then the King's Minister to the United States." Talleyrand sees in the efforts of M. de Ternant and afterwards of Genêt the germ of anti-Federalism. The Federalists became instinctively hostile to France, and their hostility became more and more marked. These men, "though they had applauded the first efforts of France towards liberty, did not see with pleasure that she was taking a new road in the art of constitutionalism, and opposing the experience of England with bold essays which furnished momentary weapons to their adversaries. These interior motives have insensibly established between the so-called democrats and the so-called aristocrats in the United States an issue on a point which ought to remain entirely foreign to the objects of the two parties, viz., the inclination towards the French or the inclination towards the English."

Talleyrand concludes his letter, which is in reality a long memoir, with commercial and economical considerations which have not lost their value, but which I have no room to translate. He ends by advising England to treat the United States with the greatest consideration, to send to Washington distinguished Ministers. "I conclude by saying that the Americans will remain independent, that they will be more useful to England than any other Power, and that this utility will be proportionately augmented as the English Government lays aside the haughty forms which it now employs in its relations with America."

There are three other letters addressed by Talleyrand to Lord Lansdowne, from New York, but they have no great importance. One of them relates to the Jay Treaty. "All the debates on the Treaty have been kept secret; though the parties were very much excited, nothing has transpired."

I recommend to all the readers of M. Pallain's new volume a note in the Introduction (page 30), containing a letter written to Talleyrand by Madame de Staël in 1809; the original is in the British Museum. I have spoken in my letters to the *Nation* of the first relations of the famous daughter of Necker with Talleyrand, at the time when he was still called the Bishop of Autun. When Talleyrand returned from America, it may be said that Madame de Staël made him Minister of Foreign Affairs, by introducing him to the important men of the Directory. In 1809 she was in exile, the object of the special persecution of Napoleon. Her letter to Talleyrand, written in the interest of her children, is a masterpiece of delicacy, of feeling, and of dignity.

THE SIDON SARCOPHAGI.—I.

WINCHESTER, VA., December 9, 1890.

BEHIND Sidon and Tyre, at the foot of the mountains, there is an almost continuous line of rock-cut tombs. As in Palestine and the country east of the Jordan, so in Phœnicia also, the dead were buried in rock-cut tombs on steep hillsides and along deep watercourses, where the formation of the land allowed caves to be excavated with the least labor. Rich men, however, often built their tombs in their gardens, although this was liable to cause more labor, at least where the surface of the rock was flat. In order to construct the caves in which they used to place the sarcophagi, they were then compelled to sink deep shafts in the solid rock, at the bottom of which they hollowed out their cave-tombs. Tombs of this description are often found in the grain fields and gardens behind the town of Sidon and between that and the mountains. It was in such a tomb to the southeast of Sidon, on the rock plateau just beyond the gardens, that the sarcophagus of King Eshmuna'zar, now in the Louvre, was found. This sarcophagus had been rifled of its contents, removed from the royal tomb, used again, and deposited in a tomb at that point; so it seems. Here it was that Renan excavated, finding a number of tombs, so that

on his map he designates this spot as the necropolis of Sidon. This designation is entirely incorrect, for just as many tombs exist everywhere else behind the town as at Renan's so-called necropolis. The whole surface of the rock plateau above the gardens and below the hills is honeycombed with these tombs, occurring sometimes singly, sometimes in groups. Stone-cutters pursuing their occupation are continually discovering new tombs. They ordinarily rifle them, selling the lamps, bottles, etc., which they find to antiquity-dealers or chance travellers. It was stone-cutters who discovered the tomb containing the sarcophagus of Eshmuna'zar referred to above. The peculiar character of this sarcophagus led them to communicate the find to others, and it was obtained by the Duc de Luynes for the Louvre.

Between three and four years ago a stone-cutter discovered a tomb containing sarcophagi on the edge of the plateau, close to the gardens, about as far to the northeast of the town as was Renan's "necropolis" to the southeast. The peculiar nature of the sarcophagi which he saw led the stone-cutter to inform the American missionaries at Sidon of his discovery, and through their agency, I believe, the fact was communicated to Hamdy Bey, director of the Imperial Museum at Constantinople. This led to his excavations at Sidon in the spring of 1887, and the recovery of those remarkable sarcophagi which are just being thrown open to the public in the new Museum built to receive them in the Turkish capital.

In the winter of 1887-'88 it was reported by telegraph that one of these sarcophagi was the sarcophagus of Alexander the Great. An enterprising New York daily forthwith interviewed a number of savants here and abroad, and devoted much space to a discussion of the subject. After that the matter was allowed to drop, and very little has been heard of the sarcophagi since, except an occasional complaint that Hamdy Bey had not published his results, nor allowed any one to see and study the sarcophagi themselves. In point of fact, he had no place to put them, and they remained in their boxes in the open air, while he was arranging for the erection of a proper building—for which the Sultan gave the money—and superintending its erection. The building is now about completed, the sarcophagi on exhibition, and Hamdy's work on the same making its appearance. The latter is published in *fascicules* by Leroux of Paris. It is to be uniform with Renan's 'Mission en Phénicie,' and abundantly illustrated; for Hamdy Bey is a well-known artist and also an excellent photographer.

I saw the sarcophagi in September and October of this year. They were still in their cases, but I was allowed to examine them as long and as often as I wished to. I shall never forget my first visit. I had just arrived in Constantinople, and had gone to call on Hamdy at the Museum. He proposed to show me the sarcophagi, which were in the lower story of the unfinished new building. He commenced with the sarcophagus of the "Weepers," opening one at a time, and finishing with the great sarcophagus which had been attributed in the telegrams sent to this country to Alexander the Great. I was amazed and utterly carried away; for although I had heard something of the beauty of the sculptures, I was not prepared to find such wonderful art treasures. I had never seen anything to compare with them, and each time I saw them afterwards, the more closely I examined them, the greater the impression. They take their place in the very front rank of the art treasures of the world, and it is worth a long pilgrimage to see and study them.

There are seventeen sarcophagi in all, nine of which are adorned with polychrome sculpture. There were two tombs, one a Phœnician royal tomb practically unviolated, and the other a Greek tomb, all the sarcophagi in which had been broken into and violated. The Phœnician tomb was at a higher level than the Greek. At the time the latter was constructed all knowledge of the existence of the former was lost. The builders sank their shaft and began to cut a chamber into the rock, when the hollow sound warned them that they were penetrating into an older tomb. Accordingly they sank their shaft still deeper, to the unusual depth of forty feet, when they were below the other tomb, and could cut the requisite chambers without breaking into others already existing. Some notice of the discoveries in the Phœnician tomb, and more particularly of the inscribed sarcophagus of Tabnith, the father of the above-mentioned Eshmuna'zar, was published in the *Revue Archéologique* in 1887, the writer erroneously, however, speaking of the Greek tomb as being at a higher level than the Phœnician. The writer of the article, M. Renan, also attributes the Phœnician tomb, and consequently the inscription of Tabnith, to a date at least a century too late. Driver of Oxford does the same thing in his discussion of the early history of the Hebrew alphabet in the introduction to his 'Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel,' assigning it to 300 B. C. Now there is one of the Greek sarcophagi already mentioned, found in the tomb first discovered, which cannot be later than 300 B. C., and, as already stated, at the time when the tomb containing the sarcophagus was constructed, the existence of the neighboring Phœnician royal tomb seems to have passed out of remembrance. There are certain further details which Hamdy Bey feels determine the date of Tabnith approximately, but which I am not at liberty to state. At least, his discovery furnishes conclusive proof that the date of 300 B. C. for Tabnith is too late by a hundred years or more, a result of some importance in Phœnician epigraphy.

The inscription on Tabnith's sarcophagus reads as follows:

"I, Tabnith, priest of Ashtaroth, King of the Sidonians, son of Eshmuna'zar, priest of Ashtaroth, King of the Sidonians, lie in this chest. Thou whosoever findest this chest do not open my tomb (?) nor violate it, for there is no image of silver, nor image of gold, neither any jewels hidden (?). I only lie in this chest; do not open my tomb nor violate it, for that is an abomination unto Ashtaroth; and if thou dost at all open my tomb and violate it, mayest thou have no seed among the living under the sun, nor resting-place among the shades!"

There is something pathetic in the testimony which this inscription affords to the insecurity even of royal tombs. The pains which had been taken to secure the sarcophagus in its chamber bear further testimony of the same character. It was buried in a hole in the rock floor of the chamber, which was filled up with small stones and mortar, and on top of all was a great block of stone about ten feet long and five feet thick. But the pathos of the attempt to preserve this tomb inviolate both by curses and by material means is somewhat marred by the fact that the very sarcophagus in which Tabnith's mummy was found had been stolen from an Egyptian tomb. There are uneffaced Egyptian inscriptions both without and within, from which it appears that this great mummy-shaped stone chest was originally the coffin of a certain Egyptian general named Panephtah. It seems probable that, after the conquest of Egypt by the Persians, many ancient tombs were violated, and that a traffic sprang up in second-hand Egyptian coffins.

The sarcophagus of Eshmuna'zar in the Louvre is an Egyptian stone coffin of the same type as that of Tabnith, a result of the same traffic in funeral spoils. As I have already stated, it was not found in its original condition, nor apparently in its original position. Hamdy Bey is inclined to suppose, with considerable probability, that the tomb of Eshmuna'zar was in the same neighborhood as that of Tabnith. If so, then there is a possibility that the tomb of Tabnith may be a part of a sort of royal necropolis, and that unviolated graves of other kings of Sidon may be discovered hardly less interesting. Last summer stone-cutters ascertained that other tomb-chambers exist close to those already found in the same grain and olive field. Hamdy Bey hopes to be able to excavate those next spring, and we must wish for him at least some part of the remarkable success which attended his excavations in 1887.

In the tomb of Tabnith, besides the chamber containing his own sarcophagus, were other chambers containing uninscribed stone sarcophagi, presumably the coffins of the women of his family. With none of these, so far as I am informed, was found anything of interest, but merely lamps and vases of ordinary forms. These also were transported to Constantinople to form part of the unique collection of sarcophagi which fills the whole lower floor of the new Museum and overflows into the court in front.

JOHN P. PETERS.

Correspondence.

THE SIOUX "WAR."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: To any one who knows all the facts, the present massacres of the Sioux are inexpressibly sad and shocking. The Government makes treaties with the Indians promising them annually certain supplies. The supplies are mainly stolen by the agents, the Indians suffer in body from hunger, and suffer in mind at the thought that they are perfidiously treated. Their case is hopeless, and to any one who studies the matter, it is a very pretty example of like causes producing like results when we see them, in the same situation as the Jews under the Romans, losing all hope of earthly help and turning towards the thought of supernatural deliverance. They quickly adapted the Messiah idea to their own case; the ground was ready for the seed.

It was my fortune to meet the Sioux as hostiles the first time I ever saw them, and our party, outnumbered five times, narrowly escaped a fight that meant, as the mountaineers said, that we should have been "rubbed out." Though I was then but a boy, it was plain to me that we were in the wrong as they charged us—making a new wagon road through their country without their consent by treaty or otherwise—though it took away none of the bitterness as we looked around at the hills with but five minutes more to live, as we believed.

The following year I went to work at Fort Laramie in an old historical building of stone and adobe, as "cub" or store-boy, selling goods to soldiers of the garrison, freighters, and emigrants, and to the Sioux who were all around there. On quiet afternoons a party of Sioux would walk in and sit down wrapped in robes

or blankets and silently smoke and pass the pipe around. Sometimes the silence was broken by discussions on various subjects. The proprietor, my employer, had gone among the Sioux and Cheyennes at the age of sixteen, and raised an Indian family. But the squaw and most of the children were dead, and "Yellow Hair" was a great rich man with a white squaw, and on his rare visits to the place his old friends felt honored to get to shake his hand and say "How."

A frequent subject of conversation was how that the Great Father (President) sends goods for the Sioux, and the agents give them one-tenth and sell the other nine-tenths to the traders, who trade them to the Sioux for peltries instead of giving them. I remember especially one Indian, who came in with his boy and began telling me that he was just back from the *wak-o-pominy*. That meant a free distribution of annuities or presents. He told me he had a squaw and three pappooses, and "This is the share that my whole family got," said he, as he contemptuously stuck his butcher-knife into a big plug of tobac o that looked as if it had been rained on. The Indians said "such a trader"—naming a Frenchman, formerly a trapper—"got one wagon-load of the goods sent us by the Great Father"; such another "got two loads," and so on, "and they traded some to us, and sent others up north to trade to other bands of our tribe."

Differentiation has done as much work among Indians as among whites, and there is not more difference between Crispi and a dago than between Spotted Tail, Little Thunder, Afraid-of-My-Horse (erroneously called Man-Afraid-of-His-Horses), or Red Cloud, or any great Sioux chief, and the dregs of the Kaw tribe, for example. "Yellow Hair," my white employer, said: "I spent the winter of my sixteenth year in a Cheyenne village of two thousand souls, and every woman in it was virtuous. Any one could rely implicitly on the word of every man, and I should like to see the white village of which the same could be said." But he added: "That was before they had met the white men."

There was something so fascinating in the honest straightforwardness of the Sioux, who, *en passant*, call themselves "Lah-kota," that I would have imitated my employer and gone among them as one of them, for I do not see how any impulse can be stronger than was then "the love of vert and venison." But it was plain to me that the wave of white men would sooner or later go over it all, and then I should be like the "squaw-men," neither a white man nor an Indian. While female beauty was not general among them, it was true that Wahziminy, "The-One-Who-Smells-Like-Pine," and Tinggaliska, "The Antelope Fawn," and others, were as handsome as women can be who are not white.

All through the bloody year of 1865, when we were prompted to feel each morning whether our scalps were in place, we could not fairly deny that the danger we were in came from the faults of our own race in their bad faith with Indians. The last lot of Sioux that I saw was Red Cloud and other chiefs and "Strong Hearts," in Cheyenne, en route to Washington. They were as straight as arrows, and as they stood in the streets surrounded by crowds of the curious, they were like so many Sauls, a head and shoulders above any of the white men in town except the Sheriff (an old soldier of Stonewall Jackson's) and two men who are now Senators from Wyoming. I asked one his name, and the words brought back recollections like forgotten dreams; but I could not exactly translate it, and he asked "Lo-lo-wah shnee?" (Don't you know? also meaning, "I don't know.") I could but feel a pang in thinking that such a race had extinction as its certain fate, and that their smooth, beautiful tongue, to them and their neighbors the international and diplomatic language, as French is to the whites, must be lost to comparative philology.

To me there is no dime-novel glamour about Indians to prompt this writing. Two generations back of me in my family there were honorable gentlemen who were Indian agents, a name now almost synonymous with thief. I first saw the light in an Indian agency house, and near that my grandfather lies buried, and at one side of him is an Indian chief who asked that he might rest by the faithful friend of his tribe. I know by heart the Indians' side of the story of the Black Hawk war, from my father, who was a lieutenant in Zachary Taylor's regiment; and he said it was a sickening sight to see the Illinois militia shoot squaws who were trying to swim the Mississippi with pappooses on their backs. "Nits make lice," was Harney's expression when he fell on Little Thunder's band; in more elegant English it means, Kill the children, or you will have to kill them when they are grown.

The soldiers who do the butchering cannot be blamed. When Indians have been starved into desperation and determine and begin to kill all they can, there is nothing to do but to kill them. In somewhat intimate talks with Crook on the plains, I noted how cautiously that "Gray Fox," as the reds called him, avoided, as a soldier, expressing himself against the thieves of the Interior Department who drive the Indians to desperation.

Is there no remedy? Some persons at Fort Laramie were green enough to think that the exposure of the robbery of the Indians would be followed by reformation in the methods of the Administration. They learned that the thieving agent was somebody's brother-in-law, and that if public servants could plunder the white people of millions right under the eyes and nose of the Administration in a hundred ways, then, *a fortiori*, the Indian eel must learn to keep quiet in the skinning. All attempts at exposure and reformation only made powerful enemies for those who tried it. The best thing to do is to read the story of the Roman proconsuls' plundering, and congratulate ourselves that we did not invent the infamy.

Though Big Foot was not one of my acquaintances, his track is familiar by repute. The frontiersmen have told me of seeing it after a disappearance of horses, and that it was as long as the stock of a gun. Studying languages as a pastime, I have learned something of twenty, but not all of them furnish me an expression of my feelings as I think of him butchered in time to keep him from dying of pneumonia. And the pappooses! No people are as kind to their incipient warriors as the Sioux, for they say, "We are raising them to be killed and we must treat them well." Let the man who unquestionably gave assurance that these butcheries might occur with impunity, make a collection of Indian baby scalps as toys for his grandchild, and go to church and listen to the Scripture, "Suffer little children," etc.

It was discovered that by turning the Indians over to the churches, the "Indian problem" would be solved. A certain long-haired bishop thought that if he could lay his hands on Red Cloud's head, he would reduce him to peace when he was at war. A warden of the same church got to be agent under the régime of that religious denomination, and while his agency was in northern Nebraska, he went no further than Fort Laramie, where he industriously played poker, and left his subordinates at the agency to do what is usual in the matter of the Indian appropriations.

And you, gentle reader of a great and scholarly publication, kindly overlook the faults in this article by a writer whose education has been mainly gathered at odd times by himself. Turn your eyes to the plains of Nebraska and South Dakota, where the blizzard is sweeping in resistless fury over the frozen bodies of the red mothers pierced by the bullets from the Hotchkiss and Gatling guns that killed the babies on their backs at the same discharge. They are frozen now, and the wolves are gnawing the breasts of the mothers and tearing off the legs and arms of the children who once sucked them. Not even their Messiah came to help them. Take up your 'Bleak House' and your 'Uncle Tom's Cabin,' and as you read them feel thankful that we are a great and Christian people, and that the party in service is a party of High Moral Ideas.

GEORGE WILSON.

LEXINGTON, Mo., New Year's Day, 1891.

THE PENSION ABUSE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Is there any other safe treatment of our general financial interests than the entire repeal of all pension legislation enacted since (say) 1870?

If not speedily done, it seems to me our entire fiscal system must be dangerously modified to procure the necessary revenue, entailing radical changes in commercial, social, and other respects, which on examination will be found inseparable from such change of system. The odious and fraudulent "protective" deception is doomed, as it ought to be, and the danger now is that it may carry down with it even the good and time-honored system of raising revenue by a "tariff for revenue," which in some form has prevailed throughout the national existence. It is improbable that any Congress, with the Western preponderance now fatuously given it for partisan reasons, will venture to restore the easiest-bearing, cheapest-collected, and most lucrative of all taxes, viz., a moderate duty on sugar, coffee, and tea; and without those items no tariff, either for revenue or protection, can long afford the enormous amounts required. Already we see a graduated income tax called for by demagogues to meet the artificial and unnecessary deficiency.

But such a tax, once incorporated into our regular system in time of peace, involves results of far-reaching consequence which it is of the greatest importance should not be lost sight of till too late. It must cause not merely the concealment of capital, but its transfer in large masses to trustees and agents within foreign jurisdictions, and even the acquisition of foreign residence by citizens whose presence, abilities, and capital are important to all classes here. It must also transfer a large part of the traffic in portable securities from American cities to London and other European bourses; and, worse than all for those who prefer or have to live here, it must tend, as intended, to impose the entire burden of the public expenditure on a small number, probably not exceeding 10 per cent. of the population, leaving the remaining 90 per cent. either indifferent to the rate of expenditure or directly interested in its augmentation.

None of these results and other kindred ones that will occur to thoughtful readers, can benefit any class of persons in this country; and yet a graduated income-tax, once fastened

upon our regular system, would probably be harder to remove than any other fiscal blunder, since the exempted 90 per cent. will soon learn to prefer a method which imposes neither inconvenience nor visible burden upon them, and the borrowing States will see no objection to laying the whole burden on the older States that have labored longest and saved most.

If there be any force in the views thus imperfectly sketched, can there be any more pressing public necessity than timely agitation for the repeal of pension abuses which can alone supply a plausible excuse for a graduated or any other income-tax, with its train of half-foreseen mischiefs behind it? Notwithstanding the growing hosts of pensioners, with the Washington lobbyists and their $37,000,000 of realized plunder at their back, there yet remain to set against each at least twenty other voters as yet unsubsidized, and with sympathies considerably modified by the more recent legislative outrages. This condition would seem to offer a fair chance for successful agitation of the subject, if not too long deferred. I. J. W.

PHILADELPHIA, December 31, 1890.

THE PARTY OF INTELLECT AND CULTURE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In your notice of Mr. Henry C. Lea's article in the *Atlantic Monthly* on "The Lesson of the Pennsylvania Election," I am somewhat surprised at your remark: "We agree with Mr. Lea in thinking that the [Republican] party contains 'the major portion of the intellect and culture of the land.'" If you had used the past tense, I could agree with you, for during the years when the Democratic party was vainly endeavoring to reconcile the irreconcilable, to adjust the party creed to wild and dangerous propositions and prejudices which seemed likely to command votes with which to grasp power, not only the intellect and the culture, but the plain hard sense of the country was against it.

But parties are made for men, not men for parties. Men are not born into parties as into a caste, or, if they are, they leave one for another if it appears to them that, through the agency of the other, the ends which they believe to be good for the community or selfishly good for themselves may be thereby better subserved. Therefore the lesson of the November election (leaving out of count the result in Pennsylvania) seems to be not so much that men are changing their views of economic principles, or of the proper functions of the general Government, as that they have discovered that they have vainly tried to get them expressed and embodied through one agency, and in vast numbers have gone over to the other.

By way of illustration I add a story told me by a Massachusetts friend (and here condensed to its hurt). It is to the effect that the Ghost of Vice-President Wilson recently visited Senator Hoar and inquired as to the results of the November election in Massachusetts. The Senator gave him the names of those who had been elected as Governor and Congressmen, and told how those who had been defeated had cut down the "normal" majority of their opponents in the way we know. The Ghost was delighted. "And now, Senator," said the Ghost, "tell me who were the Democratic candidates."—Yours, JOSEPH PARRISH.

PHILADELPHIA, January 2, 1891.

MR. RAILTON'S DRAWINGS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: A very agreeable notice in last week's *Nation* shows that my reference to Mr. Herbert Railton, in an article in the last *Scribner's*, is liable to mislead by seeming to imply condemnation of his work, which I admire. Nothing is better of its kind than his published sketches of picturesque buildings, and he has shown that nobody's hand is surer when there is occasion for rendering architectural form. Allow me to explain that the criticism was of draughtsmen who, having fallen in love with his picturesque touch, can think of nothing else when it comes to subjects that demand a different treatment. Pen drawing is an art in which the manipulation is so conspicuous and so enticing that it constantly draws the attention of the beholder, and of the artist, from the thing to be expressed to the means of expressing it. Here is the danger of following too enthusiastically a favorite example.

W. P. P. LONGFELLOW.

BOSTON, January 5, 1891.

THE MISPLACED *H*.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR:

"Chommoda dicebat, si quando commoda vellet
Dicere, et insidias Arrius hinsidias."

Perhaps both Mr. Oliphant and "F. H." would agree in admitting that this bit from Catullus illustrates the chronology and chorology of the "Habused Haitch." Mr. Coote does not strengthen his argument by citing it in his 'Romans in Britain.' The suggestion that 'Arry lurks in Arrius can hardly be such an etymologema as causes Mr. Skeat to "listen in silent shame." A. I.

NEW BEDFORD, MASS., December 30, 1890.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In general, one gets little profit from any attempts to correct the blunders of the hopelessly ignorant. But the recent letter by "F. H." (*Nation*, December 25, 1890) entitled "*H* Displaced and Misplaced," in which he touches upon Mr. Oliphant's 'New English' and upon the vulgar English wilfulness in foisting everything bad or ignoble in speech upon America, provokes one to an expression of scholarly spleen.

The only thing in "F. H.'s" stricture that surprises me is its extreme modesty. That he, one of the chief readers for Murray's Dictionary, and saturated with English lexicology from the fourteenth century down, should stoop to mention such paltry dates as 1801, 1796, 1793, disconcerts me, in fact. Or is "F. H." keeping back his trump cards? Had he written down boldly "811" instead of "1811," even then he would have fallen short of the mark, for the *haitch* is as old as recorded English speech. The oldest monument is the Epinal Glossary, of which Mr. Sweet, 'Oldest English Texts,' p. 2, asserts, "The MS. may have been written any time between 600 and 700." Turning to this Glossary, word No. 50 (p. 38), we find the Latin *avellanus* glossed *aesil*. The Corpus Glossary (later and differing somewhat in dialect) has *hael* [for *haesl*], and—in another place—*haeselhnutu*. The word is our well-known "hazel," German *hasel*. That the *h* is an organic part of the word is shown by Kluge, in his German Dictionary. Kluge assumes a pre-Germanic **Kaselo*, cognate with Latin *corylus* (*r* from *s* by rhotacism) and old Irish *coll* for *cosl*.

Turning now to Sweet's edition of the 'Pastoral,' printed as long ago as 1871, we read, p. xxxi: "The frequent omission of initial *h* is a remarkable feature of the Pastoral MSS.: *æfdon* [for *hæfdon*, 'they had'] 27^{25}; *æfde* [for *hæfde*, 'I had'] 153^{18}; *is* [for *his*] 43^{17}, etc. The addition of an inorganic *h* is rarer: *his* for *is* 215^{19}, compare *ahebbad* [for *a-ebbad*, 'ebbed away'], *Chronicle*, ed. Earle, p. 95^{33}."

All these examples are from genuine Wessex documents of the ninth century. And see Cosijn, 'Altwestsächsische Grammatik' (erste Hälfte, p. 181).

From the tenth century I cite *animo suo*= *is* [for *his*] *mode*, Kentish Glosses, No. 584 (*Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum* xxi. 31).

Later MSS. show the *haitch* frequently. Thus An.-S. Minora (*Anglia* xii.) *gif we hit ge-hearnian* [read *earnian*] *willath* p. 514^{28}; *be is* [read *his*] *ge-earnunge* 516^{16}; for *hus* [read *us*] *synfullan* 517^{35}. See also the examples cited by Logemann in his edition of 'The Rule of St. Benet' (E. E. T.), p. lix. § 72. For the fourteenth century we may note in Chaucer *ost* for *host*, 'House of Fame' i. 186; *haboundance* (for *abundance*), 'Fortune,' 29. In the documents of this century, *houre* (for *oure*), *heuery* for *every* (Morsbach, 'Ursprung der Neuenglischen Schriftsprache,' p. 100).

I have gathered only a few examples, such as have lain in my path while hunting for words. No one, to my knowledge, has made especial study of the point, but I am confident that whoever does will be able to multiply examples indefinitely, and make it clear even to the wayfaring man, though a fool, that the English language from the seventh to the nineteenth century has always been lax in its *haitches*. The examples from the Epinal, Pastoral, Chronicle, and Kentish glosses preclude the possibility of assuming Norman influence. J. M. HART.

CORNELL UNIVERSITY, January 3, 1891.

Notes.

MESSRS. CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS and Scribner & Welford announce that the branch of their business heretofore conducted under the name of Scribner & Welford will henceforth be carried on under the former name, which will thus include all departments of their business. This change must have been anticipated on the death of the late Charles Welford, whose name the book-lovers of this city may be trusted to cherish without the usual reminder. The Messrs. Scribner have in press 'A Practical Guide to Whist,' by Fisher Ames; 'Talks with Athenian Youths,' five selected dialogues from Plato, newly translated; the annual edition for 1891 of Janvier's 'Mexican Guide'; and the three concluding volumes of Henry Adams's 'History of the United States,' embracing the second Administration of Madison.

'Men *and Women* of the Time' will be the expanded title of the new edition of 'Men of the Time,' to be issued in the spring by Geo. Routledge & Sons.

Macmillan & Co. will publish shortly 'Studies in Literature,' by John Morley, and a new nine-volume edition of the 'Cambridge Shakspere,' revised by W. Aldis Wright.

The Cassell Publishing Co. have nearly ready, in two volumes, T. Wemyss Reid's 'Life, Letters, and Friendships of Richard Monckton Milnes, First Lord Houghton.'

The United States Book Co. will be the American publishers of Dr. Japp's edition of the posthumous works of De Quincey, and of Mr. Edmund Gosse's authorized translation of Ibsen's latest play, "Hedda Gabler."

Unwin Brothers, Little Bridge Street, Ludgate Hill, London, E. C., invite subscriptions to an ordinary and a large-paper limited edition of the 'Collected Sermons of Thomas Fuller, D.D.,' begun by the late lamented John Eglington Bailey, author of the best Life of that worthy, and carried through by Mr. W. E. A. Axon. Each edition will be in two volumes. Many of the sermons are very rare.

Among the publications of the English Folk-Lore Society for 1890 is an interesting and valuable 'Handbook of Folklore,' edited by Mr. G. L. Gomme, Director of the Society. The object of this modest little volume is to give a definition of folklore and directions for its collection. The first chapter attempts to explain what folklore is and to classify it in twenty-one classes, under four general heads: superstitious belief and practice (nine subdivisions); traditional customs (four subdivisions); traditional narratives (four subdivisions); and folk-sayings (three subdivisions). Each of the twenty-one chapters which follow contains a definition of the particular class of folklore treated therein, and a few typical examples "illustrating the way in which the folklorist compares and identifies the beliefs, customs, and traditions of modern ages." Then follows, in most of the chapters, a series of questions (there are 784 in all) for the direction of collectors. In chapter xv., "Folk Tales, Hero Tales, Drolls," Mr. Baring Gould's convenient classification (adapted from J. G. von Hahn) of "story radicals" (seventy classes) is given, and it would be well for future collectors of popular tales to observe this arrangement as far as possible, in order to facilitate reference. In conclusion, three chapters treat of the way to collect folklore, library work, and a sketch of the Folk-Lore Society. In the second of these three chapters an account is given of the elaborate tabulation of folk-tales and customs undertaken by the Society, instalments of which are printed from time to time in the journal of the Society (now published under the name of *Folk-Lore*, a Quarterly Review of Myth, Tradition, Institution, and Custom). Mr. Gomme's book is deserving of wide circulation, and will undoubtedly do much to increase the interest already felt in the subject.

We have received the second annual issue of the 'Public Schools Year-Book' published in London by Swan Sonnenschein & Co. It is edited by three public-school men of Eton, Harrow, and Winchester, and has every mark of system and thoroughness. Some American parents may find their account in the information imparted about preparatory schools, examination papers, admission, studies, charges, scholarships, prizes, etc. The second part, about two-thirds as full as the first part, is wholly given up to athletics; and this may attract our college undergraduates. One of the appendices records and classifies the educational books of the year.

In the 'American Manual of Photography' for 1891 (New York: Scovill & Adams Co.) the most noticeable feature is an interesting collection of twelve portraits of Daguerre. Several of these are from daguerreotypes, and in one case we have both a process print from the somewhat battered original, and Kruell's wood-engraving from the same, properly reversed. The daguerreotype of 1848 has never before been reproduced, and is one of the best of the series.

The exigencies of Boston University, with its mixed classes, have forced Prof. Lindsay, in editing 'The Satires of Juvenal' (American Book Company), to omit whole satires and mutilate others beyond ordinary precedent. Such editions will make us doubt seriously if colleges constructed on the theory of coeducation must not at last consent to strike certain classical authors out of their course altogether, rather than use them in a form which can only lead to a distorted and incorrect notion of their contents. The editor's notes, too, show great absence of proportion. Considerations of text occupy too much room for beginners, while advanced students—and only such ought to attempt the study of Juvenal—will be teased by the most elementary translations and comments. There is the fashionable profusion of pictures, including a reduction of Gérôme's "Circus Maximus"; but Prof. Lindsay's scholarship finds no real chance to show itself under so many hampering conditions.

A good selection of Cicero's letters edited for colleges is such a desideratum that our anticipations were strongly raised by Prof. Montague's 'Selected Letters of Marcus Tullius Cicero' (Philadelphia: Eldredge & Brother); but it is a very disappointing book. The letters are selected almost wholly for their historical importance, and hence some extremely hard ones are given, and given early, while the editor, like too many editors of Cicero's letters, neglects the profusion of short, simple, and easy letters to Tiro and Terentia, which throw no light indeed on Clodius or Cæsar, but form an admirable introduction to epistolary Latin and Cicero's domestic history. The book is loaded with extracts from all sorts of familiar manuals like Forsyth's 'Life of Cicero,' and some very antiquated ones, like Zumpt's Grammar and Leverett's Lexicon. Tedious elementary information about subjunctives, to be found in every grammar, and known to every teacher, fills up space belonging properly to explanation of local and specific difficulties. Obsolete spellings like *otii*, *conticerentur*, are retained; in one place the note assumes *haud* when there is none in the text; and elsewhere the impossible date *A. D ii Kal: Mai:* appears.

M. Édouard Rouveyre, a Parisian publisher, who has already deserved well of all book-lovers for his sumptuous volumes on the fine-art of book-binding, has now begun the issue of a new "Bibliothèque des Connaissances utiles aux Amis des Livres" with a volume on 'Les Ex-libris et les Marques de possession du Livre,' by M. Henri Bouchot (New York: F. W. Christern), which pleasantly supplements the information in Poulet-Malassis's amusing monograph and in the more ponderous book of Mr. Leicester Warren. M. Henri Bouchot points out that the book-plate had its origin in Germany, where the art of book-binding was never cherished, and that in the beginning the book-lovers who were clothing their precious volumes in gilded morocco bearing their arms, emblem, motto or name, scorned the mere paper-label of Teutonic origin. Nowadays, however, every true book-lover has his book-plate, and nowhere is the ingenuity of French taste more advantageously displayed than in the making of these dainty devices. Even in inartistic England, the fancy is spreading; and Mr. Lichtenstein and Mr. Laurence Hutton have already written about American book-plates.

A winter trip to California is coming more and more into vogue with those who can spare the time and money, and the Sandwich Islands, too, are commending themselves as a pleasant and inexpensive excursion from San Francisco. The round trip can now be made for $125, the time required for reaching the islands being a week. This information, with a great deal more of value and interest to travellers, is given in 'The Tourist's Guide through the Hawaiian Islands,' compiled by H. M. Whitney and published by the *Hawaiian Gazette* Company at Honolulu. It contains four maps of the different islands, and twenty illustrations of the finest scenery. In describing the volcanoes, the editor has quoted freely from the writings of others, especially Miss Bird, whose book, though a little out of date, is still the most readable work on Hawaii. Of course, the information given in it as to routes and travel conveniences holds good no longer, and in this respect Mr. Whitney's guide will prove a useful supplement. There are now two regular routes to the volcano of Kilauea. On one of these the tourist is surprised to come across a railway of twenty miles, on which a bye-excursion can be made; and almost as much, on reaching the Volcano House, at finding there a stove, a liberal supply of food, a parlor with easy-chairs, and even a small library. Several pages are devoted to the leper settlement at Molokai.

We lately had occasion to notice the 'Cyclopædia of the Manufactures and Products of the United States' published by the Seeger & Guernsey Co. of this city. The firm have now made a Spanish edition of the work, in which the *indice de los articulos* alone fills nearly a hundred pages. The undertaking is one that makes for peace as the McKinley tariff makes for war. Mr. Cleveland is quoted in a testimonial as saying of this Cyclopædia that "its contents ought to stir the pride of every American, and suggest to him that our industries are no longer infantile." This expression is much within bounds.

With other college catalogues, those of Harvard and Yale come to us, full of significance of the training to be got at either institution, and with interesting differences in the scheme of display. Together with them we receive the Treasurer's report of the Harvard Law School Association, which has made a prodigious growth during the past year, the accessions exceeding the first year's membership as well as the accessions of all the intervening years put together. The Law School's own membership, it appears—very likely *propter hoc*—has kept pace with the increase in the Association, whose total membership is now 1,612; more than half being credited to Massachusetts (643) and New York (222).

Mr. Henry F. Waters's "Genealogical Gleanings in England," in the January issue of the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, are divided between Harvard College and Washington. The Hollis family, so conspicuous for munificence among the early benefactors of the College, is here presented in the wills of several generations; and there is a good body of testamentary and other evidence concerning Lawrence Washington the emigrant, which serves to fix the date of his coming over to Virginia. The Washington connection, also, of Sandyses and Spencers is developed at some length with satisfactory results. Mr. John Ward Dean adds his interesting discovery concerning Roger Williams's first love and rejected suit which has been already made known to our readers. The thirty-second paper of the Rev. George M. Bodge's exhaustive researches relative to the "Soldiers in King Philip's War" begins a general review of the events of that war. He thus binds together the several narratives in which the personnel and the fortunes of each company have been set forth.

Those who are interested pro or con in the American origin of 'Mother Goose Melodies' will find in the Boston *Commonwealth* of December 27, 1890, a return to the subject on the part of Mr. W. H. Whitmore, clinching, if possible, his negative argument already elaborated

in his curious volume published by Joel Munsell's Sons in Albany. A letter from the most effective promoter of the American legend, the late William A. Wheeler, is the chief feature of the article.

The second paper on "The Preludes of Harper's Ferry—John Brown, Guerrilla," appears in the *Andover Review* for January. From a note-book of the Kansas period it reproduces memoranda of the effect produced on John Brown by the reading of Stocqueler's Life of Wellington, particularly in what relates to the Peninsular campaign and the operations of the Spanish guerrillas. The rest of the paper is supplementary to Sanborn's narrative in the Life of Brown.

President Gilman of Johns Hopkins opens the new *Educational Review*, edited by Prof. Nicholas Murray Butler (New York: Henry Holt & Co.), with a brief article on the "Shortening of the College Curriculum," mostly in the nature of a summary, but with the suggestion that the beginning of college life be brought back to an earlier age—sixteen for the average student. There are four other leading articles, by William T. Harris, Josiah Royce, Andrew S. Draper, and Charles De Garmo; Discussions, as on coeducation in Boston, the Bennett Law in Wisconsin, etc.; Editorials, and Reviews. The *Review* is attractively printed.

Teachers of the classics and all students of educational systems and methods will be interested in a new German magazine, which the recent widespread discussion of proposed reforms in the curriculum of the gymnasia has called into existence. The quarterly is entitled *Das Humanistische Gymnasium*, and is edited by Director Uhlig of the Heidelberg Gymnasium and published by Carl Winter in Heidelberg, at a yearly subscription of two marks. Dr. Uhlig is known among educationists through his syllabus of the courses of the study in the various German gymnasia and other pedagogical writings, and to Hellenists by his work in the Greek grammarians, in particular his edition of Dionysios Thrax. At the recent educational congress in Berlin he was one of the most prominent figures. The magazine represents in general the cause of gradual and cautious reform of existing institutions as against the proposals of radical change and overthrow. It will contain full reports of current discussions and of educational conferences, as well as original papers by the leading educators of Germany. A remittance of sixty cents will cover subscription and postage.

Petermann's Mitteilungen for December contains the closing part of Prof. Ratzel's summary of the scientific results of the Stanley expedition, and a paper on the rainfall of Europe, Western Asia, and Northern Africa, with four maps showing the amount at each of the four seasons of the year. An interesting indication of the variety and extent of the geographical literature of the past year is given in the index to the notices of books and papers on geographical subjects which have appeared in the scientific serials. The whole number of notices is 2,475, of which 523 are of a general character, including histories of geography and biographies of travellers. Of the remainder, 753 are devoted to Europe alone; Africa having but 408, and America following a close third, with 391. Australia and Polynesia are fourth with 175, and Asia is fifth with only 118. This comparatively small number is probably to be explained, not by lack of interest, but by the difficulties and dangers still attending explorers in the remote regions of that continent. There were sixty notices of works and papers on the oceans, and forty-seven on the Polar regions.

The second winter meeting of the Geological Society of America, recently held in Washington, was an even greater success than the first meeting a year ago in New York. The attendance included representative men from all sections of the country, although the geologists of the National Survey naturally made a large part of the number present. The papers read were generally of excellent quality, and promise a large and valuable volume of bulletins for the coming year. It is difficult to select a few titles from the large number for brief mention; but all who were present must certainly recall with especial interest and pleasure the reports by Mr. Hayes on two peculiarly complex Appalachian overthrusts in Georgia, and by Mr. Russell on his explorations last summer among the mountains and glaciers of Alaska. The summer meeting of the Society will be again in Washington, falling between the sessions of the American Association for the Advancement of Science and the International Geological Congress.

Mr. A. F. Ernst writes to us from Watertown, Wis., of a recent controversy in these columns: "You allow the Missouri Lutherans to be attacked in the *Nation* in a manner so incorrect and unjust that I must believe 'Andover' to be a personal enemy of them. And your readers must believe that the Missourians are the Lutherans. That is all wrong. In our Central Committee, consisting of fifteen members, there were just two so-called Missourians; and though they helped us as much as all the rest, they neither led nor originated the movement."

A serious typographical error made us say last week that the annual fee of membership in the American Dialect Society is ten dollars, whereas it is but one dollar. The Secretary's address, we will repeat, is Mr. E. S. Sheldon, No. 27 Hurlbut Street, Cambridge, Mass. In the same unlucky paragraph, "biographies" was printed for "bibliographies."

—The *Atlantic* opens the year with a light travel-paper, the first of a series, describing the journey of the author, Mr. Percival Lowell, to Noto, an outlying province of Japan. The present sketch does not take him to his destination, but narrates the incidents of the way, and paints the scenery with that delight in the people and the country which is the common charm of all who are now writing on the subject. Mr. Lowell differs from the rest mainly by putting more of himself into the page and never being dull, though it must be said that his intellectual vivacity or nimble-mindedness sometimes becomes acrobatic. The remainder of the number is somewhat heavily packed with serious matter. Two articles upon education are of interest, but particularly the plea, by Cleveland Abbe, for courses in terrestrial physics in the universities. The state of our knowledge about the subject is set forth and the lines of immediate investigation are pointed out, with so much detail that the paper is really of the sort usually found in scientific periodicals. Prof. Royce's account of Hegel is also a novel topic, out of the common course of the general reader's opportunities to enrich his knowledge; but it cannot be said that the expositor has succeeded in bringing Hegel within the reach of popular comprehension—he is as obstinately metaphysical and recondite as ever. There are two political articles, one on Boulangism, the other on the lesson of the recent election in Pennsylvania, by Mr. Henry C. Lea, on which we commented last week. A very thoughtful examination of the means by which the State may exert some control over railway-strikes and other labor contests is contributed by Mr. Charles Worcester Clark, whose discussions of public questions we have before had occasion to recommend to our readers. The temperateness of the view taken is, in this as in the other instances, a striking characteristic. His discussion of the penalties to be imposed in case of the rejection of arbitration is perhaps the most suggestive, as it certainly is the most difficult, part of the paper.

—The *Century* brings the long-awaited Talleyrand memoirs in the rather unsatisfactory shape of excerpts. Minister Reid furnishes an introduction, which is not a remarkable performance. The memoirs themselves, in this instalment, deal with Talleyrand's childhood, and part of his life through the time of his visit to America. The principal persons especially mentioned are the Duke of Orleans and Alexander Hamilton. The disjointedness of the paper, however, with its parenthetical notices of what is omitted, is unfortunate and vexatious to the reader; but whether the lack of vigor in the personal impression of Talleyrand is due to this cause is uncertain. It seems clear that the writer has passed over some of the salient points of his career with silence. The running comment on public policy and on his own principles of action are the most interesting portions, but the lack of portraiture and narrative is noticeable. It appears likely, however, that these memoirs will be an advantage to Talleyrand's historical reputation. We must not pass over the shocking English of the translation, which is not only ungrammatical and slipshod, but full of French idioms and phrases often quite unintelligible. What, for instance, does this mean? "She desired M. de Mercy to oppose the appointment of a French cardinal before the *promotion of the crowns. . . . Since then, my cardinal's hat is likely to have spent a few years in French fortresses.*" The second main subject in the number is California, which is the occasion of two articles and several pieces of ana. The Thibetan journey goes on, with no great vivacity in this chapter, among the Mongols of the Azure Lake. Octave Thanet contributes a very interesting picture of the Irish famine from the papers of an "Irish gentlewoman"; and not altogether out of harmony with this is the sketch of the estates and country houses of the planters of the Lower James, with some historically valuable cuts of architecture and interiors. A fine portrait of Saint-Gaudens by Kenyon Cox is the artistic feature of the number, and with it goes a eulogistic sketch of the painter. The war is represented by a well-joined block of reminiscences of "Morgan's Rough Riders" by participants in the events narrated.

—Mr. Gosse writes in the *Forum* of the probable future of poetry; and though the question has been much debated, he restates some phases of it with cleverness. He disabuses the reader at once of the notion that popular interest in verse is any sign of present excellence or future productivity. A great genius may be unnoticed by his contemporaries, and, on the other hand, many an inferior writer has been the laureate of the age. The really new condition in the present is obviously the competition which our poets are forced to bear from the whole body of the dead. Until within the last half-century, the public read the writers of its time; but the antiquarian interest that has resulted in supplying us with editions of the poets of every English reign, and countless volumes of selections, has made

the struggle of new writers for recognition more difficult than in the case of the Elizabethans, the eighteenth-century poets, or even the Romanticists of this century. Mr. Gosse foretells a reaction and a coming intolerance of these older works; but, on his own theory that recognition does not affect the appearance of original genius, this wider competition should have no effect, except by discouraging new poets, and discouragement has frequently given the true poet only a sweeter and more piercing note. In forecasting the probable course of the verse of the next age, Mr. Gosse intimates that it will succeed more by matter than manner, that it will take the form of narrative in highly developed rhyme and music, discarding blank verse; that it will revive the drama (a dream which others indulge, and which will come true if it is held long enough); and that it will be "very bare and direct, unembroidered, perhaps even arid in character," and "experimental rather than descriptive, human rather than animal." He does not look for any reversion to didacticism, but nevertheless holds that there is much in the gathered stores of modern knowledge that issues in spiritual moods, and in hopes and fears for which only poetry can provide expression; and he anticipates a special characteristic impressed by the democratic social movement. He is, after all, an interested rather than inspired prophet, and deals with the convenient may-be, not the shall-be of thorough conviction. Meanwhile the muse keeps her counsel, with quite the taciturnity of nature, according to her ancient wont.

—The movement for "university extension" marks the progress of the democratic ideal in education. An indication of the vigor of this movement in America comes to us in the Constitution and Circular of the "University and School Extension." This association, a sort of Chautauqua of higher grade, designs "to supplement and to strengthen the university and the school systems; to increase the culture and to promote the interests of teachers as members of a profession; and to advance and extend the knowledge of letters and of the arts and sciences." The Executive Committee of the University Extension Faculty consists of Presidents Dwight, Patton, and Low; Dr. W. T. Harris, United States Commissioner of Education; Norman A. Calkins, and Seth T. Stewart. The President of the Board of Directors is James W. Alexander, representing Princeton College; and the Vice-Presidents are Chauncey M. Depew, representing Yale; Charles S. Fairchild, Harvard; and W. Bayard Cutting, Columbia. The Society aims to be national in character. State and local societies are to be formed as auxiliaries. The constitution provides that "the Faculty of the University Extension shall consist of a president and professors appointed by him from the universities and colleges in the several States, on the nomination of their respective presidents, and, if deemed expedient, from among prominent specialists not professors of colleges. The four institutions [Harvard, Yale, Princeton, and Columbia] represented in the first organization of the University Extension shall be entitled to equal representation, and each State shall be entitled to at least one member in the Faculty." The means of instruction are "outlines for courses of study, class instruction, courses of lectures, correspondence, examinations, etc." Syllabuses have already been prepared in Language, English Literature, History, and Science. Among the specialists who have prepared these outlines are Profs. Child, Macvane, Kittredge, and Shaler of Harvard; Ladd, Peck, and Seymour of Yale; Young of Princeton, and Theodore Dwight of Columbia. Other syllabuses are in process of publication.

—What the English have done in this direction has been told in the address recently given in Washington and Boston by Prof. R. G. Moulton of the University of Cambridge. Prof. Moulton, we believe, is one of the committee appointed by that university, in connection with Oxford, to have charge of this work, and, having given nearly all his time to it for fifteen years, not only as manager, but directly as lecturer, believes enthusiastically in its value, both as bringing learning within reach of the hundreds or thousands of adults already longing for it, and in spreading among a larger class a knowledge of possibilities in the way of education of which they had no idea; and, above all, for the reflex action upon the teaching body of the universities derived from their vicarious contact with the people through the university lecturers. Then, if we consider lectures as a means of education rather than of amusement, the superiority of the English system as compared with our so-called lyceum lectures is obvious. Again, a most important feature is that each course (of twelve lectures) is given to one subject—not Tennyson this week, Astronomy next, and Nihilism after that. As compared even with course lectures, such as those of the Lowell Institute, in this country, the English system has great advantages, first, in the application of the principle that the lecturer's business is not to give instruction (this being done by authorities named in the printed syllabus of the course), but to create or to stimulate the desire to learn; and, by means of the hour "class" held before the lecture, to exert personal influence and, incidentally, to get at the particular wants of the audience.

—A valuable aid to the student of modern German literature is Max Koch's select edition of Karl Immermann's 'Werke' in four volumes (Stuttgart: Spemann, 1890), issued as numbers 159 and 160 of Kürschner's "Deutsche Nationalliteratur." Immermann was unquestionably a poet of superior, although essentially imitative, talent. His dramas, even when they represent scenes from contemporary life, are all patterned after some model—Shakspere, Calderon, Goethe, Schiller, or other typical author, whom he happened to be studying; as reading they are not especially animating, and have proved utterly ineffective on the stage. The same holds true, in a great measure, of his imaginative prose writings. The influence of 'Wilhelm Meister' is traceable on every page of 'Die Epigonen,' which, in turn, had sufficient vitality and plastic force in it to inspire and shape the earlier romances of Gutzkow, Freytag, and Spielhagen. The only production of Immermann's that is an independent and really original creation is 'Münchhausen,' the best part of which, and indeed the only part that can be enjoyed and fully appreciated by the reader of to-day, is the charming episode of Westphalian peasant life, now published separately under the title of 'Der Oberhof.' 'Münchhausen' proper is not only the persiflage of an impecunious and unprincipled *Junkerthum* or squirarchy, but also a satire on all the social, political, and literary tendencies of the time, in caricaturing which the author enters into details familiar only to a few of his contemporaries, and utterly forgotten by the present generation. Dr. Max Koch, in his annotations to 'Münchhausen,' has taken great pains to follow out and explain the drift of these obscure allusions, and has thus provided the work with a commentary which in fulness and accuracy leaves nothing to be desired. It is a monument of literary industry; whether the game was worth the candle or not is another question. It is certain, however, that no one who wishes nowadays to read 'Münchhausen' and understand it, can do so without Koch's edition.

NICOLAY AND HAY'S LINCOLN.—II.

Abraham Lincoln: A History. By John G. Nicolay and John Hay. 10 vols. 8vo. New York: The Century Co.

In military matters the cautious but steady progress of Mr. Lincoln towards asserting himself was interestingly marked. He evidently began with the idea that the art and mystery of military strategy was the result of long and laborious education. But contact with Scott and McDowell and McClellan and Meigs and Franklin soon taught him that its professors widely differed among themselves. He read authoritative treatises, and found that nothing over which so much noise has been made is in fact so simple. To know where your enemy is, how strong he is, and to learn the theatre of operations as if you had lived in it and hunted over it from childhood—these are the elements out of which a courageous heart and cool head solves the rest of the problem by striking your *forte* against his *faible*. By the opening of 1862 he thoroughly understood this, and never forgot it. His criticisms of his generals in the Virginia campaigns go straight to the mark. They pierce through all assumptions of unuttered military wisdom and mysterious plan. His letter to McClellan giving details of a proposed movement from Antietam in October, 1862, showed that he was as familiar with the mountain gaps of Virginia as with the street-crossings around the White House. It simply demonstrated the success of the movement if it were pushed with vigor. Indeed, it was the fashion, before it was known that Lincoln was its author, to argue, in certain circles, that its excellence proved the singular capacity of McClellan as a general and the singular incapacity of the Administration that removed him. We now know that Lincoln resolved on the removal because the plan was not executed as it demonstrably might have been.

In dealing with matters at a distance the President sometimes misjudged; but no worse than Halleck and his other advisers. Few people could make a very good guess at the distance, say, from Calcutta to Hong Kong in a straight line. We are used to maps of foreign parts on a small scale, and we have no ready unit of measurement when we think of the few inches on the map. The authorities at Washington in the fall of 1863 seemed to think Burnside could move from the Watauga River on the confines of East Tennessee and Virginia to Chattanooga, or that Sherman could march from Memphis to Rosecrans's assistance, with about the same ease that a division could march from Washington to Bull Run or to the Rappahannock at furthest. Few were willing to make the effort to learn what breadth of country and what mountain chains and rivers lay within the scope of the little space they covered on the common map. Indeed, we may doubt if such an effort is ever thoroughly made by anybody less painstaking than an officer of the German General Staff. It was not strange, then, that Mr. Lincoln should sometimes slip on the topography of distant regions. He was equal to any one about him in his comprehension of the military

problem and the proper methods, in general, for its solution.

In reading the history of the time we cannot help wishing that Mr. Lincoln had sometimes put his military suggestions in the form of imperative orders. He so often and so plainly pointed out the right thing to do, that the command to do it was the only appropriate conclusion for the despatch. Halleck was less suggestive and more unwilling to assume responsibility than the President. His maxim that a general in command of an army must not be ordered to move or to attack, was the cause of many a fiasco. When Longstreet was going to reinforce Bragg in September, 1863, and Meade was unwilling to attack Lee's reduced forces unless ordered to do so, not to give the order was to abdicate the position of general-in-chief of the army. Mr. Lincoln might well hesitate to command when he found Halleck so set against it, but he was sometimes forced to intervene peremptorily, and the fullest knowledge of the facts which we can now get justifies the wish that he had done so oftener. After the progress of the war had developed in Grant, Sherman, and Sheridan commanders whose energy needed no prompting, Mr. Lincoln showed his modest self-poise by withdrawing from active effort to influence their action; but from first to last his grasp of the military situation was quite as clear and strong as that of any of his professional advisers.

In dealing with his generals in high command, Mr. Lincoln was patient, sympathetic, and free (too free, if anything) from the assumption of power or control. He saw the weaknesses of men, and was tolerant of them because he doubted whether things would be bettered by change in commanders. No one ever acted more constantly upon the rule that it is "better to bear the ills we have than fly to others that we know not of." With this was curiously blended a deference to assumed public opinion, in the army or in the country, which sometimes looked like want of proper self-confidence. There was no need of removing McDowell after the first battle of Bull Run. Scott was still general-in-chief, and everybody now knows, what the President then knew, that the tactical handling of the army on the field had been good and the disaster was not the fault of McDowell. A brief proclamation saying so, and appealing to the people to be patient, would, as it now looks, have been met with an encouraging response. In a similar way, after the second defeat on that field, he knew and declared that Pope had done all that could be expected of him. It was understood that Halleck was to take the field with McClellan and Pope as his immediate subordinates when the Army of the Potomac landed at Alexandria. A Presidential command was needed to overcome Halleck's inertia. Had it been given, the services of both the younger men might have been continued to the advantage of the country. But though Mr. Lincoln gave to Pope a strong written approval of what he had done, a popular clamor was supposed to make a necessity for retiring him from active service. It looks again as if Mr. Lincoln had underestimated the influence he could exert upon public opinion by taking the country into his confidence through a few earnest words.

In dealing with those in high command, he had not only been personally kind and patient, he had ignored political preferences and party politics. In making subordinate military appointments and promotions, he did not disguise the fact that political influences were powerful. An example which his biographers have brought into renewed prominence by their effort to prove him always ideally right, is typical, not only of his methods and his standpoint, but also, we are sorry to say, of the manner in which Messrs. Nicolay and Hay deal with facts when they stand in the way of their theory. The case is that of Gen. Sherman's celebrated protest against certain promotions made in his army, during the Atlanta campaign, without consulting him.

The biographers say: (1.) That Sherman "regarded Washington with whimsical horror as a sink of corruption and iniquity, and thought that no good could come out of it." (2.) "This prepossession sometimes had ludicrous results," *e. g.*, (3.) Osterhaus was made a major-general, and Sherman wrote on July 25 an angry despatch to Washington saying, "If the rear be the post of honor, then we had better all change front on Washington." (4.) "This despatch was shown to the President, who, instead of resenting its tone of disrespect and insubordination, wrote in his kindliest and calmest manner a letter to Gen. Sherman, in which he informed him that the promotion of Osterhaus had been made upon written recommendations from no less trustworthy sources than Gens. Grant and Sherman," *i. e.*, at the close of the Vicksburg campaign of the preceding year. (5.) That these recommendations had "somewhat faded" from Sherman's mind. (6.) That Sherman "frankly acknowledged his error, and repeats in his Memoirs that he was 'fairly caught.'" (7.) That "the Government bore him no malice for this incident. They continued to comply heartily with every request he made." (8.) "They even offered him, voluntarily, eight promotions to the grade of brigadier-general to be distributed on his recommendation among the most meritorious colonels of his command." (9.) "It is curiously characteristic of the General that in his Memoirs he attributes this proof of signal favor to the Osterhaus letter."

We must examine a little in detail this "curiously characteristic" statement.

(1.) Sherman had advised Halleck and Grant that the vicinity of Washington was a perilous place for a general because of the facility for intrigues by subordinates and by the political "influences" there. The experience of McClellan, Burnside, Hooker, and Meade had, each in turn, demonstrated it, and every writer of history, including the biographers, had noted it. The "whimsical horror" must therefore be put in the category of rhetorical depreciation for the sake of making the rest of the case easier.

(2.) The present case could only be "ludicrous" to those who have no glimmering of the conditions of good military administration. To others it has been the reverse.

(3.) There were two brigadiers promoted, not one. Sherman's Memoirs say they were "Generals Osterhaus and Alvan P. Hovey." Sherman's reason, which he repeated in his despatch to the President of July 27, was that "they had gone to the rear—the one (Hovey) offended because I could not unite in the same division five infantry and five cavalry regiments, and the other (Osterhaus) for temporary sickness." The "offended" officer had, of course, either asked to be relieved or tendered his resignation, and the papers were officially forwarded to Washington. The omission of the graver case by the biographers tends to belittle Sherman's position.

(4.) The despatch was addressed to Col. Hardie, Inspector-General, and Sherman had no idea that the President would see it, or know more of it than that he regarded the promotions as "an act of injustice to officers who stand by their posts in the day of danger."

(5.) Sherman had not forgotten his former recommendations of these or others. There were recommendations for promotion dating from Vicksburg, not only, but from Stone's River, Chickamauga, Missionary Ridge, Knoxville, that were not acted upon. The time and circumstances of the selection made the cause of complaint. It was, or ought to have been, an understood condition of promotion, under old recommendations, that there should be continued meritorious conduct down to the time of confirming the new grade. Sherman's complaint was that the case was the opposite of this. He knew, too (what the biographers are too familiar with the War Department records to have overlooked), that at that very time captains and lieutenants were being summarily dismissed the army for tendering their resignations when their commands were in the presence of the enemy.

(6.) Sherman confessed no error in the matter. He simply assured Mr. Lincoln that the despatch was not meant for his eye, and that he had loyal confidence in the President. On the other hand, he repeated, in more measured phrase, every assertion he had made, and said to Mr. Lincoln himself: "I do think you will admit that their promotion . . . was enough to occasion disappointment." The words "fairly caught" in his Memoirs only "fairly" mean that his sense of humor recognized Mr. Lincoln's good-natured and "characteristic" use of the adroit *argumentum ad hominem*.

(7.) Mr. Lincoln was far too clear-sighted and just to "bear malice" when the error was his own. His answer to Sherman (which is not given in the History) confessed that he felt obliged to make military promotions under political "influences." It was a formal apology for what he had done, and we honor his memory best by earnestly believing that he laid the lesson to heart with the teachableness that we admire so much in him. His biographers do not seem to appreciate the facts they narrate; for they themselves, in another place, have repeated the rather hackneyed but always successful jest about the boy throwing a stone at random in Washington city and hitting three brigadiers seeking promotion, when it was not a very good day in Washington for brigadiers, either.

(8.) When the eight promotions of colonels were put at the nomination of Sherman, he named them on the recommendation of division, corps, and army commanders, for gallant and meritorious services in the campaign; and in his Memoirs he emphasizes the advantage to the army of making promotions in this way and not the other. It must not be forgotten, however, that the Administration did *not*, with these, offer him, "voluntarily" or otherwise, any promotions to the rank of major-general; those had been already disposed of, as we have seen.

(9.) The connection between the correspondence and the authority to name eight colonels for promotion is this: The despatches were all telegraphic. Sherman's protest to Col. Hardie was dated July 25, 1863; Mr. Lincoln's answer is dated 26th; Sherman's reply is dated 27th; and the authority to promote is dated 28th. We believe the biographers will stand alone in imputing it to vanity in Sherman that he connected the action of the 28th with the correspondence of the 25th, 26th, and 27th.

It would be very difficult, in so narrow a compass, to find so many examples of what history ought not to be. It might well serve

as a *Seminar* exercise for university students testing history, according to modern methods, in original sources. We are obliged, however, to repeat that it is typical. There is hardly a prominent name of the great war period that is not subjected to a similar process of belittling by innuendo, and of condemning by half-statement or by distorted statement of facts. Seward, Chase, Stanton, Bates, the Blairs, Wade, Winter Davis, Greeley, all foremost men in the Administration party, suffer in this way. Their moments of weakness are made the criterion of their characters, and the anecdotes which put them in an unfavorable light are those by which we are asked to judge. This depreciation is systematic and persistent. Each is treated to perfunctory praise for patriotism and ability, and each in turn is pictured in the concrete as unworthy of the praise. It would often be as easy to expose the injustice of this as in the example of Sherman. It will, of course, be gradually done. The epoch was too important, and the interest of the country in her foremost citizens is too great, to let any partial view stand for the history of the time. The thing chiefly to be regretted is that Lincoln, who needs no such belittling of others to stand as the central figure among his contemporaries, should have his memory thus linked to any wrong to them.

This criticism applies only to what may be called Lincoln's personal relations to other men. Frequently recurring as such passages are, they are a small part of the book. The great current of events, both civil and military, is pictured with vividness and with success. The standpoint of a writer must always affect his view, but, in the general way of which we are now speaking, the estimate of events and of men, of campaigns and of generals, is fair and able. No one who has strong and well-defined opinions will find his views always in accord with the writers, but he will differ no oftener than he would with any other historians.

In trying to picture Mr. Lincoln as he lived, the modern methods of physical portraiture come happily in to give satisfaction to our realistic tendencies. The publishers have provided a dozen excellent reproductions of photographs, of paintings, and of statuary. The invention of Daguerre often gives us a hardened caricature of a man with no soul in it. Such photographs are worse than death-masks. But the hardest subject is sometimes caught in happy moments, and out of vast numbers of repellent pictures we may find some that help us to understand the person. Among these of Mr. Lincoln several help us to see the wisdom and the charity, the shrewdness and the friendliness, the clear intellect and the latent will that inhabited his homely form. The frontispiece to the first volume is a satisfactory presentation of the man that was nominated in 1860. The life-mask taken at the same time is strong, with grave prophecy in its lines of the statesman grappling with his task. The picture taken from the photograph of the group in front of McClellan's tent at Antietam shows him towering, like Saul, above other men, while it is thoroughly characteristic in its pose and its slight stoop. The sitting picture of Lincoln and his son "Tad," with its not ungraceful repose and its unconscious dignity, appeals to everybody. The life-mask of 1865 is strong and pathetic, showing a great man who in four years has passed from iron vigor to waning age, but still fit to be the Nestor of his people.

The illustrations have been judiciously restricted to portraits of men who have some prominence in the narrative, very few of any other sort being retained. They make a gallery worthy of study as types of race and character, apart from their connection with the story.

TREES OF NORTH AMERICA.

The Silva of North America; a Description of the Trees which Grow naturally in North America, exclusive of Mexico. By Charles Sprague Sargent, Director of the Arnold Arboretum of Harvard University. Illustrated with figures and analyses drawn from nature by Charles Edward Faxon, and engraved by Philibert and Eugène Picart. Volume I. Magnoliaceæ–Ilicineæ. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1890. Large quarto, pp. ix., 119, tt. 50.

MICHAUX published his 'Histoire des Arbres Forestiers de l'Amérique Septentrionale' in 1810–13. The work was in three quarto volumes, and contained one hundred and forty-five colored plates, while the number of species of trees described was one hundred and fifty-five. Some years later an English translation was published at Philadelphia; and three additional volumes by Thomas Nuttall contained one hundred and twenty-two plates, with descriptions of nearly as many trees, some of them from Florida and others from the Rocky Mountain region and the Pacific Coast. There was a still later edition also. These books, with Emerson's 'Trees of Massachusetts,' were for many years the chief available works for the student of American trees; for Lambert's magnificent 'Description of the Genus Pinus' is so rare and costly that few Americans have ever even seen it. Government reports have described some of the trees of the Pacific Coast, and the various Floras of different sections of the country have given brief accounts of the trees of their respective districts; but there was no systematic account of the whole silva of the United States, no one work in which one could find figured and described the sequoias of California, the hickories of the East, and the palms of Florida.

Prof. Sargent was charged with the task of making a report on the forests of North America for the Tenth Census. To do this he visited all portions of the country, collecting specimens of all the trees he could find—leaves, flowers, fruit, wood, and bark—and making notes on their habit, distribution, uses, cultivation, abundance, and destruction. He also availed himself of the observations and collections made by many able assistants and correspondents. His report forms the ninth volume of the final report on the Tenth Census. He found not less than four hundred and twelve different kinds of woody plants which attain the dignity of trees. After enumerating them, with full references to their bibliography, he gave tables of the specific gravity, and of the resistance to compression and transverse strains of the different kinds of wood, and concluded with a review of the economic aspects of the forests of the United States.

Having finished this work for the nation, he has now undertaken to provide a complete botanical account of all the native trees of the United States and British America. Apart from his other qualifications for this work—and these all botanists know are of a very high order—his long experience as Director of the Arnold Arboretum and his work in preparing his census report have made him preëminently the proper person to write the long-needed new North American Silva. In the choice of an artist to illustrate his work, he has been very fortunate. Mr. Faxon's drawings of ferns in 'The Ferns of North America,' some ten years ago, were highly appreciated, and it is now evident that he has so far perfected himself as a botanical draughtsman that he may be fairly considered in this regard the peer of Sprague and Fitch. His work in the present volume compares favorably with that of Latour and Vivian in the 'Flora Javæ.' If a little stiffness is now and then perceptible in his drawings, it is more than counterbalanced by the accuracy of the abundant details of structure which accompany all the plates. Under the direction of the celebrated Riocreux Mr. Faxon's drawings have been engraved with sympathetic care and artistic nicety, and the result is worthy of the highest praise.

The publishers' circular puts the number of trees to be described in this work at 422, indicating an addition of ten species since the census report was printed. We are informed that Mr. Faxon has already finished the drawings for the entire work, 600 in all, having devoted the last eight years to the task. The engravings for three volumes are already made, and it is the purpose of the publishers to issue two volumes a year until the whole work, consisting of twelve volumes, is completed. When this is done, the silva of no other country will have been so amply described as ours. Perhaps the second place in this respect will belong to New Zealand, for the Colonial Government has recently published a sumptuous folio volume on the forest-flora of those islands. But the 142 plates of that work, though carefully drawn, are only lithographs, and cannot be compared to these excellent copper-plate engravings. Dr. T. Kirk, the writer of the New Zealand 'Forest-flora,' it may be said in passing, has not confined himself to a botanical account of each species, but has devoted much space to the various economic uses of each kind of tree.

The first volume of the 'Silva of North America' contains the descriptions and illustrations of thirty-four trees, beginning with the genus *Magnolia*, and following the usual sequence of natural orders through the holly family (*Ilicineæ*). Out of the twenty known species of magnolia, six are found in the United States, two in Mexico, and the rest are natives of Asia. One of the finest of them all is the Himalayan *Magnolia Campbellii*, which is figured in Hooker and Cathcart's 'Illustrations of Himalayan Plants.' This tree is often eighty feet high, and has a trunk four or five feet thick; the leaves are large, but deciduous, and the great flowers vary in color from white to deep rose-color or almost crimson; they open all over the branchlets in April, while the tree is yet leafless. Our own great magnolia is scarcely less in stature, and has thick and shining evergreen leaves and "deliciously fragrant creamy-white flowers seven or eight inches across when fully expanded," so that it is a question which of the two species is the finest of the genus. The six North American species are given by Prof. Sargent as *Magnolia fœtida*, *M. glauca*, *M. acuminata*, *M. macrophylla*, *M. tripetala*, and *M. Fraseri*.

The first name is proposed instead of *M. grandiflora*, by which designation the most beautiful tree of the Southern States has been known since 1762. Botanists of conservative views in regard to nomenclature, and all persons of good taste who are not botanists, must regard it as singularly unfortunate that Prof. Sargent should feel it necessary to reject a name so fitting and so long recognized as *grandiflora*, and substitute for it the inappropriate and unseemly appellation *fœtida*. His reasons for the change were given in *Garden and Forest*, ii., p. 615. It seems that Linnæus at first supposed all our magnolias to be of one species, and to that he gave the name of

M. Virginiana, describing the several forms as varieties, and this tree was called *M. Virginiana, var. fœtida*, in 'Species Plantarum,' ed. i. (1753). Nine or ten years later, when the great Swedish botanist had learned more about American trees, he distinguished four kinds of magnolia as species, naming them *M. grandiflora*, *M. glauca*, *M. acuminata*, and *M. tripetala*, dropping the name *Virginiana* altogether, and substituting for the first of his newly recognized species the name *grandiflora*, as being more suitable than *fœtida*. It is now claimed that having once uttered in print the word *fœtida*, Linnæus could never recall it, even though it was proposed as the epithet of a supposed variety, and not as the name of a species! This is enforcing the modern law of priority with a vengeance, and gives it a retroactive effect which our national Constitution denies to civil and criminal law. Linnæus seems to have confessed that in ignorance he had used an ill-chosen expression, for he replaced it by an unobjectionable name. Is it not reasonable to accept his implied apology and adopt the amendment? Surely the great majority of well-advised naturalists will say yes, and this almost peerless tree shall still have an honorable name in botanical science. Even to meet the distinguished author of this book on his own ground, which is "the method which imposes on a plant . . . the oldest specific name used by Linnæus in the first edition of his 'Species Plantarum,' or by any subsequent author," it is pertinent to object that Linnæus did not employ this offensive word as a specific name, and to ask why the Linnæan specific name *Virginiana* was not used for some one of the species which it at first included.

The sweet bay (*Magnolia glauca*) extends its range further to the northeast than any other American species of the genus, for it has long been known in a certain swamp in Gloucester, Mass.; and although the trees are fast being destroyed or removed into gardens, yet we learn from Prof. Robinson that there are still one or two less accessible swamps in Essex County where the tree grows in comparative security.

Next to the magnolias comes the tulip-tree (*Liriodendron Tulipifera*), one of the three largest trees of the forests of the Atlantic States. As *Magnolia* is a genus common to Eastern North America and Eastern Asia, so *Liriodendron* occurs in China as well as in the United States. But in this case the identity is specific, for it is our own tulip-tree that gives its shade to the Celestials. This genus, though now monotypic, was represented during the Cretaceous age by several species, both in America and in Europe. More than a dozen of the ancient tulip-trees are described by palæophytologists, and it seems strange that while none survive in Europe, a solitary species should exist to-day in such widely separated lands as China and our eastern coast. Mr. Theodor Holm of Washington has very recently printed in the 'Proceedings of the National Museum' some "Notes on the Leaves of Liriodendron," in which he endeavors to ascertain what was the form of leaf of the archetypal tulip-tree. Confessing the difficulty of coming to any conclusion, he is "not unwilling to suppose" that it was oblong or acuminate, and not very unlike the magnolia pattern. He also discusses the variation in shape of the leaves of the existing species, and compares the definitions given by different authors. He considers the four-lobed leaf the normal form, but mentions and figures leaves with two, six, and even eight lobes or teeth. In the 'Silva' only the normal four-lobed leaves are described, and no mention is made of the variant forms which may be found growing together on any good-sized tulip-tree; and yet, curiously enough, the specimen from which Mr. Faxon's fine drawing was made has leaves with an extra lobe or tooth on each side.

The papaw of the Middle States (*Asimina triloba*) and the pond-apple of Florida (*Anona glabra*) are the representatives of the custard-apple family, a family much more numerous in tropical countries than in our own. The fruit of our papaw is said to be edible, and at times even sweet and luscious; that of the pond-apple is insipid, though slightly aromatic. Two more Floridian wanderers from the tropics follow next, the Jamaican *Capparis*, and the wild cinnamon (*Canella alba*), the bark of which is used in medicine. Next are the two arborescent species of *Gordonia*, a genus not far from *Camellia* in botanical characters, and somewhat resembling it in general appearance. The loblolly bay (*Gordonia Lasianthus*) is common enough in Southern swamps, but will scarcely live north of Philadelphia. The other species (*Gordonia Altamaha*, or *G. pubescens*, as it has been more commonly called) is one of the few American trees, perhaps the only one, which is now unknown in a wild state, for though it is sometimes found in cultivation, both in our country and in Europe, it seems to have entirely disappeared from its native haunts on the Altamaha River in Georgia, and it is now a century since it was seen growing without cultivation.

Plate xxiii. is a good representation of a branch of a small Californian tree, discovered by Frémont in 1846, and named *Fremontia Californica* by Dr. Torrey in 1850. It is the only North American tree belonging to the same family with the gigantic ceiba (*Eriodendron*) of the West Indies. Three species of linden or basswood follow next. The first (*Tilia Americana*) is a common shade-tree in our streets, and is valued for its timber, which is soft, fine-grained, and easily worked into panels, tables, etc., or hollowed into the common woodenware of our kitchens. The other two species, though beautiful trees, are too rare to be of any commercial importance. One of the trees yielding the exceedingly hard and heavy wood commonly called lignum-vitæ (*Guiacum sanctum*) comes into southern Florida, and so has a place in this 'Silva.' The specific name is thought to have been given to it on account of its supposed wonderful and even miraculous healing virtues. Three southern species of prickly-ash (*Xanthoxylum*) have their places next; then comes the hop-tree (*Ptelea trifoliata*), whose bitter fruits have been used at times as a substitute for hops. Then follow several more less-known tropical trees of our southern peninsula, and on plates xliii. and xliv. is represented the true mahogany (*Swietenia Mahagoni*), which once grew in southern Florida so abundantly as to be cut for exportation, but at the present time is found only sparingly on two of the Keys.

The volume closes with the five arborescent species of holly. The first of them (*Ilex opaca*) is much like the holly of Europe, but lacks the brilliant polish of the upper surface of the leaves. It is very rare in southern New England, is tolerably common along the coast of New Jersey, and is more abundant southward to Florida and in the lower half of the Mississippi Valley. Its spiny-bordered leaves and red berries are gathered for sale about Christmas-time, and its beautiful and almost ivory-white wood is much used in cabinet-work and interior decoration. The botanical names of the Dahoon holly and the Yaupon or Cassena have been more or less confused ever since the time of Linnæus, who supposed them to be varieties of one species. Professor Sargent has chosen names for them in accordance with the method announced in the preface, but at variance with the preferences of most of his predecessors.

The next volume will contain the maples, the buckeyes, and probably the locust trees of various kinds, and will be eagerly watched for by all tree-loving enthusiasts. This latter class would have been gratified if the illustrations could have been so planned as to give portraits of individual trees of the different kinds, as well as faithful engravings of the leaves and flowers, and the details of floral and carpological structure. Emerson has a few such portraits, notably the Charter Oak and the Northampton Elm. A good series of American tree-portraits will undoubtedly come at some future time. *Garden and Forest* is amassing one in the way of photographic process prints.

MOULTON'S ANCIENT CLASSICAL DRAMA.

The Ancient Classical Drama: A Study in Literary Evolution. By Richard G. Moulton. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Macmillan. 1890.

Mr. Moulton's book is a study of very ancient material from a novel and interesting point of view. It is perhaps a little alarming to be told in his preface that in the ancient classical drama we see "developments traceable in embryo and on to maturity—unstable forms that continually originate literary changes, reversions to type, and survival of forms long after their *raison d'être* has passed away; while the Drama as a whole will present the double process of growth in simplicity from the indefinite to the regular, and the passage from the simple to the complex." This language, which has a familiar if not seductive sound, shows that the writer has saddled a theory which he rides hard and occasionally rides to death. Yet there is undoubted truth in the basis of his investigation; and the larger part of his work has, moreover, a wider and more practical aim which should commend it to any student of literature. It presents the ancient drama from a purely literary standpoint, and it is addressed to readers in English as well as in the original. It differs, therefore, from the ordinary histories of the classical literatures, such as Müller's, Mahaffy's, or Crutwell's, in that it assumes no acquaintance whatever with the original languages, and omits largely from consideration the personal or biographical element.

The author has shown skill and resource in the difficult task of introducing his untravelled reader to the flavor of the mangosteen. He does this the more successfully because his own work shows everywhere a fresh and immediate acquaintance with the original sources. He dwells with great variety of illustration on the difference between the ancient and the modern dramatic form and conception, and illustrates this by many felicitous comparisons. The structure of the choral ode, for instance, is instructively contrasted with that of the Psalms. The Phallic Procession, or Comus, in which comedy originated, is paralleled by the curious customs of the Cornish flower-dance, or "Furry," which is still kept up at Helstone on the 8th of May. The transition from satire to satiric acting is explained by a sword-dance, partly lyric, partly dramatic, still practised in Northumberland, in which the performers at

one time recite a ballad, and again act its contents. The fundamental differences between ancient and modern tragedy are strikingly brought out by a very ingenious version of "Macbeth" arranged as an ancient tragedy. In this arrangement we have all the Greek conventionalities—a permanent scene, the courtyard of Dunsinane Castle, a prologue spoken by *Hecate*, and a chorus consisting of aged clansmen of *Macbeth*; the physician of *Lady Macbeth* speaks a *rhesis* of the Euripidean order, and a messenger, a spy who has been with the British army, describes their approach and the incident of Birnam Wood. On hearing his story, *Macbeth* bursts out in the traditional trochaic metre:

"Ho, mine armour—ring the alarum—give the clamorous trumpets breath;
Bid them speak from every quarter, harbingers of blood and death!
Hang our banners from the ramparts, to our kingdom's utmost bound
Horsemen ride, and yet more horsemen, let them skirr the country round."

This speech is the last of *Macbeth's* crimes. His death, the battle, and the explanation of *Macduff's* birth must be reported, in accordance with the limitations of the Greek stage, by the aid of an English prisoner and messengers. It must have required something of the British hardihood which does not quail before the composition of Greek iambics, to attempt this clever bit of work; but it answers its purpose excellently, and it incidentally reminds us how fortunate we are that Shakspere belongs to us, and not to the age of Pericles.

The effect of the varying metres, both in tragedy and comedy, and the shades of feeling represented by their transitions, are analyzed and presented with great fulness and an accuracy which is remarkable, considering that technicalities are avoided and English versions are used exclusively for illustration. The varieties of dramatic motives and of the choral odes are described with clearness and detail, and the remarks on the contrasts between these and the modern drama are generally so sound and acute as to tempt one to quotation. We should question the suggestion that the "Hippolytus" is an illustration of "artistic retribution," and that its moral is the *ne quid nimis* even in temperance. The very statement sounds like an absurdity. We doubt, again, whether the Greeks of Pericles's time thought of *Admetus* as a "holy personage," representing the "cause of the religion of hospitable splendor," for which sacred cult and personage *Alcestis* naturally offered her life. The dying speech of *Alcestis* gives not the slightest support to such a notion. The hospitality of *Admetus* is a good reason for the friendship of Apollo and Heracles, and is dwelt upon accordingly. Euripides simply took an old legend, embodying the primitive idea that the Fates must have their victim or a substitute, and made the most of unpromising and difficult material.

The origin of Greek tragedy and comedy, the steps and growth by which they changed their character and put on a modern aspect in the new Attic comedy, in Terence, in Plautus, and in Seneca, are pretty clearly made out as a matter of history, and must always be interesting even when dissected and dried and analyzed to fit the nomenclature of a theory. Mr. Moulton, as we have intimated, is very fond of Mr. Herbert Spencer's ideas and phrases, and notwithstanding all his cleverness—perhaps by dint of cleverness and a great turn for analysis—he has managed to make a rather dry herbarium of his classification of literary species and development. "Choral instability and decomposition of dramatic unity, as lines of development," "Counter tendency to imperfect unity," are expressions which would be less forbidding if they were more accurate. While they wear the austere air of science, it must be remembered that they are based only on analogy and are simply rather stiff and ugly metaphors. For Mr. Moulton seems to forget occasionally that, on the whole, plays are made and do not exactly grow, and that a poet is something more even than a gardener. At one time he speaks of "tendencies" and "cross-tendencies" and "agglutination," of "underplot, embryonic in Sophocles, and complete in Euripides"; at another he uses ordinary language, and calls the prologue and the "miraculous close," *inventions* of Euripides. Would it be any truer to regard the "Alcestis," for example, as a "sport" of the satyric drama which gave rise ultimately to melodrama, than to call it a first experiment and invention of the poet? The fact is, that where we have history, we cannot neglect the personal and creative element; where history fails, the language of evolution answers well enough if we remember that it is based on analogy. The unhistoric growth of literary forms corresponds reasonably well with the unconscious processes of nature; the work of the conscious artist is apt to put the formulas of evolution to confusion.

If Mr. Moulton is too much disposed to wire the flowers of literature into geometrical patterns, we may also complain a little of his passion for categories. This is a failing which perhaps leans to virtue's side. His distinctions are generally clear and well-drawn, but they are sometimes overdrawn. Here, for example, are his varieties of comic wit: "the simple surprise, the reverse surprise, surprise perversion, surprise iterations, comic enumerations, comic persistence"; and these are the ingredients of Aristophanic laughter! Yet, in spite of a certain rigidity of method and a fancy for hard names, there is, we believe, no book in English which exactly fills the place of this survey of the steps by which the Ancient Drama approached and merged into the Modern, none which presents the whole subject more distinctly and accurately, though not always with the charm and sympathetic treatment that the subject deserves.

Under the Cambridge University Extension scheme, Mr. Moulton's lectures were delivered before adult audiences, representing all classes of society, in which not one person in ten would know a word of Greek or Latin. He finds that the ancient classics "rank second only to Shakespeare and Goethe as an attractive subject for lectures." At Newcastle-on-Tyne, his audiences reached a weekly average of over seven hundred, many of whom did regular exercises upon the subject of the lectures and were tested at the end of the course in a formal examination. A recent article in an excellent periodical (the Syracuse *Academy*) advocated the substitution of Anglo-Saxon and early English for the training derived from the Greek and Latin classics. Mr. Moulton's wide experience goes strongly against any such substitution. "The old English writers," he says very truly, "have had less influence in moulding our literature than have Homer and Virgil and the Greek Dramatists. As a practical teacher of literature, I find it almost impossible to give an intelligent grasp of form in Shakespeare to those who are ignorant of Classical Drama."

Another suggestion comes with much weight from an instructor of Mr. Moulton's experience, and may be nearly as much needed with us as it is in English schools and universities. He complains that in practice, study of Latin and Greek is almost exclusively a study of language; that, with the student in the schools and the passmen of the universities, the element of language almost entirely swallows up the element of literature. He reminds us once more that, after all, it is Greek and Roman literature and ideas we are studying, and that the mass of students get little or nothing if they carry away no clear conception of books and authors as a whole. Yet "the ordinary student cannot cover the ground fast enough to compare work with work and author with author." His study of the classics loses all perspective, "tithing the mint and anise and cummin of *oratio obliqua* and the paradigms, but omitting the weightier matters of a poet's conceptions and literary force." To meet this difficulty, various useful expedients, such as extensive sight-reading and private reading, are practised in our best colleges. Mr. Moulton boldly recommends that where a few books of the 'Odyssey,' or a couple of plays, are read in the original, the whole 'Odyssey,' or a group of plays, be prescribed for a study in English, or some course of reading in ancient and English classics combined, of which his appendix contains examples. As to this appendix, we might ask a place in it for Worsley's 'Odyssey,' and we might query whether the 'Epic of Hades' is really an "English classic," and whether the toil and sweat spent in reading it might not advantageously be transferred to the 'Paradise Lost'; and, lastly, we should warn studious readers against Ruskin's 'Queen of the Air,' as a dazzling bubble, blown of so thin and doubtful material that it will mislead more than it can possibly instruct.

In the Footprints of Charles Lamb. By Benjamin Ellis Martin. Illustrated by Herbert Railton and John Fulleylove. With a bibliography by E. D. North. Charles Scribner's Sons. 1890.

A MORE readable book of the sort to which Dr. Martin's belongs does not often come in the way of the reviewer. It is agreeably written, pervaded by a fine literary feeling, and has the touch of personal devotion that often gives a charm to inferior matter. Lamb is an author who is loved by those who care for him at all, and it is the nature of such literary affection to be curious about the small things of the hero's life—where he lived, what he wore, how he conducted himself in his own house, and other such matters of little concern except to those who wish to enjoy the sense of intimacy which only living acquaintance can give in its fulness. Lamb is an excellent subject for writing in this fashion. His personality was interesting, his life had both tragedy and humor in it, some qualities that all men admire mixed with weaknesses which it is mercy to forgive; he was, also, the centre at his own rooms of a notable literary group on the one hand and of a strange collection of odd characters on the other. The man who joked Coleridge and Wordsworth at his ease, and could, as he said, "love a fool," cannot fail to be winning; and yet the story needs that delicate touch of appreciation and understanding which Dr. Martin has successfully given, and given quite naturally, without patronage or preaching. He follows Lamb from lodging to lodging, and, aided by the illustrations of the different houses, has made this rambling journey a kind of narrative; but the substance of the book lies in the successive portraits he draws of Lamb, in the anecdotes he recalls, the scenes from his life that he describes, and in general the filling in of the chapters with a kind of personal reminiscence at second hand. The papers originally appeared in *Scribner's*,

where our readers may remember them; but they gain very much by being read continuously, and they have been admirably printed and set forth to the eye and hand of the reader.

The Story of My House. By George H. Ellwanger. D. Appleton & Co. 1891.

MR. ELLWANGER has been fortunate in giving his reveries and little essays a local habitation in the house which apparently he never built. He cultivates the literature of sentiment and of rare objects of taste; and the associations of a house, its plan and outlooks, its furnishing and decorations, and artistic pleasures, give an excuse as well as a probability to much that would otherwise seem merely the extravagance of a collector in many fields. An essay on the building of a house, with all its kaleidoscopic possibilities in the way of reform, and its tantalizing successes before the fact, is always interesting; and the author is not niggardly in the good points he means to secure. It is but natural to follow these with a treatise on rugs, full of Orientalism and enthusiasm; on the literary den and the caller, welcome or otherwise; on the cabinets of porcelain, the rare editions on the shelves, the briefly indicated details of the spoils of the chase in their proper place; on the greenhouse, with its curious climate and wonderful botany and odors, about which the author writes with unusual charm and precision; on the dining-room and the dinner, on the one culinary feat that serves as example for perfection, and the salad which, though he mentions it not sadly, required the sacrifice of the fragrant blue violets on the table before its edibility was quite "divine"; and on many other of those topics about which it is agreeable to read if the author is himself sufficiently interested in his task. The outer world is kept in view by means of landscape and weather, and talk about the angler's and the hunter's sport; and quotation, which is an indispensable element in this kind of literature, is frequent, and often affords some excellent bit of verse from out-of-the-way volumes. The book aims only to be agreeable; its literary flavor is pervasive, its sentiment kept well in hand, its interest in curios perhaps a trifle out of proportion; but it has an individuality of its own, and is a pleasing addition to those winter books of the study which have come in the track of the summer books of outdoors and form a little class of their own.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Balzac, H. de. The Chouans. Chicago: Rand, McNally & Co.
Bellamy, Blanche W., and Maud W. Goodwin. Open, Sesame. Boston: Ginn & Co. 90 cents.
Charles, C. Honduras. Chicago: Rand, McNally & Co. $1.50.
De Lagutry, N. Love Conquereth: Poems. Sewanee, Tenn.
Garnett, Prof. J. M. Selections in English Prose from Elizabeth to Victoria (1580–1880). Boston: Ginn & Co.
Harrison, S. F. Pine, Rose, and Fleur de Lis. Toronto: Hart & Co.
Hopkins, T. The Nugents of Carriconna. D. Appleton & Co. 50 cents.
Hylton, Dr. J. D. The Sea-King. Palmyra, N. J.: J. D. Hylton.
Jonas, C. Bohemian Made Easy. Racine, Wis.: C. Jonas.
Leisure Hour. 1890. Fleming H. Revell. $3.20.
Lesueur, D. The Marriage of Gabrielle. Chicago: Rand, McNally & Co.
Lyon, Anne B. No Saint. Louisville, Ky.: John P. Morton & Co. 50 cents.
New York Charities Directory. Charity Organization Society.
Niblack, A. P. The Coast Indians of Southern Alaska and Northern British Columbia. Washington: Government Printing Office.
Nield, T. Oliver Cromwell. The Argyle Press. $1.
Peattie, Elia W. The Judge. Chicago: Rand, McNally & Co.
Peyrebrune, G. de Marguerite. The Belford Co. 75 cents.
Phisterer, Col. F. New York in the War of the Rebellion, 1861 to 1865. Albany: Weed, Parsons & Co. $5.
Romance of Real Life. London: Religious Tract Society. $1.40.
Royce, N. K. A Study of Genius. Chicago: Rand, McNally & Co. $1.25.
Schofield, Dr. A. Health at Home Tracts. London: Religious Tract Society.
Scott, Sir W. Old Mortality. Boston: Ginn & Co. 70 cents.
Stratmann, F. H. A Middle English Dictionary. Oxford: The Clarendon Press; New York: Macmillan.
The Secrete Log-Boke of Christopher Columbus. Brentano's.
Willoughby, W. W. The Supreme Court of the United States. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press.
Wilson, E. L. In Scripture Lands. Charles Scribner's Sons. $3.50.
Wiltse, Sara E. Kindergarten Stories and Morning Talks. Boston: Ginn & Co.
Winter, J. S. He Went for a Soldier. John W. Lovell Co. 25 cents.

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HAVE JUST READY:

Taine's 'Modern Regime.'

By H. A. TAINE. Translated by John Durand. Vol. I. 12mo, $2.50.

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Peru.

Incidents of travel and exploration in the Land of the Incas. By E. GEORGE SQUIER, M.A. With illustrations. New Edition. 8vo, cloth, $5.00.

Johnston's Shorter History of the United States.

By ALEXANDER JOHNSTON, Professor in Princeton University. Pp. 340. With maps. Teachers' price, 95 cents; by mail, $1.06.

Adapted to younger pupils and shorter courses than the author's previous 'History of the United States.' Before his lamented death he had written and twice revised the manuscript, and except for a few minor alterations that he would naturally have made in the proofs, the book now appears in the shape in which his hand left it.

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JANUARY 15, 1891.

The Week.

MR. BLAINE'S diplomatic discussions have always been full of surprises. They are nothing if not dramatic. The discussion he has been carrying on with Lord Salisbury during the past year has been a mixed question of law and fact. The question of fact has been whether the United States cruisers had seized British vessels in the open sea outside the three-mile limit, for catching seals; the question of law has been whether the United States cruisers had the right to do this for the protection of the Bering Sea or any other seals, or for any purpose, except the suppression of piracy. There has been a prodigious cloud of words raised about the matter, but the above were the essential points. There was no question of national honor or policy involved; no dispute about territory, or about belligerent or neutral rights. The controversy has arisen in a time of profound peace. In the hands of Seward or Marcy the public would probably hardly have heard of it all. Either of these statesmen would, in fact, have been very likely to leave the matter wholly to the decision of the Admiralty courts, as the British Government left the decision of the question whether slave-trading was piracy. It is in part for the settlement of such questions that courts of admiralty exist. When a Canadian or British sealer was captured, he had his remedy before the United States tribunals. All that either his Government or ours needed to to do was to agree on a suspension of sealing operations until the decision of the court of last resort had been reached. Instead of this, Mr. Blaine has blown the question up, as his wont is, into a huge newspaper controversy, full of digressions and side issues, and *tu quoques*, and tit-for-tats, and irrelevancies of every description, illustrations that did not illustrate, and precedents that furnished no light, and, after writing forty or fifty newspaper columns to avoid arbitrating, has finally agreed to some sort of arbitration.

In the meantime, a British subject has been slowly seeking his remedy in our courts for the capture of his sealing-ship by an American cruiser on the high seas, and has reached the Supreme Court on appeal. This appeal, when decided, would unquestionably have closed the diplomatic mouths of both Blaine and Salisbury. If either of them had taken any further steps, they would have had to be belligerent steps. If the Supreme Court were to award damages to the appellant in the Sayward case, it would leave Blaine without a leg to stand on. If, on the other hand, it decided in his favor, it would put Salisbury in the position, which he could not hold for a moment, of disputing the judgment of the highest Court of Admiralty in the world—a position which he would be only too thankful to keep out of. In short, it would settle the Bering Sea controversy out of sight and out of mind, and would leave the field clear for some joint convention for the protection of that interesting animal, the seal. In truth, the fact that this suit was pending made the diplomatic controversy somewhat ridiculous, because entirely superfluous.

The Canadians have at the last moment changed their policy as litigants by abandoning the proceedings in the suit for restitution and damages, and asking the Supreme Court for a writ of prohibition annulling the proceedings in which the vessel was condemned in the United States District Courts. Two petitions for this have been filed: one by the owner of the vessel, the other by the Canadian Attorney-General, who alleges the approval of his proceeding by the Imperial Government. The contention of Mr. Blaine's friends now is that the intervention of this last-named official is an impertinence, if not a foul insult, inasmuch as it is an official attempt to carry into ordinary litigation a question already under diplomatic discussion. We must confess that while it is perhaps the greatest compliment ever paid by foreigners to a court of justice, and really ought to flatter the national pride, it is ill judged and unfortunate in that, while it will not make the judgment of the Court when it comes any more decisive, it will furnish Mr. Blaine with a means of at least temporary escape from a position which is both embarrassing and humiliating. It gives him an opening for a new controversy, involving neither law nor fact, but raising numerous points of honor, courtesy, etiquette, and the like, in which his journalistic pen will be able to rove about with all the freedom of the wild ass on the plains of Kittimengo.

It must have been the Washington wiseacre who concocted the theory that it is "*contra bonos mores*" to catch seal in the high seas, who instructed our estimable contemporary, the *Tribune*, that a British act of Parliament could empower the Court of Admiralty to violate the law of nations by condemning vessels captured within eight leagues of the shore, in time of peace, for the offence of "hovering" round St. Helena during Napoleon's imprisonment on that island. If his dupe had read the correspondence in the *Alabama* case, he would know what flinders that famous discussion made of the notion that municipal can override international law, even if he had never read Lord Stowell's decision on the famous case of the French ship *St. Louis*, a slave-trader which had resisted capture:

"Neither this British act of Parliament, nor any commission founded on it, can affect any right or interest of foreigners, unless they are founded upon principles and impose regulations that are consistent with the law of nations. That is the only law which Great Britain can apply to them; and the generality of any terms employed in an act of Parliament must be narrowed in construction by a religious adherence thereto." (2 Dodson Admiralty Reports, p. 236.)

He further added, referring to the declaration of the Congress of Vienna denouncing the slave trade as repugnant to humanity, "that great as the reverence due to such authorities must be, they cannot be admitted to have the force of overruling the established course of the general law of nations." Lord Stowell confirmed this decision on appeal in the case of the *San Juan Nepomuceno*, a Spanish ship condemned by the Admiralty Court at Sierra Leone, in which the owner sued the officer commanding the British cruiser for damages. (1 Haggard's Ad. Reports, p. 267.)

That any foreign ship captured for "hovering" round St. Helena would have been discharged by the British Court of Admiralty under this ruling, is just as certain as anything in law ever is. Lord Stowell's judgment in the *St. Louis* case was delivered in 1817, when Napoleon was on the island. The British Parliament could not make slave-trading piracy, and *à fortiori* could not make "hovering" within eight leagues of the shore a punishable offence when committed by a foreign vessel, any more than Mr. Blaine, or even Congress, can make it an offence against good morals to catch seals in the open sea, or the Emperor of Russia could make it unlawful to come within 100 miles of his Bering Sea shores. An imperial ukase has just as much force in the forum of international law as a British act—that is, none at all. An honest Admiralty Court does not administer municipal law as against foreigners. It administers, as Lord Stowell showed, the law of nations, which is made up not of statutes, but of the long-established consensus of the civilized world.

Some of the younger officers of the navy are disposed to rejoice over the ruling of the Secretary of the Navy in Commander Reiter's case, which they think will give them a chance of imitating Capt. Ingraham, when he rescued Koszta from the Austrians in the harbor of Smyrna in 1853. But our young officers must, however great their professional enthusiasm or desire for active operations, remember the legal peculiarities of the Koszta case, and its great legal differences from the Barrundia case. There is no pretence that Barrundia was an American citizen. In Koszta's case there was the question whether his declaration of intention to become an American citizen did not entitle him to American protection on foreign soil, and there was the undoubted fact that his Turkish passport recognized his American citizenship. Secretary Marcy held that Koszta's having his domicile in the United States gave him a claim to American protection abroad. Bar-

rundia had no domicile in, or claim of any description on, the United States. If this theory was correct, Koszta, when he went to Turkey, remained there under the protection of the United States and under the jurisdiction of the United States consul at Smyrna, according to the laws of Turkey as well as the custom of European nations, like all American citizens. Moreover, the Turkish Pasha had formally refused an Austrian demand for his surrender.

The St. Louis *Republic*, discussing the clause of the Senate Finance Bill which provides for an issue of $200,000,000 of 2 per cent. bonds to take the place of an equal amount of 4 and 4½ per cents, assumes that the new 2s are to form "a permanent debt" as a basis of national banking, *i. e.*, that they are not to be redeemable at any time. The bill expressly says that they are to be "redeemable at the pleasure of the United States on and after July 1, 1900"—that is, seven years earlier than the existing 4s. Nobody has proposed to create a permanent debt for banking convenience. While the debt exists as a matter of necessity, it is immaterial to the taxpayers who draws the interest on it, and for so long it may be usefully employed as a basis for bank-note issues. For the perpetuation of the national-banking system, other measures will need to be devised. The public mind is not ripe for them now, but it will become so before the national debt is paid off, whether free coinage of silver is established meanwhile or not. The metallic basis of the currency has nothing to do with the question one way or the other, although at the present time the two things are mixed up politically in a confusing sort of way.

A month ago it would have seemed impossible that the reëlection of Senator Cameron should have afforded any cause for rejoicing on the part of independent observers of Pennsylvania politics. He is a man who never ought to have been made Senator, and never would have been if he had not been the son of his father. His record has been almost barren, and the spectacle of a great State reëlecting him term after term is humiliating. But the attempt to set him aside on the ground of his well-known opposition to the Force Bill, which was started by that absurd organ of the Republican Bourbons, the Philadelphia *Press*, has aroused a sympathy which he could not otherwise have secured. It would have been most unfortunate if this conspicuous exhibition of good sense and patriotism had led to Mr. Cameron's rejection by his party; and his renomination by the Republican caucus after such a fight against him is cause for satisfaction.

"If we are going to have a Force Bill, let's have a bill with some force in it." Such appears to be the motto of Senator Quay, who on Monday introduced his substitute for the Lodge-Hoar measure, the salient feature being a section which provides that "when it shall appear to the satisfaction of the President of the United States that in any locality the provisions of this law cannot otherwise be executed, it shall be his duty, and he is hereby empowered, to suspend there the writ of habeas corpus and to employ the armed forces of the United States, naval and military, for its enforcement and for the protection of the officers whose duties are herein provided for." It is to be said for this proposition that it is at least logical. There are two ways of dealing with "the negro question" so called. One is to do nothing, and this is the course recommended by all friends of the negro who have no political ends to serve, like the men who control the institutions for the education of colored youth in the South. The other is, to do everything—that is, to have the Federal Government interfere with the "strong arm" in earnest. One policy or the other ought to be adopted, and the Quay plan is the one to pursue if force is to be used at all.

The importance of the late Pennsylvania election to Quay and Delamater was more fully revealed on Friday by the arrest of Delamater and all the members of his firm, on a charge of embezzlement, preferred by the County Commissioners, based on his having received the county money on deposit after he knew that he was insolvent. If he had been elected Governor, not only would the hellish designs of the Cobden Club and the Mugwumps against the tariff have been foiled, but Quay would have easily "tided over" the financial difficulty. Quay knew how to do it, because he had done it already. The starting of this criminal pursuit of Delamater raises anew the question how it was that in a great commercial State like Pennsylvania no one was ever found to prosecute Quay for more serious offences than Delamater's. Delamater, being in the banking-business, received public money on deposit which he had much reason to believe he would not be able to pay back when called for. But it was easy for a man in his position to deceive himself about this, and to persuade himself that something would turn up in his business before the money was called for, to help him out of the difficulty. But Quay, not being in the banking or any other business, went boldly to the Treasury, and took what he wanted, just like a bank-robber who knocks down the cashier, or throws pepper in his eyes when left alone in the bank at dinner-time. This has been known for years by scores of reputable business men in Philadelphia, and yet no attempt has been made to bring the offender to justice. Not only this, but the State which Quay robbed has gone on heaping honors on him; and now that he has been fully found out, he retains his Senatorship and his Chairmanship of the National Republican Committee, while poor Delamater, his confederate and subordinate, goes to jail. And yet his party claims, as Mr. Henry C. Lea remarks, "the major portion of the intellect and culture of the land." If it could only now work in among the "intellect and culture" a little common honesty, what a party it would be!

The Supreme Court of New Hampshire having declined to express any opinion as to the way the roll of the new House of Representatives ought to be made up, on the ground that it had no jurisdiction in the matter, it was of course inevitable that the Republicans, who had the Clerk of the last House holding over and in charge of the roll, should secure a decision of all the disputed points in their favor. These points are so involved that only the verdict of a judicial tribunal could carry conviction, and it is therefore quite natural that the party which loses should accuse the victors of being "thieves." In point of fact, the Republicans appear to have quite as good a moral claim to the seats in dispute as the Democrats, especially to those which are based upon the increased population shown by the last census. Consequently, there is no call for indignation on the part of outsiders that the Republicans secure the seats and the State offices and the United States Senatorship which are involved.

Looked at from the non-partisan point of view, the present muddle in Connecticut has two very grave aspects. One of them is the set of bad precedents which has been created already, notably the resolution of one branch of the Legislature implying its own separate right to look into the returns and appointing a committee for that purpose. That any such power resided in one branch of the State Legislature has never been even hinted at heretofore, and the opportunity which this precedent affords for either house of a divided Legislature hereafter to muddle elections for party ends, seems as unlimited as it is obvious. The other and quite as serious aspect of the broil is, that, in an immediate legislative sense, it impedes, if it does not actually check, the reforms which the deadlock itself, as well as antecedent events, has pointed out as imperatively necessary. There are, for instance, the amendment of the lax State ballot law, or, better, the adoption of the Australian substitute; the adoption of a plan vesting definitely in the town moderators or the General Assembly or the courts, as the case may be, the final determination of the vote for State officers; and, lastly, the calling of a Constitutional Convention to abolish what must ever be a prolific source of disputes, the present system of majority Governorships. Any one of these reforms is of importance enough to dwarf the question who is or who is not Governor for the coming two years; yet the deadlock, with its partisan frenzies, seems almost certain to stand in the way of their consideration. The only encouraging feature of the case is, that the people of the State at large have at last before their eyes a concrete example of the defects of their antiquated Constitution, and will more vehemently demand a change.

Gov. Russell of Massachusetts devotes a large portion of his inaugural address to the

subject of lobby abuses in the Legislature, thus keeping one of the pledges of his campaign to do his utmost, if elected, to abolish those abuses. He admits frankly that it is easier to state the evil than to suggest the remedy, and comes to the conclusion that the most effective weapon is publicity, saying:

"Prevention by publicity is possible, and I would suggest for your consideration whether a remedy may not be found in this direction, by making it easier than it now is publicly to investigate the methods used and money spent on pending legislation, and also by giving power to some proper officer, before a measure finally becomes law, to demand under oath a full and detailed statement as to these matters. The fear of publicity, and through it of defeat, may stop improper practices by making them worse than useless."

The efforts of the Massachusetts Governor and his friends to break down the lobby evil will be watched with great interest by reformers in all other States. There can be no doubt that he has made the first formal move in a reform in which all defenders of honest government must take a hand. Publicity is the chief weapon with which they must fight, and it is a very deadly one if it can be brought into full play under force of such legal requirements as Gov. Russell suggests. Once the beginning is made, and publicity becomes the fashion, the lobby will scatter like chaff. It would not remain in existence an hour if all individuals and corporations that have been in the habit of yielding to its demands and availing themselves of its agency, were to band themselves together under pledge to make public every demand made upon them in future. They are really responsible for the lobby, for they call it into being, and it is their use of it which continues its existence.

The strong recommendations of the Australian ballot system which the Governors of Maine and New Hampshire put into their inaugural addresses last week, seem to make it certain that the Legislatures of both those States will enact ballot-reform laws this winter. If they do, every New England State will have such a law, for all except the two named have reform laws of some kind on their statute-books. The Connecticut law is the poorest of them, and is not the Australian system in any proper sense. The Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Vermont laws are practically alike, and are excellent models for other States to go upon in drafting similar statutes. The recommendation of the Maine Governor comes as somewhat of a surprise, for the Republican Machine in that State, led by the vociferous Boutelle of the Bangor *Whig*, has been opposing the reform, and insisting that it was a "degrading foreign invention, designed originally by Great Britain for use among the convicts of its penal colony in Australia." The Governor seems to have discovered that popular sentiment in favor of the reform was more to be feared than the uproar of Boutelle's displeasure, and has ventured to brave the latter in preference to the former.

Although the Massachusetts Ballot Act does not apply to town elections for local officers, several towns in the State are availing themselves of the permission of the statute which enables them to hold such elections under the provisions of the act. The change involves some expense, but the towns which are making it are convinced that the gain which they reap from an entirely secret ballot is ample compensation. It is argued that social intimidation is often a very powerful and very pernicious influence in local elections where the voters all know one another, and where the vote is so open that every man can see how his neighbor votes, and that the Australian method removes this influence entirely, and makes it impossible for any candidate to exert undue influence of any kind. This possibly has had some effect in impelling the change, but the chief cause of dissatisfaction with the old system is undoubtedly the demonstration which the new system has made in successive State elections of its superiority.

The "summer boarding interests of the State" are now considered important enough to justify consideration in the messages of New England Governors. Gov. Tuttle of New Hampshire calls attention to the work of the Commissioner of Immigration, by which "more than 350 abandoned farms have been repopulated, mainly by Americans, and the business of summer entertainment largely increased." The Commissioner asks an appropriation by the Legislature to prepare and issue a publication descriptive and illustrative of the attractions of New Hampshire, in such form that copies of it may have a wide circulation, and says: "From the best statistics at our command, there have been left in the State by summer tourists during the year more than $5,000,000. A large portion of this has been left with the farmers." Gov. Burleigh of Maine refers to the same subject, and says: "Our healthful climate, and the rugged beauties of our long seacoast, are winning wide reputation, and a constantly increasing tide of summer travel is a growing source of revenue to our people." The fact is, that the Yankee has been rather slow in waking up to the importance of this interest, and he does not yet fully realize how many millions there are in it.

What kind of ideas are prevailing among the cranks of the Farmers' Alliance in Kansas may be gathered from an affidavit filed in one of the courts of that State to procure a continuance of a foreclosure suit. The defendant put in a statement under his own oath of what the Secretary of the National Bankers' Association, Mr. Wm. B. Greene, would swear to if he (Greene) could be found and compelled to testify; but up to the present time, he said, Greene was so fugacious, so *non est inventus*, that his testimony could not be obtained. Greene would have testified (so this affiant declared) that the National Bankers' Association busies itself with alternate contractions and expansions of the currency in order to depress and advance the prices of property so that they may buy all sorts of commodities at low prices and sell them again at high prices. The months in which prices are thus systematically depressed are those of autumn and early winter, while the spring months are selected for the other turn. The reason why the autumn is chosen for contraction is, that then the farmers have to pay their taxes and meet their store bills. As they must have money at such times, the bankers put the screws on them. After making this confession the supposititious Mr. Greene is asked whether the intended effect of the contraction and expansion is actually produced, and he replies that although it is hard to state with certainty, yet he thinks it is produced; at all events the Bankers' Association is satisfied with the results. Being asked why these objects are not plainly stated in the constitution and by-laws of the Association, he replies that they are all included in the phrase which says that the object of the Association is to secure uniformity of action. Whether the court granted a continuance we are not advised, but we should not be surprised if suits were determined on these grounds after the Alliance fills up the bench in Kansas with men who have never studied law or anything else.

Any one who appears on the scene in a political crisis as the man who "told you so," needs to have a very clean past in order to avoid being crushed by the deadly parallel. Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, M. P., has not been at all careful on this point. The Parnell affair is, of course, a perfect godsend to him as a justification for his desertion of his party in 1886, but he is not in a position to make a noise over it. In a speech in Birmingham the other day he crowed in the following amusing fashion:

"We have saved Ireland from disgrace and misery greater than anything to which heretofore in her eventful history she has ever been subjected—the disgrace and misery of being governed by men like Mr. Parnell, who, Mr. Gladstone now tells you, the Gladstonian party are resolved shall never be the constitutional ruler of Ireland."

The words were hardly out of his lips when the parallel man came down on him with the following from an article of his in the *Fortnightly Review* of January, 1886:

"The conclusion, then, at which we arrive is, that the consideration of the Irish land question should be taken up anew, and this time in frank concert with the Nationalist party. Mr. Parnell himself should be challenged in the interests of his constituents to take up the burden of office, and to coöperate with English statesmen in the solution of a problem which lies at the root of Irish misery and discontent. If the leader of the Irish party shrinks from this responsibility, as his enemies proclaim that he will, the offer should be made in turn to other chiefs of the National party, some of whom, and notably Mr. Healy, have shown a remarkable constructive capacity and resource.'

He deserted the Liberals and took his new view of the Irish Nationalists in the following summer—that is, within one year of the utterance of the old one. The right to change one's opinion frequently is one of every man's natural rights, but whoever does so cannot hope to have confidence in his wisdom and honesty remain absolutely unimpaired, unless the intervals between the changes are of a decent length.

THE BARRUNDIA CASE.

COMMANDER REITER, whom Secretary Tracy has disposed of so summarily, has, we are glad to learn, demanded a court of inquiry, and we do not see how the Secretary can, with any appearance of decency, refuse it. If Commander Reiter has committed an offence so serious as to merit dismissal from his ship and severe public denunciation at the hands of his superior, he ought to be tried by court-martial. Dismissal from an officer's command in the navy, accompanied by a public reprimand, is one of the severest penalties a court-martial can inflict. It not only blights an officer's professional career, but it leaves a permanent stigma on his name. It has been inflicted on Commander Reiter by the mere *ipse dixit* of the Secretary of the Navy, without trial before any tribunal known to the law.

This is not the worst of the affair, however. The letter appears to have been communicated in whole or in part to the newspapers some days before Commander Reiter received it. This is of itself strong confirmation of the suspicion that the letter had its origin in bunkum. The internal evidence also is very strong. The style is by no means that of a lawyer of mature age like Gen. Tracy. Lawyers are apt to write with caution, and measure, and close adherence to facts, as becomes men who follow a calling in which all blunders are promptly punished either by the courts or by the adversary. The letter addressed to Commander Reiter was, on the other hand, marked by that windy exaggeration and violence which is known to the general public, we are sorry to say, as "newspaper abuse." We were therefore not surprised to learn from the *Tribune* that it had been composed, if not by Mr. Blaine, under his supervision. Our own belief is, that it was in the main his. The style is unmistakable, being that of the *Kennebec Journal*, the organ of opinion in which Mr. Blaine began his career as a journalist. Taking everything into account, we fear there is little doubt that Commander Reiter has been selected as a cheap sacrifice to the goddess Jingo. He has been offered up as an illustration of the watchful care which the Administration takes of the honor of the flag in foreign ports, and doctrines have been laid down for his destruction which Secretary Tracy at least must know would not bear five minutes' examination at the hands of a first-class Power. He has been found guilty of not having gone out to sea to warn an American passenger-ship that she must not bring a political refugee into a friendly port, the refugee having taken his passage with the full knowledge that the vessel would touch at that port; and then for not having overruled the police of the port and hindered the execution of their warrant in a place undeniably subject to their jurisdiction. It may be desirable to impose a duty of this sort on the commanders of our cruisers in South American waters, but it would be a duty full of risks, the execution of which no first-class Power would permit to foreign men-of-war; we ourselves would be the very last to do so. It is a duty, therefore, which should only be prescribed by special instructions carefully drawn, and fully defining the limits of the officer's action.

We say unhesitatingly that there exists now no authority in international law for the service which Secretary Tracy exacts of Commander Reiter; that any attempt to render it in an English, or French, or German port would lead to serious international complications, and that it is monstrous to punish an officer for not rendering it in a Guatemalan port out of his own head. The whole transaction is marked by a recklessness, as well as injustice, which cannot be accounted for in any other way than by treating the letter as an article strictly intended for domestic consumption, and originating in the combustible room of the State Department. If this be indeed so, it will surprise every intelligent man who knows him, in this part of the country at least, that Secretary Tracy should have lent himself to anything so discreditable.

If Commander Reiter, in failing to oust the Guatemalan police on board the *Acapulco*, committed an offence deserving the severe punishment which has been inflicted on him, the Guatemalan police, in executing the warrant, committed an offence against the United States which demands full and prompt atonement. There is no getting away from this conclusion. If Commander Reiter has been rightly condemned, something was done against our peace and dignity in the harbor of San José on August 28, 1890, for which the Guatemalan Government is responsible under the law of nations, and for which Mr. Blaine is bound to seek satisfaction. If he does not ask for it, he will leave Secretary Tracy in a position which an honest gentleman, to say nothing of an upright public officer, ought to find very uncomfortable. It will show beyond question that he has, for electioneering purposes, done a very gross injury to the character and property of a fellow-citizen, for which the ordinary courts of law offer no redress, and of which any respectable man ought to feel thoroughly ashamed. He ought, therefore, for his own sake, to demand of his colleague of the State Department the prompt statement of our grievance to the Guatemalan Government in one of those loud-resounding state papers for which our Secretary of State is now famous. We shall then get to the bottom of the affair.

THE NICARAGUA CANAL QUESTION.

THE report of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations in favor of a Government guarantee of $100,000,000 to the Nicaragua Canal Company will, we think, take the country by surprise. There has been no previous discussion of the subject in Congress, in the press, or on the stump. In fact, the country is scarcely aware of the existence of a Nicaragua Canal Company, although a vague recollection that such a company was incorporated by the last Congress lingers in the public mind. Those who remember this fact will remember, also, that there was coupled with it a promise that no pecuniary liability should be incurred by the United States by reason of the granting of the charter. From that simple act to the guarantee of $100,000,000 is a tremendous leap, and one without preliminaries or precedent. Although there is much to be said in favor of the project, and although a certain moral weight is given to it by the fact that the report is unanimous, yet it is a perfectly valid objection against its passage by Congress at this time that the country is not prepared for it. A matter of such magnitude ought to be well considered. All the pros and cons ought to be taken into the account. Time should be allowed for the people to consider both the policy of subventions in general and the merits of this one in particular. There should be no such thing as a snap judgment in the case. While holding this view as fundamental in a representative government, we are not taking ground against the measure *per se*, for we have at present no decided opinion about it. We insist merely that the Government shall not take a leap in the dark; that it shall not establish a bad precedent, and perhaps involve itself in foreign complications unnecessarily, and lose its money to boot.

The first thought that will occur to most minds is, that the subvention to the Union and Central Pacific Railroads has turned out unfortunately to the Government, unfortunately to the companies, and unfortunately to public morals. It has been unfortunate to the Government in that it has expended a great deal of money that there is no likelihood of its getting back. It has been unfortunate to the companies since they built the roads for the subsidy rather than for the railroad business, and in this way involved themselves in troubles which are now extremely embarrassing to them. It has been unfortunate to the public morals because it produced the Crédit-Mobilier and other scandals, and established in California an *imperium in imperio* which exists in full force to the present day. And it is rather humiliating to acknowledge, as we must, that the subvention was wholly unnecessary, because the road would have been built within a few years without any Government aid, as several others have been built since. Some people tell us that the first Pacific railway "saved California to the Union," as though California had been in some danger of going out of the Union. That is not true, but if it were so, the fact has no bearing on the Nicaragua Canal. California is in no danger now of going out of the Union. The Union is assaulted by no perils which are to be averted by new communication with the Pacific Coast.

If the Nicaragua Canal is likely to prove a profitable enterprise—and we think that the outlook is rather promising in that regard—capital will be found to make it; not so soon, of course, as it would be made under Government auspices, but with reasonable certainty. It cannot be said that the

present company has put forth any great exertions as yet. It has not spent any large sum of its own money. It has not strained its credit. It has apparently come to the conclusion that the easiest way to get on is to "lie down" on the public Treasury. It does not seem to be very good business for the Treasury to take the burden at the first onset. No bond syndicate would undertake the financiering of the enterprise on such easy terms. As the Government is not a charitable organization, there is no reason why it should do more than private parties would do, unless two things are first made clear, viz., that the work is essential to the national welfare and that it cannot be achieved by private enterprise. Both of these things may be proved to the satisfaction of the people, but they have not been proved yet. Therefore a decision should not be hastily reached.

The report of the Committee touches upon the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, and assumes that that treaty has been nullified by the lapse of time, or, that it is not applicable to the sort of undertaking that this bill contemplates. This is another argument against hasty action. We do not think that any serious difficulty will be found in that quarter unless our Government goes at Great Britain with horns down, as Mr. Blaine did in 1881. Yet the existence of the treaty makes some negotiation necessary, and negotiation takes time.

LEGISLATION AND THE RAILROAD AGREEMENT.

THERE is a fear in the minds of some of our railway officers, that any action looking towards higher rates taken by the Advisory Board would be followed by hostile legislation on the part of important Western States. There is no reason to suppose that any immoderate advance in railway charges will or can be made because of any organization now attempted; still, the feeling in the public mind at the West will no doubt be influenced to a certain degree by the purposes of the conference as officially declared, and by the bearings of the practical steps taken upon the freights and fares. There may be a great difference in the effect upon Western legislatures between a wish to stop rate-cutting, so that all shippers must pay the published tariffs, and an attempt to change these nominal rates for others yet higher. This fear of hostile legislation is no doubt owing largely to the Farmers' Alliances. Just what effect these alliances will have upon the railroad problem is, as yet, as hard to determine as their political outcome. West of the Missouri River the farmers' organizations are demanding many hard laws against the railroads. In Kansas they propose a law requiring the Railroad Commissioners to be elected by the people, because these have presumed to have ideas of their own about fairness as between carriers and shippers; also such a reduction of tariffs as will yield an annual income not exceeding 6 per cent. upon the investment, meaning presumably first cost.

In Nebraska the biennial report of the Attorney-General to the Governor is full of denunciation of railroads for issuing stock without consideration upon which dividends are paid through extortionate charges. The political game which has been played for some little time by the politicians in and out of office in Nebraska, is now so well understood that the fulminations spoken of are not taken seriously. It so happens that the Board of Transportation of that same State investigated the subject of cost and charges of railroads last July, and reported that no reason existed for reducing rates generally. The Chicago, Burlington and Quincy, having 2,203 miles within the State, was carefully investigated, with the declared result that the annual earnings of that road in Nebraska were found to yield just 5.09 per cent. upon original cost and subsequent betterments. With such a report before it, there seems little probability of large reductions on the part of the Nebraska Legislature.

East of the Mississippi, to judge from the annual reports of the Boards of Railroad Commissioners just made, the feeling is conservative. The Illinois Board has nothing to say about reduction of railway charges. Its attention has been largely taken up with questions of safety appliances, and in this respect—the need of better apparatus and of earnings to pay for them—it no doubt represents the opinions of a majority of the people. The Board says that there are in Illinois about 700 places where one railroad crosses another at grade, and recommends interlocking plants at all these crossings. Such a plant costs about $5,000, or $3,500,000 for the State. The Board also argues strongly for couplers and air-brakes for freight cars—cost of these about fifteen million dollars, or for both items a sum larger than the annual dividends paid by all the Illinois roads, and nearly half the total bonded interest. Such facts should, and doubtless will, make the Illinois Board conservative in advocating improvements or in calling for lower charges.

Praise is also due to the Minnesota Commissioners. These gentlemen have put forth a noticeably moderate platform in their report—whether led thereto by the adverse decision of the United States Supreme Court upon their arbitrary action last year or not, it is needless to inquire. The Board states its principles in the order of their importance, thus: first, transportation of persons and property without discrimination as to persons or places; secondly, safe conveyance of the same; thirdly, the best service the system is capable of; and, fourthly, the cheapest transportation that is compatible with the foregoing and is just to the companies doing the service. Here the propositions are put in their true relation; not abnormally low rates *and* safe conveyance with good service, but efficiency first and the necessary earnings afterwards. If Government regulation is to stand the test of close examination and be justified before the common sense of the people, it must be based upon a clear conception of the relations between expenses and earnings. Compulsory increase of the one and compulsory reduction of the other, without responsibility on the part of the Government for the results, could not long win the approval of the American people.

There is therefore much in the general situation at the West to encourage our railroad managers. It is hardly correct to suppose that hostility to the "Trust" (as the agreement of railways has been called) will culminate in severe laws against the carriers, if the Advisory Board is moderate and attempts only to secure for the roads rates not much if any higher than those now nominally in force and against which there is little or no complaint. If this view is the true one, it follows that if the organizing roads cannot agree now among themselves to exact the published charges from all shippers alike, their failure will be due to other causes than Western State legislation.

CÁNOVAS ON DEMOCRACY AND THE LABOR QUESTION.

IT was something of a coincidence that the leader of the Conservative party in Spain should have been called to power, last summer, just after he had published a series of articles on "Democracy in Europe and America." He may not have had any intention of laying down a programme, but his frank perception of the irresistible advance of the democratic spirit in the modern world cannot but count for a good deal, coming from the chief of a party that has been supposed to stand for all that is reactionary. The frequent excursions of Cánovas del Castillo into the fields of literature are undoubtedly of a sort to give a show of color to the malicious assertion of a Spanish critic, that he always has the air of one snatching a few moments from his constant task of saving the country, in order to instruct all mankind on all topics; but at any rate, in the articles in question, he writes seriously and with a wide acquaintance with the literature of his subject, and his conclusions are worthy of attention apart from the significance of his political position.

After a long historical introduction, in which the growth of the democratic spirit is traced down from its beginnings, he devotes himself to an analysis of democratic institutions as they exist to-day in Switzerland, France, and the United States. He thinks that the Government of Switzerland "comes nearest to the full ideal of the word democracy," though he maintains that "in no democracy does there exist that equality of political rights promised in 1789 to all." He refers particularly to the fact that women are excluded from the suffrage, and that the voting age is so arbitrarily fixed. It may be of interest to note his opinion that, "as England and the United States become democratized, women will undoubtedly enter public life, the logic of a principle getting the better of mere ridicule." His account of political institutions in the United States is remarkably accurate, probably because he so closely follows Prof. Bryce; it

is worth noting that the excesses of party spirit among us, and especially our barbarous spoils system, furnish the strongest arguments this conscientious monarchist can think of against the practice of democracy as we exemplify it.

But Cánovas's exposition of modern democracy is not of so much weight as his criticism of the democratic theory in general. His main objections reduce themselves to two: democracy can give expression to the national will, but not to the national conscience, and can never have those "fixed institutions" which can deliberately preside over popular movements, check them, if necessary, and approve and put them into effect when desirable. "The direction of what is called public opinion may be at times as harmful as that of parties themselves." He insists upon the need of institutions which will express the permanent convictions or the conscience of a nation as well as its passing fancies, and which will also be able to sit like a good genius above the madness of public opinion, choosing the good and rejecting the evil. Of course, he finds his "fixed institutions" in a monarchy, which he tacitly assumes to be supernaturally wise and surrounded by infallible counsellors. His entire criticism, in fact, moves in the realm of pure theory, overlooking the question which, for the mass of mankind, must always be the most important, namely, not how theoretically perfect a political system is, but how well it works.

Whatever may have been the case with his writings on democracy, the long address on the labor question which Cánovas delivered at the annual reopening of the Ateneo cannot fail to carry a certain official significance. He was Prime Minister at the time, and though he disclaimed for his words anything but a personal responsibility, his personal views are almost certain to become the Government's views. In brief, he practically committed himself to State Socialism. He gave the highest praise to the German legislation which has taken such long strides that way, and held it up distinctly as a model worthy of imitation in Spain. Indeed, in public speeches during the pending campaign he has even more definitely promised to inaugurate something like the German system, if given the power to do it. There is every likelihood now that he is to be given another long lease of power. He may not be able to put his projects through: no one knows better than he the fearful inertia that resists any change in Spain. He may not be able to carry his party with him: many of his fair promises at the time of the restoration of the Bourbons in 1874 he could not keep. But the strong prospect is, that Spain will soon be another interesting field in which to watch the experiments of State Socialism.

DEMOCRATIC ASSUMPTIONS.—II.

PROGRESS AND POPULAR GOVERNMENT.

LONDON, December 16, 1890.

DOES democracy promote the advance of civilization?

The connection between popular government and that system of constant ameliorative change which we call "progress," will appear to many readers of the *Nation* so obvious that to ask a question to which there can be but one answer may savor of pedantry. They will at any rate reply to my inquiry with an unhesitating affirmative. Nor need this excite any surprise in the mind of a candid thinker. There exists an abundance of striking facts which suggest that the development of democratic institutions may, in modern times at any rate, be identified with moral and intellectual progress.

The democratic States are in the main the progressive States of the world. England, the United States, modern France, are the countries in which mankind has, during the last two centuries, advanced most rapidly in the diffusion of general knowledge and in the establishment of material comfort or prosperity. They are also lands which have either for ages been the home of popular government, or are now the leading democratic States of the day. Germany, it may be objected, plays a leading part in the affairs of the world, but is governed on principles which are not democratic. The observation is sound, but even in Germany democracy gains ground. Prince Bismarck may have contemned parliaments, but he sought, when he could obtain it, popular if not parliamentary support for his policy; and Frederick the Great, could he revisit the world, would deem Prince Bismarck and Prince Bismarck's successor parliamentarian statesmen.

Who, again, can deny that an observer who looks at modern history as a whole, will find that the development of material prosperity has in most countries coincided with the extension of popular power? Every age, whatever be the prevailing appearance of self-complacency, is tormented by the knowledge of the evils under which it suffers. In England, as, I presume, in the United States, a reformer who fixes his eye on the actual state of society, is certain to point out social maladies, some of them old, some of them new, which destroy or menace the welfare of mankind. But a critic must be wanting in discernment who denies that in England, in the United States, in France, or in Italy, knowledge has increased, and that the diffusion of light has alleviated the sufferings or increased the happiness of the human race. An English artisan of 1890 would find unbearable the conditions under which his father or his grandfather lived in 1830. It would be impossible to exaggerate the follies and crimes committed by France during a century of revolution. But no Frenchman would willingly return to the *ancien régime*, and substitute for the unimpressive rule of President Carnot the benevolent though feeble despotism of Louis XVI., or the vices and tyranny of Louis XV., or even the glory, the oppression, or the bigotry of the *Grand Monarque*. Nor does the historical argument which links together the cause of progress and of democracy stop here: the position is at any rate fairly maintainable that the spirit of freedom has always gone hand in hand with the spirit of civilization. It is the States which in their day were counted the great free States of the world—Athens, Rome, the Italian Republics, Holland, England, and the United States—which have left, or are leaving, their mark for good on the history of mankind.

The real defect of this line of argument, as proving the progressive character of popular government, is that it identifies intellectual or modern freedom with the growth of democracy, while the legitimacy of this identification is in reality a main part of the question we are trying to answer. The advocate, however, of popular government may fairly blend the historical and the logical line of argument. The extension of popular authority produces two results, both of which remove obstacles from the path of progress.

The possession of power by the mass of the people counteracts the influence of limited classes whose prejudices or self-interest may be opposed to the policy dictated by considerations of general expediency. This fact made the strongest impression on Bentham and his disciples. The sinister interest of special bodies, such as landowners, merchants, or lawyers, delayed, as the Benthamites perceived, the most obvious beneficent reforms. If we ask why, not a century ago, the penal code of England was as barbarous as it was unscientific, why legal technicalities checked the administration of justice, why indefensible restrictions on trade were maintained by sagacious statesmen, the rough answer is to be found in the words, "the influence of sinister interests." A man's interest, it should be noted, works after a manner more subtle than is generally perceived by reformers who denounce its influence. Few human beings are so degraded as knowingly to prefer their private wealth or comfort to the prosperity of all their neighbors. But fewer, on the other hand, are the men endowed with sufficient enlightenment to see that institutions from which they themselves derive benefit are injurious to the world at large. A pleader who derived a handsome income from the technicalities of pleading, almost of necessity believed that the arts of the special pleader served the cause of justice. Squires, parsons, and farmers held with perfect honesty, that unless the price of corn were high, the greatness of England was certain to decline, just as with equal honesty merchants and manufacturers used, while trade was protected, to believe that English commerce depended on protection. Democracy, which breaks down the strength of privilege, does undoubtedly remove the hindrances which privilege opposes to progress. However great the evils generated by the French Revolution, the abolition of aristocratic exemption from the weight of taxation was a benefit certain to follow from the triumph of democracy in France.

Popular government, in the second place, thrusts into view the miseries which weigh upon the mass of the people. Of the ills caused by misgovernment the greater number are due not to malignity but to ignorance. Imagination is the rarest of gifts: men are literally unable to imagine sufferings which they do not themselves endure. This is by far the strongest argument in favor of an extended suffrage. The ten-pound householders who, for thirty years and more, ruled England, were as intelligent a body of electors as could well be selected from among the whole people of the United Kingdom; they were better educated than the present English electorate; they were not a privileged body—no hard-and-fast line separated them from those whom it is now the fashion to call the masses. Yet the ten-pound householders could never rise to the conception of a really national scheme of education, and the Representation of the People Act, 1867, which, together with subsequent statutes, abolished the political supremacy of the middle classes, has been followed by constant improvements or innovations which have aimed at meeting popular wants which the ten-pound householders could not meet because they hardly perceived their existence.

To these and other obvious arguments in support of the theory that the cause of progress is

bound up with the cause of popular government, a wise man will attribute great weight. It is far too much the habit of theorists to fancy that things which are obvious or commonplace are not worth attention. Thoughts which occur to every man are often thrust upon public attention because they are suggested by patent facts, or, in other words, are indisputably true. Nothing hinders the search for truth more than misplaced scorn for truisms. Distrust appearances if you like, but do not forget that things constantly appear to be what they in reality are. It needs no passionate enthusiasm for democratic institutions for an honest critic to admit that, as the world now stands, democracy bears the appearance of an ally of progress.

Two considerations, however, go far to forbid absolute faith in the dogma that democracy, *i. e.*, the political influence of numbers, must under all circumstances further the development of civilization.

First, the administration of public affairs is an art. It is an art depending for success on knowledge, on skill, on training; it is based, or ought to be based, on science and education. It is an art, moreover, the complexity whereof increases with the complication and subtlety of our social mechanism. With our existing acquaintance with human nature, with the lessons of history, and with the laws that govern the external world, it would be possible to manage successfully the affairs of such a city as Athens, or even of such a State as the Roman Empire. We could, at any rate, avoid the terrible evils which it is said flowed from ignorance as to the elementary principles of taxation, and which assuredly flow from blindness to the social and economical ruin involved in a system of slavery. Human inventiveness has made far less progress during the course of centuries than might have been expected in political mechanism. But representative government might possibly, had it been known to Cicero and to his contemporaries, have warded off the fall of the Republic. Unhappily, human necessities outgrow human knowledge. The science (using the word in its widest sense) which might have sufficed for the government of Athens or Rome, is hardly sufficient for dealing with the problems which already tax, and will, as the world grows fuller, tax still more severely, the statesmanship of Europe and of the United States. But statesmanship which is to be scientific can, from the nature of things, hardly be popular. The government of the people, even in its best form, means government in accordance mainly not with the knowledge possessed, if at all, by the most highly educated and the most judicious among the citizens of a country, but with the prevailing sentiment of the time. This sentiment is often right, it is certainly often wrong; and its rightness on some occasions does not of necessity correct the practical errors resulting from its wrongness. Popular feeling has approved religious intolerance; popular feeling still, throughout the greater part of the world, supports the protection of trade; popular sentiment condemns, and almost of necessity condemns, all restrictions on that lavishness of indiscriminate charity which produces pauperism. Education, it may be urged, becomes every day more common. This is true. What people forget is, that knowledge also increases, and that the progress of scientific discovery gradually makes the relative ignorance of the mass of the population greater than in ages when the whole store of human knowledge was far less than at present. An ordinary citizen of Athens stood more nearly on the same level of knowledge as Pericles than an ordinary British elector stands on the same level as the most thoroughly educated men in England. Is it likely, it may well be asked, that countries governed by the ignorant will long continue to be countries conspicuous for their respect for science, for the promotion of that kind of progress which depends on scientific discovery? One thing is certain: popular governments are not in modern times famous for good administration. Unless my reading of the *Nation* has led me greatly astray, this is a point which need hardly be pressed on the attention of the citizens of New York.

Secondly, the apologists of democracy inevitably connect, if they do not confuse, the growth of popular power with the development of individual freedom. This connection, to a certain extent, is real. Revolutions like the movement which a century ago shook the foundations of European society, of necessity break down, for a time at least, the barriers which prevent talent or genius from finding its appropriate field of action. The opening of a career for talent reinvigorated France with new life, and gave her strength to come out for a time victorious in the conflict with the combined Powers of Europe. But this opening a path for ability is the fruit not of democracy, but of revolution. In the field of politics, at any rate, it would, I conceive, be rash to assert that the democracy of America, or for that matter of modern France, specially favored the development of talent, or, what is really the same thing, the leadership of character and of genius. No student of Mr. Bryce's 'American Commonwealth' will conclude that the best or the ablest men of the country are to be found within the walls of Congress.

However this may be, it is certain that eras which cannot be called democratic have witnessed the growth and development of that kind of freedom which is conducive to intellectual and moral progress. The plain truth is, that from one point of view a system of government, whatever its name, which enables men of capacity to get to the head of affairs, is in one sense anti-democratic. It creates an aristocracy of talent; it stimulates individual freedom and individual self-assertion; it gives new force to the struggle—if not for existence, at any rate for leadership. It is absolutely opposed to that conception of equality which, whether it be bad or good, lies at the bottom of socialist ideals. Both speculative considerations and practical observation forced upon every one by the circumstances of to-day make it at least dubious how far modern democracy will in the long run favor that kind of individualism which is one spring of human progress. Before we can feel certain how far democracy will be permanently allied with progress, we should examine the true relation between democracy and individual liberty.

AN OBSERVER.

TAX REFORM IN FRANCE.

PARIS, January 1, 1891.

THE opening of the year sees in France the inauguration of a new law remarkable for its practical importance and its historical interest—of a fiscal reform destined to put an end to a secular injustice: the flagrant inequality, namely, of the burdens imposed by the direct tax on real estate, the rate of which has varied from department to department, from commune to commune, with almost incredible partiality. It seems as if these differences could be caused by nothing but a blind chance till a closer examination reveals a law in their distribution: the tax is strictly proportioned to the general prosperity of the community—but inversely. In 1884 the Department of the Seine, with Paris, was paying to the State something less than 2 per cent. of its net returns from values in land, while the wretched departments of the Hautes et Basses Alpes, ruined by the destruction of their forests, and the consequent floods which washed away their scanty surface soil, were at the same time paying more than 7, and several phylloxera-smitten departments more than 6.

This inequality is the more striking in France, in that the love of equality is the most characteristic, if not the noblest, passion of the modern Frenchman. "Liberty, equality, fraternity" shows conspicuous on the portal of every public building, and of this trinity the second is not the least considered. The effort to attain civil equality before the law has been the fertile cause of these changes that have at once rent and welded the French nation, and civil equality is in nothing more plainly acknowledged or denied than in the distribution of the Atlas burden of State support.

If a question of taxes induced the less violent but no less earnest revolutions of Englishmen; if ship money and the Stamp Act, insignificant in themselves, are become historic watchwords, there is at least an intimate relation between the fever of the Revolution and the fiscal abuses of the *ancien régime*. Yet this very revolution instituted a system of direct taxation which, in regard to real estate, at least, is radically vitiated by the old defects, favoring the prosperous and oppressing the unfortunate, and that in an ever-increasing degree. The history of legislation on this subject gives the explanation. In 1789 the Constituent Assembly abolished, with the rest, the old taxes which fell upon real estate—the *tailles* and *vingtièmes*, namely, with the *dîme* collected for the benefit of the Church—and deprived the State of the 321,000,000 francs of revenue which they had yielded. To supply the loss, a *contribution foncière* was decreed, to be levied on all real estate (lands and buildings alike) in proportion to net revenue. In form it was a so-called distributive tax—*impôt de répartition*—that is, the law fixed beforehand the amount required, and this sum was divided successively among the departments of France, the arrondissements of each department, and finally the communes. Each commune then decided what part of its contingent each proprietor should pay. Besides the "principal" of the tax, or the payment to the State, there were collected at the same time a certain number of *centimes additionels* for the benefit of the departments and communes; an addition sometimes, and especially of late years, amounting to considerably more than the "principal."

It is evident that with this arrangement the difficulty lay in the just distribution of the shares to be paid by the different local bodies, and finally by individuals. In the first place, the necessary data were lacking. It is true that various valuations of the territorial wealth of France had been attempted by Vauban, Mirabeau *père*, Dupont de Nemours, Lavoisier, and others, but nothing was certain. The Assembly resigned itself to an empirical solution. Since each division of the kingdom had paid under the old system all it was capable of down to the uttermost farthing, the new *impôt foncier* was distributed according to the proportional amounts formerly paid in taxes, direct and indirect together. At best this could be but a hit-or-miss method, but its partiality was aggravated by the inequality between the former *pays d'élection* and *pays d'état*—

that is, those which fixed their own contingent and those which were deemed by the King's officers. This naturally gave rise to complaints, which were answered (1797–1821) by a series of reductions for the benefit of the overtaxed, lowering the income of the impost from the 240,000,000 received in 1790 to 155,000,000 in 1821.

But these reductions failed wholly to go to the root of the trouble, and in 1807 an attempt was made to procure a complete register of real estate in France, giving the situation, extent, and value of each property, and able to serve as a basis for a systematic reform. Unfortunately this *cadastre* was almost forty years in the making, so that the difference in the date of the valuations for different districts made comparisons impossible. In 1821 it was already evident that the original intention must be given up, and it was decided to use the *cadastre* simply for apportionment within the communes. But even if division according to an ideal register could have been effected, it would have been rendered worthless by the revolution in values due to the introduction of railways in the fourth decade of the century. In 1835 another reform was voted, namely, the fluctuation of local contingents with the construction (or demolition) of buildings in the place. Since this change, and owing largely to the great increase of wealth invested in buildings, the sum produced by the tax has been steadily increasing—in spite of the reductions caused by the loss of Alsace and Lorraine and the ravages of phylloxera; in spite, especially, of the lowering of the rate from more than 6 per cent. in 1851 to less than 4 per cent.

In July, 1881, another step was taken. The confusion of land and buildings in one common mass had hitherto added to the difficulty of the whole subject; now an investigation was ordered which estimated them separately and published the results in 1883. The total value of the tax proved to be 175 millions, of which 118 applied to land proper and 56 to buildings. This theoretical division of the subject has led to a practical difference in the treatment of the two classes of property which makes it necessary to speak of them separately. To begin with the land-tax proper, the rate was found to be on the average 4.67 per cent., but this average was made up of such widely differing particulars as Mont St. Michel paying .5 per cent. and Montussan in the Gironde paying 30 per cent., or sixty times as much. To rectify this abusive condition, a reduction of 15 million francs was voted last August, the burden of the thirty-eight overtaxed departments being lightened by nearly 13 millions, and a remittance of between 2 and 3 millions being apportioned among other departments already paying less than their share. The reason assigned for this last arrangement was, that though the average rate was low in these departments, they contained cases of oppression which could thus be relieved. Only five departments were left *in statu quo*—among them, the Department of the Seine. The equalization within the departments is to be effected, I believe, by means of local councils, but it has not yet been extended to individuals.

The reform of the other tax on real estate, that on buildings, is of a much more satisfactory kind, and is the direct result of the investigation of 1887. This work, undertaken at the instance of the Legislature by the Statistical Bureau of the Ministry of Finance (that is to say, by M. de Foville), and most successfully completed by him in 1889, brought to light still more flagrant injustice than any shown by the land-tax. The average tax on buildings was 3.1 per cent. of the net return, allowance for repairs and sinking-fund being set in the case of houses at one-third, of factories and so forth one-fourth. Three per cent. is not an excessive rate, but unfortunately the proportion varies from 1 to 5.3 per cent. between different departments; from .78 to 5.87 per cent. between different arrondissements; and between communes from .15 to 42 per cent. and over. If one commune pays on the average 280 times as much as another, what may not be the difference between the most favored individual in the one and the most oppressed in the other?

Of course these extraordinary differences are due, apart from original injustice, to the changes in local wealth invested in real estate, combined with a fixed or comparatively fixed requirement, and it is easy to see how, in such a state of things, an upward or downward tendency once begun would be constantly accelerated by action and reaction. Wealth would lower the taxes and attract more wealth; poverty would load the poor with extra taxes and decrease the population, leaving the remainder to share the same burden among them. The Alpine villages already spoken of are a case of the latter sort; the fashionable resorts, such as Nice and Vichy, which have experienced a sudden rise of values, illustrate some of the causes of a very low rate. Corsica, the most lightly taxed of all the departments, owes her exemption to special historical circumstances—the indulgence shown a stranger in the family circle who might prove restive under its discipline, and, under the Empire, a consideration for the home of the Bonapartes. On the other hand, Tarn-et-Garonne, one of the most overtaxed, is the victim of an accident. Not constituted till 1808, it was omitted in the division of the tax, probably by the oversight of some subaltern, and afterwards received an unfair imposition.

Happily, this system is now a thing of the past. January, 1891, sees the inauguration of a new order. The tax on buildings is no longer a "distributive" but a "proportional" tax (*impôt de quotité*), *i. e.*, the rate is fixed and its product may be what it will. This rate is set at 3.20 per cent. of the net revenue, the criterion being the valuation of 1887–'89. This estimate was made with such care, in most cases with the coöperation of local authorities, and is so amply corroborated wherever a check calculation is possible, that its imperfections are probably small compared with the abuses it is to rectify; but a liberal hearing is granted to objections, first before the *conseil de préfet*, then before the *conseil d'état*, the suit being without expense when the sum involved is small. The valuation is to be renewed every ten years, but in case of a change in value within the decade an immediate rectification can be had.

The chief difficulty is in the case where the tax is increased, as it is in thirty-seven of the eighty-seven departments, and much hardship seems inevitable. The Department of the Seine, with Paris, is one of the sufferers, for her burdens will be increased by two million francs. Let it be added that the two chief promoters of this reform stand for constituencies which will henceforward have heavier tax-bills to meet, and which may not appreciate the honorable disinterestedness and public spirit of their representatives. But at least these gentlemen and all who have joined in the good work may feel that they have taken their part in freeing France not only from a material cause of distress, but from a reproach to her honor and her justice. That the country at large will appreciate this and be ready to meet the sacrifices entailed by the change, seems attested by the hearty applause with which an audience of Parisians, and in large part of Parisian workmen, received the lectures which Prof. de Foville devoted to this subject in an evening course given at the Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers—lectures of admirable lucidity, simplicity, and finish, of which these notes are little more than a mutilated reproduction. EMILY G. BALCH.

THE SIDON SARCOPHAGI.—II.

WINCHESTER, Va., December 9, 1890.

MORE important by far than the discovery of the tomb of Tabnith, King of Sidon, was the discovery, in the later and deeper tomb, of the Greek sarcophagi with polychrome sculpture. Four of these are remarkable works of art. It will be understood that each of them is a rectangular block of white marble, nine or ten feet in length, four or five in breadth and height. One of them is hollowed out in anthropoid shape within, the rest are simple. The cover of each is a single block of marble of great size and weight—in the case of two of them larger, it seems to me, than the sarcophagus itself. These immense pieces of stone were found in chambers at the bottom of a shaft forty feet deep, in a country where there are no derricks nor any mechanical contrivances accessible with which to raise such masses. Taking advantage of a fall in the ground of about twenty feet or so from the rock plateau to the garden level a little below the tombs, Hamdy cut a sloping tunnel through the rock to the foot of the shaft, and dragged the sarcophagi up this tunnel, one by one, by ropes and man-power. Then he constructed a road through the gardens and dragged them in the same way about three-quarters of a mile to the sea. No one who has not tried it quite realizes the engineering difficulties with which the excavator has to contend in such a country.

The first of these sarcophagi which I saw was an imitation of a peristyle Greek temple. Between every two columns was a female figure in an attitude of mourning. The conception is somewhat stiff in its uniformity, but the execution of the weeping figures is so varied and so graceful that the stiffness is overcome, existing in description rather than in actual fact. The minor adornment, also, is singularly beautiful. The coloring of this sarcophagus is almost worn off. Next to this is the sarcophagus of an old man. On one of the longer sides he is represented about to mount his chariot. On the other long side he is engaged in the hunt, and on one of the short sides he is banqueting. In each case he is the central figure. The lower part of this sarcophagus shows signs of having stood in the water. It is slightly discolored, and it seemed to me that the clear outline of the figures had been somewhat blunted. Nevertheless, it was a singularly beautiful work of art.

The third sarcophagus was much larger than the preceding, and the cover was high and pointed, with gables at either end. On the two long sides is represented a chariot race. The heads of the horses are, I think, the most beautiful that I have ever seen in marble, so striking and effective that on first inspection I preferred this sarcophagus above all the others, returning time and again to admire the horses. Further examination, however, revealed a stiffness in treatment, the forelegs of the galloping horses in each chariot forming, for example, one straight line. Moreover, the bodies of the horses were somewhat too round and barrel-like. At the short ends centaurs

were engaged in combat, one of them using an earthenware jar for a weapon. Each end was the same, and the scenes on the two long sides were almost identical. The impression made on my mind was that they were intended to be the same, but were assigned to different artists, one or both of whom introduced variations in the theme. To support this notion I thought that I observed considerable difference in execution, the side towards the door as one enters being much finer than the other. It was on this side that I particularly admired the execution of the horses' heads. In the gables were griffins. Here, in the gables, the polychrome was well preserved, and there was much gold, but elsewhere it was badly worn away.

Each of these three sarcophagi is in itself a beautiful work of art, and each of them greatly surpasses in beauty any other sarcophagi which I have ever seen, but no one of them bears comparison for interest or beauty with the fourth sarcophagus. One of the long and one of the short sides of this represent a battle between Greeks and Persians. At the extreme left, the beginning of this scene, is Alexander the Great on horseback. The central figure of the scene is a young, beardless, handsome Greek, also mounted. The head of this figure had not been restored when I saw the sarcophagi, but I was enabled to see it by the kindness of Oskan Effendi, Professor of Sculpture in the School of Art at Constantinople, who had, I believe, been with Hamdy Bey at the excavations, and who has conducted the restoration of the sarcophagi. The hat of this youth had been gilded (to this Oskan Effendi called my attention), and his is the only figure which was so distinguished. This and his central position would suggest that the sarcophagus belongs to him. If the same figure could be found in the hunting scene, his proprietorship of the sarcophagus would be settled beyond a doubt. But I believe that he has not been found, and I did not myself make a comparison. At the extreme right hand of the battle scene on the long side is a third Greek on horseback. Hamdy Bey states that he is an old man, and that the face is the same as that of a Greek who is being assassinated by Greeks in the bas-relief in one of the gables. If this identity be actually established, then I think that Hamdy's argument that this is the sarcophagus of Perdiccas, in support of which he adduces further corroborative evidence, is proved, although I should still be perplexed by the position of the young man with the gilded hat in the centre of the field. It did not seem to me, however, that the identification of the two figures mentioned above was satisfactory, but I have not compared them with the same care as Hamdy. His argument should be studied as he himself presents it, and his illustrations will furnish a means to check the argument for one's self. At least he proves that the sarcophagus belonged to a man of the first importance, who had campaigned with Alexander the Great, and who was in some way connected with the assassination of a Greek, probably with the assassination of Perdiccas. This and the other sarcophagi found in the same tomb must therefore be ascribed to the close of the fourth century B. C.

To whomsoever the sarcophagus may have belonged, it is worthy not merely of a general of Alexander, but of Alexander the Great himself. So vivid and realistic a piece of sculpture I have never seen. I was literally confounded with amazement and enthusiasm when I first saw it. I have never felt such an enthusiasm over any other work in marble as I did over this sarcophagus. But it was so different in execution from anything which I had ever seen before, that, although I was carried away with enthusiasm the first time I saw it, I did not then gauge its real value, nor appreciate what an immense importance it possessed as a veritable revelation in plastic art. Each time I studied it it seemed more remarkable than it had the first time. What especially interested me was the use of painting in connection with sculpture, and the excellence of the perspective. The figures in the foreground are in very high relief, almost free-standing statues. From this they recede through every degree of relief to painting on a flat surface. I recall one soldier who lies dead on the ground. He is in rather low relief, and stretches into the background, until his shield and part of his spear are painted on flat marble. But so gradual is the transition that you must feel with your fingers to determine just where the relief ceases and the flat surface begins. In the case of harness, garments, and so forth the same method is pursued. Sometimes sculpture and painting are combined, sometimes the latter alone is used, according to the degree of relief to be given. The effect is far more realistic than anything which can be achieved by either sculpture or painting. While admiring beautiful statues, I have always had an uncomfortable sense that they were dead people, very beautiful, but lifeless. Paintings are not open to the same reproach, but I am not able permanently to keep my knowledge out of my eyes, so to speak, and the paintings will be paintings on flat canvas. The trouble with bas-reliefs is the lack of perspective; the figures tend to stand on top or inside of one another. But these are matters for the artist to discuss and criticise, not the archæologist. Suffice it to say that to me, a layman in art, the battle-scene on this sarcophagus, thanks to the combination of painting and sculpture which I have tried to describe, possesses a realism greater than any work of art which I have ever seen. As to the sculpture, it goes without saying that it is wonderful. The colors are not entirely preserved, but so much that with very little exercise of the imagination the whole thing stands restored to you.

Another curious piece of realism is the use of metal for the horses' bits, for spears, swords, etc. Similarly gold is used for the jewelry. I have spoken of the design of the first sarcophagus, the "Weepers," where a stiff and monotonous plan is overcome by variety of detail. Something of the same sort is to be remarked in the Alexander sarcophagus. Taking the battle scene on the long side, one observes that there are two horsemen, a Persian and a Greek, to the left, two to the right, and two in the centre. The footmen and the corpses are almost divided into fields exactly balancing each other in the same way. But this precise balancing is handled so gracefully that it seems to be only a perfect symmetry. I know that in description it sounds hopelessly stiff and angular, but the skeleton of a formal, precisely balanced plan is so perfectly covered with the flesh of natural and varied action that I discovered its existence only by the accident of counting the figures to see how many there were.

I have devoted my description to the battle scene. The hunting scene is nearly if not quite as interesting, and even better preserved. The minor work on this sarcophagus also, above and below the main fields, and on the cover, is very remarkable.

These sarcophagi when found were all considerably injured. Fortunately the pieces were almost all found with the sarcophagi, and they have been admirably restored—that is, the original pieces themselves have been dexterously fitted together, so that you have the actual original sarcophagi before you almost intact. The vandals who broke them were apparently quite numerous and armed with effective weapons. In their haste to break in and secure the rich booty which they expected to find, each sarcophagus was attacked at once at each corner, and sometimes at the sides as well. As soon as one person had succeeded in breaking through, the rest abandoned each his corner and assisted in enlarging the breach already made, until it was sufficient to enable them to abstract the contents. From the wholesale character of the work, and the nature of the tools used, Hamdy argues that they were broken into and robbed by Roman soldiers, perhaps at some time of disturbance, when the sack of Sidon and the plundering of its rich tombs seemed to the commanding general justifiable because it had taken part on the other side.

In conclusion, let me repeat again, what I hope my description has justified, that Hamdy Bey has discovered in the Sidon sarcophagi at least one of the greatest art treasures of the world, the full account and description of which by himself both artists and archæologists must await with impatience.

JOHN P. PETERS.

Correspondence.

THE INDIAN "WAR."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Would to God that this horrid barbarity at the West might rouse some member of our national Congress to a sense of his opportunity!

All this shameful, dreadful business is but the natural fruit of the blundering mismanagement and corruption which always have been and always will be inevitable in undertaking to govern the Indians *without law*, by a set of politicians at Washington.

Why on earth should this great nation be carrying on "war" with a handful of people—people who are absolutely under their control? Why were these people not long ago incorporated into our political system, made amenable, like other people, to the ordinary laws of the land, and protected, like all others, by those laws?

The root of the mischief lies here in the spot which I have indicated. A single member in each house of Congress, devoted, courageous, deeply impressed with the gravity of the situation, could do wonders now, would he but insist upon a radical measure. The old leadership will no longer serve.

A bill which goes some way towards the needed reform has slept for some years in the hands of the Indian Committee of the Senate—a bill that was warmly advocated and pressed by the leading Indian associations of the country. In my judgment, it is a good bill, but it does not go far enough, for it leaves the Indian Bureau still in existence. The whole miserable system of governing the Indians and administering their property without the ordinary legal responsibility should end at once.

JAMES B. THAYER.

CAMBRIDGE, January 12, 1891.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In all the illustrations of my theories which your correspondents find so ingenious, I believe I have never touched upon one which is

certainly not the least powerful, the relation of this country to the Indians. The reason is that it has not for many years come up in a form which would give it due emphasis. But this sad and cruel and disgraceful slaughter, and the justification of these adjectives by Gen. Miles's article, give a fresh opportunity to point a moral.

There is to-day no human being under this Government who can be held responsible for the treatment of the Indians. I suppose some committee of Congress has the matter in charge, and behind them stands the Indian Commission, *nominis umbra;* but both are beyond reach of appeal. Mr. Herbert Welsh has spent the best years of his life in trying, with the aid of devoted assistants, to bring about some reform, and the result of it all is what we see.

What has seemed to me even more depressing than the fate of the Indians is the utter futility of such efforts, for the want of an objective point. The Secretary of the Interior is nominally responsible for Indian affairs, but is really not at all so—first, because of his limited power, and second, because he cannot be reached in any way at all effective as compared with the pressure to which he is subjected on the other side. If that official had to stand up every day at noon on the floor of the House of Representatives, and, while the rest of the House and the Senate are wrangling over the Force and Silver Bills, some member, animated by the spirit of Mr. Welsh, were to persecute him with a daily cross-examination which he could not evade, and to which he must reply—his replies being printed in every newspaper in the United States—we should soon find out where the root of the difficulty lies, and who are the culprits who are dragging the national honor in the mud; information which is the indispensable basis of every practical reform.

G. B.

Boston, January 10, 1891.

THE JAPAN TREATY REVISION.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: The last mail from San Francisco brings us the resolutions recently passed by the New York Chamber of Commerce in regard to the revision of the treaty with Japan. The question, like all matters that concern the relations of sovereign Powers, presents many difficulties, and is one on which opinions may be expected to differ. Since, however, the resolutions above referred to seemed to be based entirely upon the action of the Yokohama meeting held on the 11th of September, to protest against the supposed terms of the treaties now under consideration, it is but fair to say that the Chamber of Commerce has acted upon very imperfect information, and has committed itself to propositions which would never have been accepted by its members had the facts in the case been known to them. This is not surprising when we remember that nearly one-third of the circumference of the globe lies between New York and Japan, and that the only persons interested in circulating the accounts of the Yokohama meeting were the men who engineered it, and who contrived to give to its proceedings an air of importance which they did not deserve. The second preamble of the resolutions of the Chamber of Commerce runs as follows:

"Whereas, The foreign residents of Japan are a unit in opposition to the relinquishment of such rights [the extra-territorial rights mentioned in the first preamble], as is shown by a mass-meeting of foreign residents of all nationalities, held in Yokohama September 11, 1890, at which over 400 foreign residents were present, and resolutions opposed to this feature of such revision were unanimously adopted," etc.

Now, nothing could be further from the facts as known to all the foreign residents of Japan—to the promoters of the Yokohama meeting no less than to others. Indeed, it is notorious that the action of that meeting not only did not represent the unanimous opinion of foreigners here, but did not represent the unanimous opinion even of the foreigners of Yokohama itself. Out of a foreign population of some 4,500 persons, only 408 were found to subscribe their names to the resolution in question. If we suppose the families of foreigners in Yokohama to consist of five persons each, it will be seen that the number of signers represents less than half the heads of families in the place; but when it is remembered that in all such settlements the number of unmarried men is greatly in excess, it will be evident that a very much larger part than one-half of those entitled to sign the resolutions abstained from doing so.

In the eyes of unprejudiced observers, the meeting in question was not calculated to command great respect. It was too evidently packed by a few skilful manipulators to be regarded as a representative gathering. The entire proceedings were such as, by a familiar figure, we are accustomed to call "cut and dried." The Chairman was chosen in advance; the three resolutions were prepared beforehand; a gentleman known to the promoters was selected to move each resolution in a brief speech, and another to second it; the question was then immediately put to vote and rushed through without debate. Such a mode of procedure can be called nothing less than a travesty on fair dealing and public sentiment. It is on a level with the methods of the lowest ward caucus, and deserves the reprobation of all high-minded persons.

On the 26th of September a meeting was called in Kobe to take action on the same question. But by this time the soberer part of the people was awake and declined to be represented, or rather to be misrepresented, by the implacables of the foreign settlement in this way. They accordingly refrained from ratifying the action of the Yokohama meeting, and adopted instead resolutions of a much milder character, proposing the postponement of the date for the abolition of consular courts until the working of the new codes could be tested. Even this some of the leading residents of the place are said to have refused to sign.

These two gatherings, so unlike in tone, are the only secular meetings held by foreigners in Japan to consider the question of treaty revision. To declare that the action of the handful of Yokohama malcontents represents the unanimous opinion of the foreign residents of Japan, when such residents number some 7,000 or more, is the height of absurdity. It reminds one of Burke's well-known comparison in speaking of the partisans of the French Revolution in England: "Because half-a-dozen grasshoppers under a fern make the field ring with their importunate chink, while thousands of great cattle, reposed beneath the shadow of the British oak, chew the cud and are silent, pray do not imagine that those who make the noise are the only inhabitants of the field."

On the other hand, on the 3d of October a memorial was addressed to the British Minister in Japan, signed, with a single exception, by all the English missionaries in Tokio. The aim of this memorial was to counteract the influence of the Yokohama meeting, and called for such a revision of existing treaties as "will, while sufficiently safeguarding the rights and interests of H. B. M.'s subjects, satisfy the legitimate demands of H. I. M's Japanese Government in the matter of extra-territoriality." On the 14th of the same month the Central Missionary Association of Japan, including representatives of the various Christian churches engaged in missionary labor here, at an unusually full meeting adopted a similar resolution, declaring that "every just and legitimate demand of the Japanese Government and people in accordance with the principles of international law should be conceded in revising the treaties between Japan and the foreign Powers concerned."

In view of these facts, it is a matter of regret that the New York Chamber of Commerce should have been led, through insufficient, or rather through false, information, to put forth such a resolution as it did. The generous policy hitherto pursued by the American Government towards the Japanese should not be influenced by the action of a few implacables in a packed meeting led by Englishmen who are actuated partly by motives of gain, partly by that spirit of self-assertion which has often led them to do scant justice to nations not fully prepared to defend their own rights.

A peculiarly ridiculous feature of the Yokohama meeting was the participation in it of representatives of the Chinese settlement in Yokohama, a Chinaman being even put upon the Committee intrusted with the duty of spreading the action of this august body before the civilized world. That the people of a nation where justice in the hands of the mandarins is a regular matter of barter and sale, where the inhuman practice of judicial torture still prevails, and where extortion and oppression are the common penalty paid by the individual for increasing prosperity—that such people should declare themselves to be in great danger when called upon to submit to the jurisdiction of the only Oriental nation that has put itself in the line of Western civilization and Western progress, while they themselves are slowly dying of dry rot at home, is so absurd as to give to the whole meeting an air of travesty.

The balancing of considerations of safety with those of international justice in the revision of the present treaties may justly occasion differences of opinion. The high intelligence and progressiveness of the Japanese, combined with their extreme sensitiveness to the opinions of the rest of the world, and their desire to be acknowledged as no whit behind the most advanced civilization of the West, will in all probability constitute a moral safeguard in the administration of the new codes quite adequate to all the requirements of the case. Still, it may be the course of prudence to fix a date, say five years in the future, for the abolition of the consular courts, or to provide for a joint commission to agree upon the time for abolishing them after the mode of administering the codes has been satisfactorily seen. Two things, however, are certain: first, that the extreme irritation of the Japanese people at the humiliating and unjust position in which they are placed is such that the present condition of affairs cannot much longer continue; secondly, that the immense strides made by them in the last thirty years demand and must receive ample and honorable recognition in their treaties with Western nations.

William Shields Liscomb.

Keiogijuku University,
Tokio, Japan, December 15, 1890.

CHEAP MONEY FOR FARMERS.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Your editorial in your issue of Decem-

ber 25, 1890, on "Cheap Money, Dear Goods, and the 'Debtor Class,'" draws attention to the very apparent fact that, of all the so-called "debtor classes," the heavily mortgaged farmers are substantially the only ones to be benefited by a "cheapening" of money through the debasement of the standard. It does not suggest, however, what I believe to be a fact, that only a comparatively small fraction of these farmers are in any position to avail themselves of this "cheapening" of money through a reversion to the silver standard.

Probably 90 per cent. of the farm mortgages of this country are negotiated by systematic lenders, by banks and by corporations organized for this express purpose. Some familiarity with the business as it is conducted in the West and Northwest enables me to say that in this part of the country, and probably everywhere, both in rural and urban loans, it has long been the custom of these lenders to make the mortgage debt, both principal and interest, payable *in gold*. Though I do not know that any statistics are obtainable, I do not believe that it would be any exaggeration to say that full 75 per cent. of the mortgage indebtedness of the country is in terms expressly made payable *in gold*. That such a stipulation can be enforced is well settled. (See Bronson vs. Rodes, 7 Wall., 229, affirmed in Trebilcock vs. Wilson, 12 Wall., 687.)

Probably not one farmer in fifty is aware that such is the condition of the mortgage-note or bond which he has signed. Hitherto, for many years, it has been a matter of no importance in what medium his interest was paid. All of our different issues of money, being interconvertible at par, payment in any one of them has been accepted as a compliance with the contract to pay gold. But once let the impending silver standard be reached, and gold rise to 120 or thereabouts, and these thrifty people who are now so anxious to have their debts scaled down by act of Congress, will awake to the fact that they have been scaled *up* instead of *down*. We can imagine the maledictions of the "honest" granger lover of "cheap money" as he passes over one hundred and twenty dollars in silver to pay an instalment of one hundred dollars interest in gold.

If he were to be the only sufferer, it would be poetic justice, and might be the best policy, to let him thus find out for himself that honesty is the best policy. But, as you remark, the dangers and possibilities of disaster on all hands from a debasing of the currency are so serious that it may be worth while to offer an argument even to the cupidity of the dishonest.

HOWARD L. SMITH.

ST. PAUL, MINN., January 5, 1891.

A THIRD VIEW OF THE ITALIAN ELECTIONS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Since our own memorable elections of last November, many politicians who naturally were educated to entertain optimistic views concerning elections have become reasonable, thoughtful, and public-spirited pessimists. The *Nation*, instead of losing time in vain jubilation, delighted its readers by a regular and well-tabulated synopsis of the ballot returns by States and even by Congressional districts. This comprehensive epitome of the respective votes cast in 1888-'90 has inspired many readers with a passion for statistics and a love of figures which your London and Roman correspondents have not satisfied, as far as the Italian elections are concerned. The cable had carried the news of the great Crispian victory to all parts of the civilized world, and this great victory is confirmed by private letters sent directly to the leading papers of this country. Were it not for the French and Italian papers, the lovers of arithmetic in political elections would have to believe implicitly all that is said and written concerning the immense popularity of Crispi and the corresponding stability of the Italian Government. As a matter of fact, correspondents and the subsidized organs of the Italian Government seem to be ashamed to quote figures.

Let us quote for them from the *Diritto* of Modena: In the city of Rome, out of a registered voting strength of 26,918, only 10,630 voted, and the Crispi candidate received just 6,677. In different parts of Italy, where the *non expedit* of the Pope is said not to have been carried out to the letter, the results of the elections are far from justifying your Roman correspondent in saying that "Bismarck governed a king, and Crispi governs a county." The total number of electors enrolled in 115 electoral colleges was 2,108,347; of these 1,060,328 abstained from voting. By these figures it will be seen that, even outside the city of Rome, one-half the voters indulged in the luxury of abstention, and took no part whatever in the election. The reasons for these abstentions will be given as soon as any one explains why the well-to-do, intelligent, and industrious citizens of America generally abstain from taking any part in politics.

AUGUSTIN COLMAR.

MALARIA.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: At the close of his recent letter on "Felo de se," Mr. Fitzedward Hall comments on the use of *malaria* by Americans in conversation and in the newspapers, in such expressions as "he has *malaria*," or "he has caught *malaria*," and says: "Before this can be legitimate, *malaria* must, after the analogy of *cold*, come to mean a disease." If usage determines language, has not *malaria* already "come to mean a disease"? Or is 'Webster's International Dictionary' violating the first rule of a dictionary, that it should record, not make, usage, when to the usual definition of *malaria* it adds:

"2. (*Med.*) A morbid condition produced by exhalations from decaying vegetable matter in contact with moisture, giving rise to fever and ague and many other symptoms characterized by their tendency to recur at definite and usually uniform intervals."

Yours truly, F. L. P.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

[The 'Century Dictionary' does the same thing, and both may find some warrant in *medical* usage, though neither cites any example.—ED. NATION.]

"ENGLISH AS SHE IS WROTE."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The "Publication" following was copied from an official handbill posted last summer by the municipal authorities of Oberammergau, cautioning visitors in regard to the purchase of photographs purporting to be of the Passion Play of 1890. If not a "gem of mistranslation" like that printed in the *Nation* of the 18th ult., it is unquestionably a remarkable specimen of "English as she is wrote":

"PUBLICATION—PLAY OF PASSION, 1890. The Original Reception of play of this year are only those photographies which are made by the concessioned Institution of Art and Expenses, and have the common stamp of 1890. All other images which are sold are still of the years of 1880 and 1870.

"COMMONIAL ADMINISTRATION OF OBERAMMERGAU." D.

NEW BERN, N. C.

Notes.

To gratify the sudden interest awakened in the author, D. Appleton & Co. will issue a new edition of 'The Evolution of Man and Christianity,' for which the Rev. Howard MacQueary is now on trial ecclesiastically at Cleveland, O. Nothing daunted, Mr. MacQueary contributes a new preface in answer to his critics.

Howard Lockwood & Co. will begin publishing in April a 'Dictionary of Printing and Bookmaking,' by W. W. Pasko, librarian of the Typothetæ. It will be a royal octavo volume, in small type, and copiously illustrated. Besides the matter usually contained in such works, it will define the terms of bibliography, bookbinding, engraving, and bookselling, and will have a glossary of the corresponding printers' terms in German, French, and Italian.

Dr. Daniel G. Brinton has in press an ambitious work entitled 'The American Race: A Linguistic Classification and Ethnographic Description of the Native Tribes of North and South America.'

Mr. Jeremiah Curtin has just finished translating Sienkiewicz's 'The Deluge,' the first half of the second story in the historical cycle begun by 'With Fire and Sword,' of which Little, Brown & Co. have already published a second edition in two volumes.

Thomas Whittaker announces 'The Writers of the New Testament: Their Style and Characteristics,' by William Henry Simcox.

'Cornell University and Her Technical Courses: Mechanical, Electrical, and Civil Engineering' is the subject of an illustrated work which will shortly be issued by Frank C. Perkins, Ithaca, N. Y., almost in the style of a holiday publication.

Mr. William R. Thayer's 'Historical Sketch of Harvard University' has been put on sale with Charles H. Thurston, Harvard Square, Cambridge, Mass.

A new English version has been made of Gustav Freytag's 'Lost Manuscript,' and very handsomely issued in two solid volumes by the *Open Court* Publishing Co. of Chicago. The translation has been authorized, and seems to be competent and idiomatic, and on both accounts is calculated to give pleasure to readers scrupulous as to copyright and to literary merit.

'A Short History of Greece,' in 521 pages, by C. W. C. Oman (Longmans, Green & Co.), deserves the attention of teachers, and will be found in many respects a useful and excellent work. It compares in scope and extent with the 'Student's Smith,' but it closes with the Macedonian Conquest. The style is fresh and remarkably interesting, considering the unavoidable condensation of matter. It is full of those minute facts and touches which give life to a narrative; the young student will read it with ease, and will rise from it with clearer ideas on some topics than can be obtained from the respectable manual we have mentioned. The chapter on Spartan training and discipline is a good instance of lively and generally truthful coloring. Misprints, such as Chacion, p. 66, and προξένοι, p. 67 (for Cnacion and πρόξενοι), and some inconsistencies of spelling (Ceadas and Chæroneia) will easily be corrected. A more serious defect is the slight treatment of the period of Demosthenes and the

almost complete omission of literary history. Herodotus is often mentioned, but nothing is said of his life or his great work; Pindar, Æschylus, Aristophanes, and Lysias are not even mentioned. A book of so decided merit ought to be made more complete.

The humor of the Mummy volumes attempted in Germany with so much success a few years ago has quite evaporated in the 'Secrete Log Boke of Columbus' (Düsseldorf: F. Rangette & Sons; New York: Brentano's). It is simply absurd to find this log in *English* (for the American market); and all the imitation of water-soaked and shell and weed-encrusted leaves goes for nothing. Ingenuity seems wasted in such a cause, and one can but commiserate the librarian who is called upon to admit the stained and misshapen volume to his shelves, even with its box.

We confess a doubt whether the 'Seminary Notes on Recent Historical Literature,' forming Nos. xi.-xii. of the eighth series of Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, were worth printing. As memoranda for fixing the students' own judgment they of course were valuable, and they tell something of contents; but as criticism they can have weight with hardly anybody besides the writers. A total absence of biographical topics is noticeable.

Mr. S. S. Rider, in his Providence 'Book Notes' for December 6, 1890, examines with damaging results an alleged oil portrait of Roger Williams, to which the date 1644 is assigned. "It exists, and is now owned in Boston," where Mr. Rider has recently inspected it. He pursues it through all its transfers, and ends by confronting two engravings from it, in Gammell's 'Life' and Benedict's 'History of the Baptists'—1846 and 1848, respectively—with the portrait of Franklin in Watson's 'Annals' for 1830. The similitude is striking.

The latest project of Cardinal Lavigerie for the redemption of the Sahara and the repression of the slave-trade is more practical than that in which he formerly advocated the formation of a "sacred gendarmerie," to be posted in stations on the great trade routes in the heart of the continent, and put an end to the traffic by force. This plan was abandoned, for various reasons, although more than a thousand men volunteered for the work. The energetic prelate, who has just rendered most signal service to the French Republic, did not relinquish the idea, however, but simply changed its form. He has called for men to form a Sahara Brotherhood, who are to devote themselves to industrial work rather than to military service. They are to go to places where wells have once existed, but have been deserted, reopen them and dig others where water can be found, and plant trees and fruit-gardens. With this occupation will be joined missionary work among the natives and active operations against the slave-stealers. Nearly two thousand men have offered to join the Brotherhood, of whom fifty have been accepted as a pioneer corps. They are to receive a thorough training for fifteen months at Biskra before they go upon their mission. This place, about one hundred and fifty miles south of Constantine, is admirably chosen for this purpose. It is in an oasis in the edge of the desert, famous for its date-palms and olive trees and fruit-gardens, as well as for the Acclimatization Garden established by the French Government some years ago. The Brothers are to serve a probation period of five years, and then enlist for life. The Pope has given his sanction to the project, having authorized a collection to be taken on Epiphany throughout the Catholic world to defray the initial expenses.

Apropos of the life of Fouquet, recently noticed by our Paris correspondent, and of the desirability of assured translation of works of a similar character, "W." inquires: "Why can there not be a club for the purpose, the books to be translated by a suitable person for pay, and the cost added to that of printing? I am sure, with the large number of public libraries that would join, that an edition of 500 copies could be placed. This would be a much better basis for a club than most book-publishing societies have."

Sharp eyes will have detected an important error of a date in our second notice of Messrs. Hay and Nicolay's Life of Lincoln. In paragraph (9) the year of the correspondence between Gen. Sherman and the President should be 1864, not 1863.

—Only a few months ago we had occasion to review most favorably Mr. Curtin's 'Myths and Folk-Lore of Ireland,' and already another valuable and interesting book of his demands notice. This time Mr. Curtin has sought his material among the Slavs and Magyars, and entitled his work 'Myths and Folk-Tales of the Russians, Western Slavs, and Magyars' (Boston: Little, Brown & Co.). The Russian tales, nineteen in number, are all taken from Afanasyeff's collection, well known to English readers by Ralston's admirable 'Russian Folk-Tales.' Mr. Curtin has wisely avoided reproducing the tales already translated by Ralston (with three exceptions: "The Footless and Blind Champions," p. 82, is Ralston, p. 246 of American edition; "Marya Morevna," p. 203, is Ralston, p. 97, and "Vassilissa the Cunning, and the Tsar of the Sea," p. 249, is Ralston, p. 130), although five are variants of tales given by him. The Western Slavic and Magyar tales are, so far as we know, new to English readers, and afford interesting material for comparison with the folk-tales of other lands. Very few have close parallels in Europe: "The Table, the Pack and the Bag," p. 295, is a variant of Grimm, No. 36, "The Wishing-Table, etc."; "The King of the Toads," p. 311, is a peculiar version of "The Story of the Fisherman" in the 'Thousand and One Nights,' ed. Lane, i., 69; "The Treacherous Brothers," p. 370, is a variant of Grimm, No. 122, "Donkey Cabbages"; "The Reed Maiden," p. 457, is a peculiar version of the widespread tale of "The Three Citrons" (see Crane's 'Italian Popular Tales,' p. 338), and "The Hedgehog, the Merchant, etc.," p. 517, is a combination of Grimm, No. 108, "Hans the Hedgehog," and the theme of "The Discarded Queen and her Exposed Children" (see Gonzenbach, 'Sicilianische Märchen,' No. 5, and Köhler's notes thereto). The other tales are not found as a whole, to our knowledge, in any other collections, but are made up of familar episodes, often strung together in a very confused manner. Indeed, both of Mr. Curtin's works afford confirmation of the theory held by some that, after all, there are no well-defined plots in fairy tales, but only a fortuitous congeries of incidents. Before this question can be decided, it will be necessary to wait for the completion of the arduous work undertaken by the English Folk-Lore Society of tabulating the contents of folk-tales. In the introduction, Mr. Curtin gives some very interesting American tales which throw much light upon the evolution of myths and folk-tales, and some account of the three peoples whose stories are translated in the text. The stories themselves are excellent, and, so far as we can judge, well translated. The handsome volume is worthy a prominent place on the shelves of the student of folk-lore, as well as in the library of the general reader.

—The city of Washington, with a population of nearly a quarter of a million, a very large portion of which consists of young persons engaged in the civil service of the Government, who have, strictly speaking, no homes, is utterly destitute of a municipal library or reading-room. Doctor Harris, the present Commissioner of Education, gravely informed a Northern audience, a year or two ago, that in Washington there were two days—an official day, which lasted from nine o'clock in the morning until four o'clock in the afternoon, and a social day, for pleasure and improvement, which lasted from nine o'clock in the morning until four o'clock in the afternoon. This was simply a grim way of saying that the masses in Washington have no opportunities for pleasure or instruction after the closing of the departments. The National Museum, the Congressional Library, the Smithsonian Institution, the Capitol itself are barred against the very class of the people who most need the instruction they afford, and who most earnestly wish to avail themselves of it. Lately the Corcoran Art Gallery has been opened on Friday evenings, and the attendance of thousands of respectable people of the city attests their appreciation of this kindness and their strong desire for intellectual and æsthetic recreation. An earnest effort is now being made by the *Evening Star* of Washington to bring within the reach of the working people of the city the thousands of books that stand unused on the dusty shelves of the departments. It advocates the establishment in the City Post-office, about to be built, of a free library and reading-room, to be furnished with such books as can be spared from the various Government libraries in Washington, to be supported by both Government and District appropriations, and to be accessible to the general public and to all the clerks in the departments. There can be no doubt that such a library would not only diminish ignorance and crime in the District of Columbia, but would add to the efficiency of the departmental employees and the comfort and pleasure of the public.

—The *Star's* inventory of these departmental libraries is noteworthy. The Department of State, as is well known, contains a precious collection of books relating to international law, history, biography, travel, etc., as well as the manuscripts of our early statesmen and the records of the Revolutionary war. Its library dates from the beginning of the Government, and has been steadily supported by Congress to this day. It comprises 52,600 volumes. The Treasury library receives very little aid from the appropriations. The Secretary awards about $500 a year from the contingent fund for the purchase of books; yet by donation and exchanges the librarian has been enabled to secure 21,000 volumes, of which 5,000 constitute a miscellaneous collection for the use of the clerks in general. The War Department, though given no money expressly for the purchase of books, possesses an admirable collection of works on military science and American history, and is especially rich in literature relating to the recent war of the rebellion. Its books number 28,500; those of a lighter sort, constituting its "circulating" library, amounting to about 5,000. A catalogue of the Navy library is now in the hands of the Public Printer. It will record the titles of 23,312 volumes, nearly altogether of a technical character.

Congress gives this library $1,000 a year, to which the Secretary adds from his "miscellaneous fund" the sum of $2,000. The Post-office Department cannot boast of a library comparable with these mentioned. A few works of reference have, however, been bought from time to time by this Department, with the sanction of Congress, but there has been no annual appropriation for its library. Still, it has collected about 10,000 volumes, many of them valuable. The Interior Department not only has a large library, and the largest one of a circulating character, but some of its bureaus have important collections of their own. It owns a great many works of fiction, of poetry, and of biography. The librarian lends to the employees about 300 volumes daily. The library, which only dates from 1850, and which has been supported by a very modest appropriation ($500) for the last fifteen years, now reckons 10,000 books. The library of the Patent Office is celebrated. Begun in 1836, it received at first no important or regular support from Congress. An appropriation of $5,000 in 1879 was reduced in 1885 to $3,000, which is now its main dependence. About $1,500 a year is needed for subscriptions to the domestic and foreign mechanical periodicals. It has at present 60,000 volumes. Another scientific library belonging to this Department is found in the office of the Geological Survey, which owes its growth chiefly to donations and exchanges, though a small sum is devoted to the purchase of books. Its volumes number 28,000, and pamphlets 35,000. Another bureau of the Interior Department—that of Education—has a good working library of 20,000 volumes and 50,000 pamphlets. To Caleb Cushing we owe the formation of the excellent legal library of the Department of Justice. It is said that he sent to Mexico for a collection of law books useful in the controversy concerning California land cases. This formed the nucleus of what is now a library of 20,000 volumes. Congress grants $2,500 annually for the purchase of new books for this Department. The Department of Agriculture, it is thought, contains the most complete collection of books relating to agriculture to be found in this country. It numbers 22,000 volumes, nearly all technical, with an annual addition of about 7,000, for which purpose it is given $3,000. The Department of Labor, lately created, already owns 5,000 books, forming an excellent working library. The sum of $1,000 is granted to this department every year with which to buy books. Mr. Carroll D. Wright, Chief of the Department, urged the opening of this library at night, in order that a beginning might be made of a large free reading-room and circulating library in Washington.

—Niels W. Gade, whose death was announced two weeks ago, was without doubt the best known of Denmark's many composers. Indeed, he was the only Danish composer who won any great popularity in this country and in England. His overtures and cantatas have frequently been produced outside of Denmark, while his concerted pieces are universally recognized as being of the highest order. His songs, however, are less familiar to foreign audiences, and yet in these his genius displays itself perhaps more fully than in his more pretentious works. The Scandinavians have always been known as a song-loving people. Kjerulf and Grieg in Norway; Pacius and Crusell in Sweden; Heise, Weyse, Rung, and Hartmann in Denmark, have won their greatest fame through their songs, and the same is true to a certain extent of Gade. In his songs Gade shows less the influence of Mendelssohn and Schumann; his Northern nature seems to respond to the simple words of his native poetry. "Oluf's Ballad" and "Knud Lavard" are thoroughly Scandinavian in conception, full of the dramatic force of the old ballad. Gade's rendering of Hauch's Polish National Song, too, is fine. And yet these three songs, so popular in Denmark as to be almost hackneyed, have probably never been produced in this country. Gade's greatest work at home, however, was as a leader of musical culture. He occupied in the hearts of his countrymen very much the position held by Theodore Thomas in New York and Brooklyn, as a musical reformer of the best kind. The present state of musical culture in Denmark is in the main due to his untiring efforts. In 1850, two years after his return from Germany, Gade became conductor of the Musical Union, and in 1865 he was appointed Director of the new Conservatory of Music, both which positions he held at the time of his death. Gade died, as he lived, in full activity. On Sunday he played the organ in Holmen's Church as usual; the next evening he was dead.

ADAMS'S DANA.

Richard Henry Dana: A Biography. By Charles Francis Adams. 2 vols. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

"OFTEN have I meditated within myself," says an old English writer, "as to what manner of death I would wish to die. *None pleaseth me.*" Probably a man would find it as hard to select for himself a biographer as a mode of death, and some men have died comforting themselves in the hope that the biographer was the more avoidable calamity of the two. Be this as it may, it is certain that Mr. Dana might have fared far worse than to pass through the hands of Mr. Adams. On the whole, he keeps, as a biographer, higher laws than he breaks; and while it would be hard to find a man less fitted, by personal temperament, to measure accurately Mr. Dana's peculiar combinations of strength and weakness, yet he atones for this defect, as it were, by sheer force, by sturdy appreciation of the main quality and service of Dana's life; and by disdaining to withhold any unfavorable lights or to apologize in any way for what was, in its total, an honorable and high-minded career. That it was in some respects *une carrière manquée* is frankly recognized, though there is no fineness of analysis really brought to bear upon the reason why it was so. A lawyer is never quite a hero to his junior partner, and if that junior partner has, fortunately for himself, a temperament less highly wrought or finely strung than his chief's, so much the better, perhaps, for him. Mr. Adams's very inability to reach the finer stops of Dana's nature makes his applause all the more valuable when he says of the one great and memorable act of Dana's life—his defence of the fugitive-slave cases—that it was "simply superb." Whatever shortcomings may be found in the book, in any other direction, those two words leave a balance in the biographer's favor. At the one essential point in the measure he has struck with firm hand the true note.

There is a story of the elder Dana—not Francis, the grandfather, but Richard, the poet-father—which to some extent prefigures the career of the subject of Mr. Adams's biography. Being invited in later life to lecture on Shakspere in some manufacturing town, he read with quiet dignity a lecture that had once received universal praise. A good many people, however, went out, so that, pausing at last, he quietly said that he would sit down for a few minutes, and those who wished could withdraw. When he rose again, a bare handful remained as his audience; but he composedly finished his lecture and never addressed a popular assembly again. No man ever began life with more promise than the younger Dana; up to a certain point he seemed to carry all before him, to have the heights of professional fame or of public life within easy reach, when all at once his audience fell off and his career ended. No one has ever yet made it clear how this happened; we can only say that there was something in the blood, that it was somehow hereditary.

Yet Dana is surer to be remembered than most of the minor figures of the great anti-slavery period, because there was a certain quality of picturesqueness about the man and his career; and nothing lasts better in history, on the whole, than the picturesque. Henri de La Rochejacquelein has a surer place in French revolutionary annals than many field-marshals, and Col. Robert G. Shaw than many great generals in the record of our civil war. There were unique combinations in Dana: he was an aristocrat before-the-mast, a haughty and humble Christian. In England he rejoiced in the abandonment of "the aristocratic distinction of the manor pew" (Adams, ii, 76, 91); yet he practically spent his life in such a pew, and never could quite find his way to the handle of the door. In Washington he records with delight the information that the Unitarian church near by has a very thin congregation (i., 109); yet he heartily admired Theodore Parker, thought his sermon on Webster the best tribute paid to that great man (i., 226), and favored Parker's election as an honorary member of the Harvard Phi Beta Kappa—though this is not in Mr. Adams's book—on the ground that he was no further from the truth than most of the members of the society, or than Dr. Franklin, its supposed founder. No man of his time could state with equal lucidity or equal compactness, either before a popular audience or in a court-room, any argument involving a principle; and he kept himself in touch with his audience, although, it must be owned, with the very tips of his fingers. He was practically the leader of the State Constitutional Convention, his most important public function; and his habitual hauteur did not prevent him from rating highly and even overrating his less regularly trained associates; as, for instance, Mr. Boutwell (i., 244). He was sometimes wrong, as when he regretted the election of Lincoln as "an unutterable calamity" (ii., 265), and opposed the Proclamation of Emancipation (ii., 263–4); but he was uniformly truthful, courageous, and honorable. *Noblesse oblige* was not a phrase with him, but was ingrain; and he could, moreover, put his hand with wonderful precision on the foibles he could not conquer. He says of his own relations with Judge Clifford: "I fear I treated him too much as I felt towards him, as has been too much my way with people, and which is not Christian nor wise, and has in it a certain element of self-sufficiency which we think is courage and due pride" (ii., 326). There is a note of rare distinction in such a self-criticism as that; and nothing that his biographer has said gives us so much by way of a clue to the final diminution of Dana's audience.

Mr. Adams has done well to produce so much of Dana's diary, which is astonishingly full and almost invariably worth printing. The European part occupies a good deal of space, but it is always interesting to watch the career of a cultivated American of forty who visits the mother-country for the first time,

and finds himself perfectly at home among dukes and earls. As Judge Story's fame had prepared the way for Sumner in England, so Sumner's letters opened the path for Dana. He was known to all younger people as the author of 'Two Years Before the Mast,' and to all older ones—for it was then the anti-slavery period of English society—as the defender of fugitive slaves. His own fine appearance and manners did the rest, and certainly no unofficial American ever had in England four weeks of career so brilliant. Mr. Adams's editing of the diary is excellent, except in the insertion of a few needless passages reflecting on the living, and a few errors in the notes, as when he assigns Robert Morris, the first colored lawyer in Boston, to Charles G. Loring instead of to Ellis Gray Loring as a pupil (i., 210). He has described in a most graphic way all his own personal relations with Dana, and has given his own private whims but little prominence, although he cannot resist firing his little shot at his old enemies, the classics (ii., 149), and has curiously blundered in charging Prof. E. T. Channing with the gift of suppressing enthusiasm for English literature among his pupils (i., 24), in view of the very obvious fact that Channing trained more professional authors, high or low, than any half-dozen other professors in the country. Mr. Adams's attempt to find an analogy between Dana and his own great-grandfather can hardly fail to excite a smile, so obviously did the two men differ in temperament (i., 131), but any such personal opinion may well be allowed to pass unnoticed in view of the thorough way in which the biographer has handled the once vexed question of Mr. Dana's alleged infringement of the Lawrence-Wheaton copyright. On the whole, a real debt of gratitude is due to Mr. Adams for preserving, and in the main skilfully, the portraiture of a high-minded and most interesting man, who had the fortune to be a leading figure in important events and at a transitional period.

THE ICELANDIC DISCOVERY OF AMERICA.

The Finding of Wineland the Good: The History of the Icelandic Discovery of America. Edited and translated from the earliest records by Arthur Middleton Reeves. With phototype plates of the vellum MSS. of the Sagas. London: Henry Frowde.

By the consensus of geographers, Greenland, whether it be an island or a peninsula, forms a part of the Western Hemisphere. In discovering Greenland, the Icelanders of the tenth century, therefore, discovered America; and that they not only discovered Greenland, but colonized it, is an historical fact not merely depending for its authenticity upon the evidence of written narratives, but indisputably attested by the many ruins of churches and dwellings yet standing—a sort of Arctic Pompei—along the fjords of the Western coast, and by the runic stones and other objects belonging to European civilization, which have been exhumed in the vicinity of these long-deserted hamlets. Their familiarity with the similar coast lines of Iceland and Norway enabled the earliest settlers to select the fairest sites on the mildest section of the Greenlandic seaboard—that which stretches from Cape Farewell upwards towards the waters of Davis Strait. It is a region looking to the southwest, facing that continental mainland which was then awaiting its discoverer, and is deeply indented by firths and overtopped by mountains. In the grassy valleys, dotted with occasional patches of birch and willow shrubs, and traversed by streamlets rich in fish, at the heads of the deep and narrow fjords, the adventurous emigrants—men hardened by an arduous existence on Arctic soil and habituated to the turbulence of an oligarchic republic—created a miniature Iceland. They acquired possession of the unreclaimed domain, and apportioned it, exactly as their Norse forefathers, a hundred years before, had impropriated the dales and bottom lands of Iceland.

Like the home country, the colony soon possessed its isolated farmsteads (*bœir*), around which numerous outhouses clustered, its little churches and chapels, its low-walled convents, and its modest cathedral, all built, in this new territory, of stone, for Greenland was still further than Iceland from the fir forests of Norway. It had its annual althing, or general assembly of the people, its presiding lawman (*lögmadur*), and its shiremen (*syslumenn*). It had, too, like its prototype, its sagamen and its skalds, for one of the songs in that wonderful collection of mythopoems, the elder Edda (the 'Atlamál hin grœnlenzku') had its origin among these Icelandic Americans. Family feuds and vendettas, like those described in the 'Njáls Saga,' were not wanting, and the warring chiefs of Iceland sometimes pursued their defeated and fugitive rivals to the harbors of Greenland. Cattle, and sheep, and goats the colonists—the first party landed from fourteen ships — brought with them; while fresh-water and salt-water fish, the abundant seals, walruses, and whales, the polar bears, the occasional reindeer, and the flocks of wild fowl furnished them with products for consumption or exportation. Communication with Iceland was frequent; for the earliest colonists had been wont, all their lives, to brave the polar winds and waves in barks scarcely equalling in size the galleys which, in that day, crossed the comparatively placid Mediterranean; and to men who made light of the 600 miles of tempestuous seas which intervene between Iceland and Norway, the 200 miles which separate Iceland from Greenland was no formidable distance. As the colony grew older, Greenlandic priests and well-to-do yeoman visited, in the milder summers, the remote Nidaros (Tronyem), then the Norwegian capital and the seat of the primate of the North, bearing with them for sale the products of the little republic, or the tribute—tithes and Peter's pence—for the civil and ecclesiastical authorities.

The fate of this Icelandic colony is one of the insoluble problems of history. It is useless to consider whether it owed its final destruction to the irruptions of the Eskimos (*skrœlingar*), who made their appearance in the Icelandic portions of Greenland in the fourteenth century, to the attacks of English, Dutch, or Hanseatic freebooters, to the ravages of pestilence, to the enforced neglect of the mother country—itself during the fifteenth century too often in sore straits—to the iniquitous restrictions on commerce imposed by the Government of Norway, or to a combination of several of these evils. Its annals extend from the last years of the tenth century to near the middle of the fifteenth—a period longer than that which has elapsed since the rediscovery of the western continent by the Spaniards; its last definitely attested event was a marriage which took place within its limits in 1409; its line of bishops, nominated by the Popes, embraces the names of a score of prelates.

Iceland, when its only colony disappeared, had long ceased to govern itself, and the old commonwealth had lost, with many other rights and liberties, the power to initiate commercial and maritime ventures; while the Dano-Norwegian monarchy, occupied with foreign wars and impeded by the mercantile rivalry, first of England and then of the Hanse cities, was not always able to maintain its trade even with Iceland. The Greenlandic settlement was, however, never completely forgotten. During the reigns of the earliest Oldenburg monarchs, expeditions were planned at Copenhagen and Bergen for the reopening of commercial intercourse, but it is not certain that these plans resulted in actual effort until the days of Frederick II. (1579). From that date almost every generation witnessed the sailing of exploring vessels to Greenland, but an unfortunate geographical blunder prevented the discovery of any trace of the lost colony. The two shires of the Icelandic settlement, separated from each other by a considerable extent of coast, were known as the Eastern (the "Eystribygd") and the Western (the "Vestribygd"); of these the former was nearer to Iceland and was the more populous and prosperous, including at least twelve parishes, and containing the cathedral village (Gardar), which was also the secular capital; while it was known that the latter had been laid waste by the Eskimos as early as 1379. The Danes consequently directed their efforts to the refinding of the "Eystribygd," but, misled by its name, they sought for it on the bleak and ice-bound eastern coast of Greenland. Although the missionary, Hans Egede, with whom the modern recolonization began (1721), discovered in the west not a few of the ruined structures of the old Icelandic inhabitants, the error in regard to the position of the eastern shire was not dispelled until after the exploring expedition of Capt. Graah (1828-30). Since then, although the Danish Royal Society of Antiquaries has been instrumental in identifying and investigating many of the sites mentioned in the sagas, no little remains to be done in this archæological field before all the attainable facts in regard to the earliest successful settlement in America can be recorded.

From under the shadows of the mountains which looked down upon this remotest outpost of European civilization sailed those fearless navigators who, first of all the Caucasian race, set foot on the American mainland. Their experiences, like all the important incidents in the story of the Icelandic commonwealth, are narrated in more than one special saga, and the names they gave to the shores they discovered are frequently cited in the general saga literature, and still linger in the popular lore and legendary ballads of the north. Reports of the strange finds in the west reached even central Europe, and are chronicled by Adam of Bremen as early as 1070. Portions of the sagas narrating the events of the voyages were inserted in the edition of Snorri Sturluson's 'Heimskringla,' published by the learned Swede, Johan Peringskjöld (1697), but the accounts of all the expeditions and settlements to the west of the Icelandic seas were first fully and intelligently treated by the Icelander, Thormódur Torfason (Torfæus), in his 'Historia Vinlandiæ Antiquæ' (1705) and his 'Gronlandia Antiqua' (1706). These two works are virtually Latin paraphrases of the American sagas, with comments, in which no untenable claims are advanced and no fanciful conjectures hazarded. Until recently they were the only trustworthy treatises at the service of the historical investigator—despite the absence from their pages of the original texts—but were not easily met with outside of Scandinavia. In 1837 Professor Charles Christian Rafn, as Secretary of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries (*Oldskriftselskab*), published at Copenhagen a

bulky quarto, the 'Antiquitates Americanæ,' with the intent of bringing together all that the old literature offers concerning the ante-Columbian voyages of the Icelanders—an idea probably suggested by the successful explorations of Graah.

Rafn, an admirable character in many respects, can hardly be called a great scholar, but he was one of those practical and persistent men—rarer, perhaps, than scholars, and sometimes more useful—who possess the capacity of making their conceptions successes. He had organized, almost without assistance, the Society of Antiquaries; he continued to labor for it throughout his life; and he was able, before his death, to accumulate for it a large endowment. He was quick to see that a complete narrative of the Icelandic achievements in the Western seas would be of interest to two worlds, and would greatly extend the fame of the society. He associated with him the widely known Icelander, Finnur Magnússon (Magnusen), a scholar of varied learning, but not always of sound judgment, possessing a good deal more than the traditional fancy and enthusiasm of the antiquary. In his search for the lands visited by the old voyagers, Rafn put himself into communication with members of one of the New England historical societies, from whom he received much topographical information, together with drawings of the so-called "Dighton Rock," near Taunton, Mass., bearing some unmistakably Indian *graffiti*. In these scratchings Finnur Magnússon, later on, found an Icelandic inscription, in which he read the name of one of the explorers (Thorfinn), and, still later, by the same over-zealousness, the "Old Mill" at Newport was metamorphosed into a tenth-century Norse baptistry. The 'Antiquitates,' when finally issued, with its Icelandic texts, accompanied by versions in Danish and Latin, its summaries in French and English, its facsimiles of the old manuscripts, its plates of ruined Greenlandic edifices and Runic inscriptions, its various views of the Dighton Rock, created much sensation in the learned and curious world. Its ponderous and polyglot erudition was indeed overawing to the mind of the amateur investigator. It was, moreover, well advertised. Rafn's diligent cleverness taught him the proper way of making the book, and the society, speedily known. Abstracts of the work, prepared by him, were translated by scholars of more or less note (many of whom did not object to add to their other titles that of "Member of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries") into all the languages of Europe.

But nowhere was the volume received with a greater display of interest than in New England, which suddenly found itself discovered six centuries before the landing of the Pilgrims, and able to dispense altogether with the services of Columbus. More than one descendant of the Puritans found this added heroic period of history too great a burden for silence. The appearance of the 'Antiquitates' presently gave rise to a multitudinous literature of books and booklets, articles in reviews and magazines, and papers in the proceedings of historical societies. In most of these a prodigious play of the imagination, unrestrained by any knowledge of the subject treated, invested "the discovery of New England in the tenth century" with incidents and episodes too unsubstantial even for the fertile fancy of Copenhagen antiquaries. Never did New Englanders "guess" so freely. The impression produced by the Danish publication has finally culminated in the erection of a statue of Leifur Eiríksson—and there is certainly no earthly reason why Boston should not adorn itself with the simulacrum of that sturdy Icelandic sailor—and in the finding, near the Massachusetts coast, of the site of at least one Old-Norse city. In this devastated metropolis, as we are told, are still visible the vestiges of an amphitheatre, of terraced courts, of a system of canals and docks—features so preëminently characteristic of a Norse city in the early Middle Ages. Other devotees of Rafn have even manifested an iconoclastic willingness to trample on the memory of Columbus, because he had the hardihood to rediscover America after his Northern predecessors had abandoned it—perhaps wisely—to a continued barbarism. Some are inclined to condemn the Latin language and literature for the reason that the Genoese sprang from the Latin race, and to cast contumely on the Catholic Church, for the reason that he believed in its teachings. All true Winelanders ought to practise the speech of Leifur and profess the Odinic religion of Eric the Red. One ardent writer appears to suspect that the Pope, whose precursors held relations with the see of Gardar, is keeping under lock and key, in the library of the Vatican, the documents which incontestably prove the success of the Greenlandic explorations, with the view of ultimately canonizing the unsaintly Columbus. In truth no literature, of so limited an extent, offers such diversified entertainment as the "pre-Columbian" literature of America.

The assumptions in regard to the Dighton Rock and the Newport Mill were easily disposed of by the investigations of more discriminating students. But although an occasional critic demurred to one or another statement made in the 'Antiquitates Americanæ' and the works based upon it, no systematic correction of their errors appeared until within the last three years. That thorough Norwegian scholar, Gustav Storm, published, first in Danish, in the *Aarböger* of the Society of Northern Antiquaries (1887), and then in an excellent English version in the *Mémoires* of the Society, his admirable 'Studies on the Vinland Voyages.' He begins with the declaration of the voyagers as to the length of the shortest day of the year in Wineland, or what Rafn styles the "astronomical evidence." Availing himself of the aid of modern astronomical science, he confutes the serious errors of Finnur Magnússon, and of some earlier scholars, in their interpretation of the old Icelandic method of marking the divisions of the day—an interpretation failing to ascribe their true significance to the words *dagmál* and *eykt*. The result establishes the fact that the "astronomical evidence" can only be relied upon to prove that the explorers from Greenland went at least as far south as latitude 49° N., and does not demonstrate that they reached the latitude of Narragansett Bay. In a similar way he deals with the distances estimated by day's sails, basing his calculations on the true meaning of the old Icelandic term *dögr*, which is "day *or* night," and "not *twenty-four hours*, as Rafn and others have made out, to bolster up the story." He then goes on to criticise the comparative trustworthiness of the 'Saga of Eric the Red,' and the 'Grænlendingaþáttr'—the two earliest documents which relate the story of the explorations; then examines the oldest maps which give the positions of the discovered tracts; considers the fauna and flora of Wineland as portrayed by the returned voyagers; scrutinizes the particulars recorded in regard to the natives encountered by the Northmen; and analyzes the words of their language cited in the sagas. These last, without insisting on his opinion, he is inclined to assign to the vocabulary of the now exterminated Beothuk Indians.

The conclusions reached by Prof. Storm are that, of the three regions visited by the expeditions, Helluland coincides with Labrador, Markland with Newfoundland, and Wineland with Nova Scotia and the island of Cape Breton. There is little doubt that these determinations are reasonably correct; but, be that as it may, this careful sifting of the texts and the collateral testimony renders it certain that no part of New England can be regarded as the site of the Icelanders' Wineland. Thus Rhode Island loses its age of fable, and can participate, without any scruples of conscience, in the celebration at Chicago of the fourth centenary of Christopher Columbus.

The sumptuous work of Mr. Reeves, so happily entitled, is pretty surely, at any rate as far as the Scandinavian sources of information are concerned, the final word on this important and fascinating theme. It will put an end, it may be hoped, both to the crude speculations of archæological sciolists and to the unbelief which those speculations have aroused in the minds of many rational readers of history. Its author fully equipped himself for the task he has performed so well by a sojourn of several months in Iceland, and by thorough studies and researches during various periods of residence in Copenhagen. In his renderings of Icelandic prose he is free from the faults of most preceding translators; he reproduces the homely charm, the briskness, the story-telling movement of the saga diction without too greatly affecting the use of semi-archaic words. His treatment of all the documentary evidence is clear and critical, and is accompanied by a copious citation of authorities; his method is strictly historical, and he is singularly cautious in refraining from hypothetical conceits—in fact, he draws no conclusions as to the precise site of Wineland, but with judicial reserve leaves the geographical verdict with those who weigh the results of his painstaking erudition. He supplements the astronomical work of Prof. Storm by additional computations made at the Washington Naval Observatory. His chapter on "Notices of Doubtful Value" sweeps away many older and later errors, and that on "The Publication of the Discovery" is full of bibliographical interest.

But beyond all these excellences the volume has one unique merit, involving even greater care and capacity, and constituting an inestimable boon to scholars and investigators. By an improved phototypic process, here used for the first time, Mr. Reeves reproduces, in fifty-five facsimiles, every page of the sagas of Eric the Red and of Thorfinn Karlsefni, as well as of the 'Grænlendingaþáttr,' from the earliest codices. An ingenious arrangement gives, facing each plate, the printed Icelandic text, line for line, with the signs and abbreviations written out, so that every word and character may be scrutinizingly studied. Palæographers will rejoice at the marvellous accuracy of the novel process, which is shortly to be applied to the manifolding of the vellum 'Codex Regius' of Copenhagen, the oldest manuscript of the 'Sæmundar Edda'; and book-lovers will be charmed alike with the beautiful typography of the Clarendon Press and the exquisite taste of the parchment binding. The notes, philological, ethnological, historical, and geographical, with which, and with complete indices, the work closes, are of the utmost value, and show the wide and exact learning of their compiler. No library, public or private, pretending to possess even the sim-

plest apparatus for the study of the history of the New World, can dispense with this delightful volume.

RECENT LAW BOOKS.

'The Supreme Court of the United States: Its History and Influence in our Constitutional System,' by Mr. Westel W. Willoughby (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press), is issued as extra volume vii. in the Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science. This sketch is commendable as a doctor's thesis, having been compiled with care and accuracy; but the author has not fully appreciated the magnitude of his subject. In an essay of only 115 pages a subject cannot be adequately treated which includes virtually all of the constitutional law of the United States, and inadequacy of treatment renders the work nearly useless. It contains nothing original, and does not fully cover any single branch of its vast subject.

Although the essay is too meagre to call for detailed criticism, it is interesting as another symptom of that curious endemic which has recently attacked American writers with great violence. This fashionable disease consists in disparaging the Federal Constitution as a whole—abandoning what Von Holst calls the "canonization" of the Constitution—and adopting the cult of the Supreme Court. It has been produced largely by the recent writings of non-resident foreigners, like Profs. Von Holst and Bryce and Sir Henry Maine, who are excusable for exaggerating the importance of peculiar institutions. The fact is, that the Supreme Court has simply borne its share of the successes and failures of the general scheme of our Government. It has certainly not enjoyed any immunity from error, and it is very doubtful whether the court has been more successful in performing its functions than any other one of the great departments. Mr. Willoughby says that "by this article [of the Constitution] we see finally created what has proved probably the best working branch of our Government." This is certainly untrue at the present time. Just now it is not the "best working branch"; it is probably the worst. It is overwhelmed by its business, and the delay in reaching cases amounts to a practical denial of justice. This is not a novel condition of affairs, nor is it even the principal charge which may be brought against the court as an institution of our Government. Its decisions, aside from political questions, have not always commanded the respect of the bar or the community, and its commands have been ignored by the Federal departments, by the President, and, even in time of peace, by several of the States.

In no book in general use are the glories of this court more apparent than in Judge Cooley's famous work, which is commonly known as the 'Constitutional Limitations.' The sixth edition of this standard treatise has just appeared (Boston: Little, Brown & Co.), having been edited by Mr. Alexis C. Angell of Detroit. Judge Cooley states in the preface to the new edition that his official duties have put it out of his power to perform in person the necessary labor of revision, but that Mr. Angell has "examined all the new cases, making use of them so far as seems important, and adding to the references till the whole number now reaches over ten thousand. Where it seemed necessary, the text has been changed and added to." Judge Cooley enjoys the distinction, which is shared by only one or two other living writers, of having written a book which is referred to and recognized by the courts and bar as possessing almost as much authority as the decisions themselves. It is, therefore, no longer open to criticism in the ordinary way. A whole generation of lawyers has approved its merits, and the only remaining question is, whether the new edition has been carefully and thoroughly prepared. So far as can be ascertained by testing the references here and there, the editor seems to have performed his work successfully.

One of the principal merits of this book is the fact that the authorities are cited with the most painstaking accuracy, and the editor seems to have emulated Judge Cooley's example; but it is not correct to say that the case of People vs. Gillson (109 N. Y., 389) supports the doctrine that "sales of food of which prizes or gifts are part of the inducement may be forbidden." That well-known case establishes precisely the contrary. "Gift-sales" may not be forbidden by law in New York. The only important omissions which we have noted in a somewhat careful examination of this edition are the Bible in the Public Schools case (State vs. District School Board of Edgerton), where the Court held that, under the Wisconsin Constitution, the reading of the Bible in the public schools is unlawful; the Mormon Church case (136 U. S., 1), where the Supreme Court decided that Congress has power to confiscate the property of the Mormon Church in Utah; and the Idaho Test Oath case (Davis vs. Beason, 133 U. S., 333), in which the disfranchisement of citizens in Idaho on the ground of membership in the Mormon Church was upheld by the Supreme Court. The editor doubtless omitted the last two cases intentionally, under the impression that they were not within the scope of this treatise; but Judge Cooley has discussed questions relating to the Territories at page 37, and these cases should have been cited at that point.

The author seldom attempts to reconcile conflicting cases, and very seldom expresses his own views. He does venture, however, in a very guarded way, to point out the evil results arising from the Dartmouth College case. He says that "it is under the protection of this decision that the most enormous and threatening powers in our country have been created, some of the great and wealthy corporations actually having greater influence in the country at large and upon the legislation of the country than the States to which they owe their corporate existence." An outburst of this kind is of very little value in a legal treatise. The author deviates from his rule also in his statement of the famous grain-elevator case of Munn vs. Illinois, and endeavors to ascertain the legal signification of the phrase "affected with a public interest." He enumerates four classes of business which in his opinion may fall within the rule. Curiously enough, not one of these classes would include the very case on which the whole doctrine rests.

EARLE'S ENGLISH PROSE.

English Prose: Its Elements, History, and Usage. By John Earle, M.A. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1891.

Mr. Earle has written a unique work, of great value to writers who desire to form a good English style in the structural sense. He has the advantage of a very wide and thorough knowledge of the language in its successive historical stages, and he brings his learning to bear with an effect quite beyond writers on rhetoric. It is inevitable, perhaps, that he should overweight his matter (in our judgment) with philology in some passages which have only an episodical relation to his subject; but the work gains so much from his knowledge of words and construction, and his excellent discrimination in the grammar of different styles, that the student easily bears with the occasional philological lecture, which is in itself always instructive and interesting. A marked characteristic of the book is an abundance of quotation, and these extracts from all sorts of writers and every age are singularly excellent in matter and usually worth reading on their own account. Mr. Earle is prone, too, to discussion of questions which, if touched upon by rhetoricians, are seldom well treated. The volume is, in fact, full of various thought, conservative, well balanced, and sound in conclusion.

The author begins with the vocabulary, which he treats historically as native English, Romanic, and Latin; passes on to a treatise on grammar which is singularly forcible, and not more revolutionary than there is need of; examines the common characteristics of style—lucidity, variety, and euphony—but with nothing of the tediousness and perfunctory repetition of commonplace usually found in such chapters; explains what idiom is, speaks of style as the habit of an author's mind, and winds up with a novel and excellent history of the development of English prose through a thousand years. From a work so comprehensive and varied we can here extract but little, merely to serve as a sample, and we can touch upon only a few of the topics which the author treats episodically, but which are a main attraction of his pages.

He looks upon grammar as the logic of thought, and from that point of view analyzes the parts of speech and the linking of them together. The more quotable portions of this admirable exposition have to do with special words and usages. He especially reprehends the practice of despatching words by labelling them, as where he says that not every *a* is an indefinite article [two men of a mind] nor every *the* a definite article [the more the merrier]. He does not discard the double genitive, "the picture of the king's," nor does he decide against placing the adverb or phrase between the sign of the infinitive and the verb in all cases; he observes that, although the practice is new and growing common and is usually unnecessary, yet when the verb is active and draws after it a long object-clause, there is a gain in so putting the adverb, rather than after the clause, in case it cannot conveniently go before the *to*, and in this he is clearly right in the instances given. The tendency to give the modifying phrase before the main statement, in order that the reader may not have to correct the idea after having received it in an unlimited form, is also obeyed by this habit. The change may be looked on as a natural and useful development, and the practice as one to be employed or not according as it makes the sense easier without awkwardness, or contributes to euphony or to proper emphasis. Another mooted matter in which Mr. Earle decides against the pedagogue is in sustaining the use of the separable particle at the end of the sentence, as in "the man whom I was talking with." This usage is the English idiom, and the newer form, "with whom," is a French importation and more accepted only because it is a later fashion. Dryden first attempted the reform; but the old way is often to be preferred for naturalness and grace.

The remarks made upon the pronouns, especially the relatives, are too various to extract, but they are all to the point, and contain excellent suggestions, as obscurity and awkwardness lie more in them than in any other part of

a sentence. The defence of *but* as an adverb, the long plea for the subjunctive mood both as a help to meaning and to dignity, the discussion of the Saxon genitive in *s* and the French with *of*, the remarks on *they* as a demonstrative, and the frequent references to the results in language of the encroachment of the passive on the active verb, are instances of the scope and character of the entire treatment of the grammatical and idiomatic sections. Mr. Earle defends idiom, though not without a perception of some of its disadvantages much more than compensated for by its gain; and though he says a day may come, and may not be far distant, when there shall arise "a new world-English which will bear the same relation to vernacular English as Hellenistic Greek bore to that which flourished upon Hellenic soil," we hope that the diction of our Polybiuses will be much longer in coming.

In the less technical part the author raises the question about poetical prose among the first. He warns the young writer that as prose is fed by poetry in diction, and as there is an excitement of the mind in its first effort which naturally induces a heightened language, he should be especially careful to avoid poetical phrase; but he adds the excellent advice that the reading of poetry is the best resource of one who would write prose well. He goes further than this, and opposes Mr. Masson, for example, who in praising De Quincey would have us believe that poetry is only a heightened form of prose, so that prose may approach poetry without ceasing to be itself. Mr. Earle agrees with Coleridge and Arnold that poetry is organically different from prose, has a different logic and evolution. He says well that though in early ages the two were confused, this very confusion is a sign of immaturity. The necessity of observing the distinction between the two is, he says, "characteristic of mature and well-developed literature when this separation is firmly established and universally understood." The same confusion of the two is noticeable in the decay of literature. "The prose of the whole silver age, from Tacitus down to Boëthius, is deeply tinctured with manifest poetry. The great prose author of the eighth century is our Venerable Bede; he is in every respect the best writer of those ages; but even he, when he warms with his subject, is apt to import whole phrases of Virgil," and Mr. Earle adds the reason for this: "The cause is manifest; it belongs to the immortality of poetry. Prose is essentially a thing of the present; poetry is for all time. In times of literary decay there are no prose models; those who have literature at all have it from the old poets." In connection with this decision against poetical prose, we add the acute criticism of Carlyle's 'French Revolution': "Teeming as Carlyle's diction is with poetic elements, the diction is not poetic; the whole work may indeed be thought of as an epic poem, but the diction hardly ever takes a poetic flight. We may call it wild or furious, enthusiastic, spasmodic, or dithyrambic prose; but we cannot call it poetic, we cannot deny it the name of prose."

Of discussions similar to this there are several in the volume which tempt us aside; but it is necessary to come to the concluding chapters, which sketch the history of English prose, and, by the help of copious extracts, give a survey of the whole field. Mr. Earle opposes Arnold to a certain extent by combating the latter's doctrine that our prose is the creation of the eighteenth century and owes something to France. Our prose, says Mr. Earle, dates from earlier than the eighth century, and had two periods of culmination before the one mentioned. The first was in the tenth century, when a prose was attained that was the possession of the learned and cultured class, as Latin was, and which had such attraction that for three centuries it was remembered and imitated. The Norman conquest overwhelmed it, and substituted French for Latin models, while it performed the great service to our tongue of thrusting English down to be the popular language for four centuries of obscurity. When English was again written, it had become a people's language and was never to be the possession of a caste. In this, Mr. Earle, observes, English had the same fortune as classic Greek, and alone of languages was so favored:

"The English prose to which we have now attained at the close of the fifteenth century was the most popular vehicle of communication among men that was ever produced upon so extensive an area. This broad quality of popularity is one that Latin never possessed, least of all in its golden age—and indeed there is but one example either in the ancient or in the modern world that can be compared with it. Greek prose from Herodotus to Demosthenes had this quality of popularity: Greek literature grew up encircled by the sympathies of the body of the people and identified with great popular assemblies."

The special way in which this union of English in books with that in the mouths of men was brought about was, of course, the Bible translations and the Prayer Book, in which, as we now have them, there is embodied a century of English diction. In connection with this, Mr. Earle speaks of the different fortune of Luther's Bible, which was the work of an individual who endeavored to make his usage the common language. He succeeded in making his dialect the literary form of the writers, but not the cast of his diction. German diction is still Chancery diction, and in consequence of this only partial success of Luther's Bible the literary language in Germany has never been the national tongue. It belongs, like our tenth-century English, to a class. The danger which every language encounters of becoming a scholar's tongue, was met with in the Euphuistic movement and more markedly in the Latinizing period of Hooker and his fellows, who endeavored to use the period to an extent which English does not allow of, and the attempt outlasted Hooker. From this development, which really threatened English literature, Mr. Earle thinks we were saved by the journalistic and easy-writing authors, of whom Roger L'Estrange was the pioneer and De Foe the most memorable. This service of continually drawing English back from conventional and learned or cultivated forms to the spoken word of the common people is still mainly performed, Mr. Earle seems to think, by journalism, for the diction of which he has an unusual respect, though it should be said that he seems to have in mind the leading articles of the London dailies when he speaks of journalism. Our present usage is attributed by him to Dr. Johnson, whom he thinks the greatest master of the language, and on whose sentences he declares the authors of this century have really formed, consciously or not, their structure. Dr. Johnson marks the third culmination of our prose, therefore, as its history is here told. In these three climaxes, the tenth, fifteenth, and eighteenth centuries, we have a treasury for the replenishment of our vocabulary and phrase structure incomparably beyond anything that other modern nations possess; and Mr. Earle ends his work with an appeal for a wider study of the older language and appreciation of the excellence of its literature in style. It is only a few years ago that we discovered to our surprise how well Wycliffe wrote, he says; and the lesson ought not to be lost upon us.

In the foregoing exposition we have done but scanty justice to the interest and especially the suggestiveness of this work, and now have space only to add that, apart from the grammatical, the reflective, and the historical portions of the volume, we have only praise for the direct advice given to the young writer. The author does not tell him to use monosyllables, or Saxon words, or short sentences; and that is something to be thankful for. The vocabulary of the fifteenth-century English is the best, and must be the ground of any style, and its Romanic elements form a large part of its dignity and charm as well as of its force, naturalness, and reality; the number of syllables is a matter of utter indifference; and as to the length of the sentence, variety requires sentences of all lengths, of direct and inverted construction, of relative and disjunctive forms, of groups of adjectives of all numbers, and so on. Any advice which involves a young writer's cutting himself off from any part of the resources of the language, whether in vocabulary or construction, is bad advice. It may take time for him to learn how to manage his wealth, but he cannot spare any of it in the long run. Mr. Earle's freedom from the pettiness of rhetoricians' rules and their solemn maxims of perfection is refreshing; his judgment is governed by good sense; he has no traditions, and does not find it needful to quote Campbell and Blair. He has put that behind him, if he ever regarded it; and the tyro will profit if he can do the same and follow the hints that so good a student of prose as Mr. Earle is will give him.

The Exempla of Jacques de Vitry. Edited by Thomas Frederick Crane, M.A., Professor of the Romance Languages in Cornell University. London: Published for the Folk-Lore Society by David Nutt. 1890.

JACQUES DE VITRY, preacher of the crusade against the Albigenses, afterwards Bishop of Acre, and active in the Sixth Crusade, was one of the most eminent preachers of the first half of the thirteenth century. Not the least of the qualities which led to his popularity was his employment of various sorts of stories, designed to illustrate his subject and to lead up to the moral which he wished to draw. The numerous *Sermones Vulgares* which he left behind contain a great stock of these stories, called *exempla*, whose attractive character led to a demand for separate collections of them, for the use of later preachers. A number of such collections now exist, many of them, indeed, containing *exempla* that were never used by De Vitry at all, but which were for centuries attributed to him. It was not until 1868 that it was shown that the real *exempla* were to be found in the *Sermones Vulgares*, from which they had been gathered by different hands into collections of various degrees of merit. Although other scholars have published selections from the *exempla*, we believe that we owe to Prof. Crane the first complete edition, based on a careful study of the MSS. of the *Sermones*, and of the *Exempla* themselves. He gives us a sketch of the author's life, and an account of his works and the MSS. which contain them, followed by an essay on the use of *exempla* by mediæval preachers, including the 'Gesta Romanorum' and the 'Scala Celi.' Then come the 315 *exempla* of De Vitry in the original Latin of the period. Finally, we have an analysis of each story, with an account of the later ver-

sions in which it is found, and, as far as possible, of the sources in which it occurs. For we have to deal here, not with parables invented by De Vitry himself, but generally with popular tales, many of them very old and probably familiar enough to the audiences whom they were intended to interest and amuse. They were drawn from all sorts of sources, indirectly of course, even as far back as the Æsopian, and hence their attraction for the Folk Lore Society. They are of a very varied nature, and after reading some of them we are not surprised to learn that it was sometimes found necessary to check a tendency to go beyond bounds with stories unsuited to the sanctity of the occasion. But not all were of this dubious character. Miracles, possessions of devils, wonderful cures, apparitions of saints, fables of birds, beasts, and men, follow hard on each other in constantly changing array.

Prof. Crane has excellently done his editorial work, and the book throughout gives evidence of scholarly research and careful criticism. We have only to suggest an earlier source than St. Ambrose for the fable about the stork cared for in its old age by its young; it is found in Solinus, Pliny, and Aristotle. We conclude this notice with one of the shortest but not the least witty of the *exempla* (No. 162):

"Audivi de quodam carnifice qui carnes coctas vendere consueverat, cum quidam, ut melius forum haberet, diceret ei: 'Jam sunt vii anni quod ab alio carnes non comparavi a vobis.' Ille valde ammirans respondit: 'Tanto tempore hoc fecisti et adhuc vivis?'"

In the words found at the end of some of the *exempla*, "Moraliza sicut vis." For our own part it is a sort of negative consolation to find that butchers were a proud and haughty race even in the days of yore.

Our Early Presidents, and their Wives and Children, from Washington to Jackson. By Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton. Illustrated. Boston: D. Lothrop Co.

THIS is a "gift book," showy on the outside and profusely illustrated within. It aims to give the home life of our first seven Presidents, who, the author tells us, are known as the "historic Presidents." It is a work of considerable research, the family treasures in the way of correspondence, portraits, jewels, and other heirlooms having been freely drawn upon, thanks to what the author acknowledges to be a most generous unreserve on the part of the representatives of the Presidents, in laying open their most delicate stores. The story of the families is told with considerable minuteness and an obvious interest in every personal detail. There is an abundant flow of kind feeling on the part of the author to every mortal person, child or servant, at all connected with the Presidential families. And this runs into an absolute affectation of intimacy in the style, as if she had been a constant guest at Mount Vernon, Quincy, Monticello, and the rest. Every child has the adjective "little" prefixed to its name, and abundant speculations are introduced as to what Charles Adams or Payne Todd was doing and thinking on given occasions. The various members of the seven families, whether serious or playful, are so uniformly charming and delightful that one cannot help feeling glad the book did not appear when Thackeray was alive, for he would surely have found material in it for a *Round-Table* paper on "The Court Circular in a Republic." This kind of baby-talk is much to be regretted, for it weakens a book which otherwise appears to be thorough, authentic, and useful, both for the reading matter and the illustrations.

One or two mistakes occur, mostly slight, but disfiguring. The Adams family at home were Congregationalists, not Presbyterians (p. 313). John Quincy Adams was elected by the House of Representatives, not the Senate (p. 365). Van Rensselaer and Breckinridge should not appear in disguise as Van Renssalaer (p. 321) and Breckenridge (p. 382). Queen Hortense looks absurd as "Hortènse" (p. 276). And be it said for the benefit of other writers than Mrs. Upton, there is no such word in English as "Madame" (p. 130); "Madam" is the spelling of all the great classical writers in our language. 'Rollins' History' (p. 94) will hardly be found in any library. Such mistakes might easily be corrected if a second edition were called for.

Insecta. [Boston Society of Natural History. Guides for Science-Teaching, No. VIII.] By Alpheus Hyatt and J. M. Arms. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co.

"THIS Guide," its authors say, "is a series of replies to questions which have arisen in the minds of its authors while teaching." By following out this idea, a very useful little book has been produced, which, while presenting nothing original, yet does present in a very compact way the elementary principles of insect anatomy, physiology, and classification. An excellent "synopsis" precedes the text and outlines the matter contained in each chapter. The characters common to insects, anatomical and physiological, are first given, and then each order is separately taken up and considered, beginning with the *Thysanura* and ending with the *Diptera*. Sixteen orders are recognized and popularly characterized, some of them very briefly indeed. This is essentially a handbook for teachers, especially valuable to such as have to impart an elementary knowledge of the subject. Not the least part of its advantages consists in the numerous references to publications in which the points brought out can be more fully studied. In a compilation of this kind, of course, each order is treated by itself, and there is no attempt at homologizing parts, or at attaining a uniformity of nomenclature in all orders. The plates usually illustrate the prominent structural characters of an order.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Austin, Alfred. The Tower of Babel: A Celestial Love-Drama. Macmillan & Co. $1.75.
Bartholomew, J. G. Physical and Political School Atlas. Macmillan & Co. $3.
Bond, Rev. J. The Gospel According to St. Luke. The Greek Text Revised. Macmillan & Co. 65 cents.
Concise Whist. Salem: The Salem Press Publishing and Printing Co. 75 cents.
Corner, W. San Antonio de Bezar. San Antonio, Tex.: Bainbridge & Corner.
Crawford, Rebekah. Musicians in Rhyme. G. Schirmer.
Deighton, K. The Life and Death of King John. Macmillan & Co. 40 cents.
Dreyer, J. L. E. Tycho Brahe. Macmillan & Co. $3.50.
Floyd, Isobel H. Stolen America. Cassell Publishing Co.
Fouard, Abbé C. The Christ the Son of God. 2 vols. Longmans, Green & Co.
Fuller, Lieut. A. M. A. D. 2000. Chicago: Laird & Lee.
Golden, W. E. History of the English Drama. Welch, Fracker Co.
Griffis, Rev. W. E. Honda the Samurai. Boston: Congregational Sunday-School and Publishing Society.
Kelsey, Dr. F. W. Selections from Ovid. Boston: Allyn & Bacon. $1.25.
Littell's Living Age. Vol. 72. Boston: Littell & Co.
Memorabilia of Rev. Dr. Cheever and Mrs. E. W. Cheever. John Wiley & Sons.
Osborne, S. M. A Country Boy's Centennial and "Little Buttons." Belford Co.
Pollock, Sir F. Oxford Lectures. Macmillan & Co. $2.50.
Rawnsley, H. D. Poems, Ballads and Bucolics. Macmillan & Co. $1.75.
Reinach, S. Peintures de Vases Antiques. Paris: Firman-Didot & Cie.
Shaw, G. B. Fabian Essays in Socialism. London: Walter Scott. 40 cents.

JUST READY:

Taine's 'Modern Regime.'

By H. A. TAINE. Translated by John Durand. Vol. I. 12mo, $2.50.

The New York *Times* says: This volume "opens with a remarkable study of Napoleon Bonaparte. It is a careful, thorough analysis of his character, and presents him more impartially and comprehensively than any previous writer has done. . . . So trenchant and critical a review and survey of past and present as this volume constitutes has not seen the light for many a day."

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JANUARY 22, 1891.

The Week.

THE effect of the passage of the Silver Bill in the Senate was to knock down the prices of almost everything at the Stock Exchange, including the price of silver bullion, and to put up the rate of sterling exchange to near the gold-shipping point, although, simultaneously with the advance of sterling, there was an importation of $200,000 gold shipped from the other side a week ago. This is the course of things in the business world which will become more pronounced and serious just in proportion as the public shall be of the opinion that the bill is likely to become a law. Enterprise will be, in fact has already been, checked in more than one direction. We know that the influx of capital from abroad has been, for the time being, stopped. The same reasons which impair confidence in our securities abroad will impair it at home, and stagnation will be the result. The promising prospects which ensued upon the termination of the recent semi-panic will be extinguished in a profounder gloom as the free-coinage policy progresses. The most we can hope for under the circumstances is, that the bill may be killed in the House or vetoed by the President, and a campaign started on the silver issue at once. Mr. Carl Schurz has furnished a valuable interview to the *World* on this point, in which he narrates an experience of his own. "I have always found," he says, "that when such fallacies, especially those having a streak of rascality in them, are intelligently discussed and vigorously exposed before the people, it will turn out that the American people, at least a majority of them, are much sounder in their principles than their pretended political leaders."

The friends of sound money ought to give the widest possible circulation to the speech delivered by John Sherman against the Free-Silver Bill on the 13th of January, and published in the *Congressional Record* of the 15th inst. It is at once a most cogent and powerful exposition of true doctrine on our financial issues, and a most unsparing and convincing exposure of the heresies now current. In closing, the Ohio Senator made an exceedingly strong appeal to his Democratic associates in the chamber, which, although it failed of immediate effect upon them, must have its influence upon their constituents. He reminded them that they "represent communities that have other interests than the mining camp"; he told them that they knew that "when you touch the Democratic heart, there is back of this expedient of the hour the strong and determined sympathy for the old ideas of Andrew Jackson"; he declared that "the common people of our country of both parties, as Mr. Lincoln called them, believe in hard money as the basis of all their affairs." He proceeded:

"Take the Eastern States represented by Democrats, and the Southern States. Are they willing to risk this sudden change? Is this a mere contrivance for the hour? But if you commit yourselves to this policy now, next year, when you have more responsibilities than now, you will feel the burden of that commitment. It is not necessary for me to remind you that during four years of a Democratic administration you did not dare propose any of these measures. You kept as quiet as possible. No Alliance then could have driven you into an arrangement for the free coinage of silver. You have the responsibilities now. The great party to which I belong, which for a quarter of a century and more has had the general control of the Government of our country, is willing, when you can get strength enough from our side or from any quarter to have a majority of this body, to transfer to you whatever power and responsibility exists, and upon you rests that responsibility—not upon the minority of our friends, not upon the few on our side who join in this movement, but upon that great and solid party which claims to have existed since the foundation of our Government. If you see your way clear to turn your backs upon the policy of Benton, and Jackson, and Jefferson, and Tilden, and Cleveland, do so; make your own terms; but, sir, in doing so you depart from the standards of the fathers, you depart from the teachings of the great men who laid the foundation of your powerful organization."

Senator Edmunds takes counsel of his fears when he gives up the fight against free coinage, and says that we shall have to stand the experiment. "The epidemic," he says, "is more general now than the one which was met by the Republican party when Gen. Grant was President, and which he checked with his veto message." Let us see. The Inflation Bill of 1874 was passed by a vote of 29 to 24 in a Senate of seventy-two members (two seats being then vacant), while free coinage the other day received 39 yeas to 27 nays in a Senate of eighty-eight members. The Democrats made a better showing in 1874 than in 1891, seven voting against inflation and only six in favor; but the Republicans were far more divided then than now, 22 being recorded for inflation and but 17 against (counting among the latter three "Liberal Republicans"), while last week there were only 15 Republicans for free coinage and 26 against. Both of the Republican Senators from Minnesota (one of them Mr. Windom), both of the Republican Senators from Iowa (one of them Mr. Allison), both of the Republican Senators from Illinois, one of the two from Michigan, and one of the two from Wisconsin, were victims of the "epidemic" of 1874, whereas that of 1891 has not a single victim from all of those great Western States. The admission of fourteen Republican Senators from seven new States since 1874 has helped the "cheap money" side a little, but not much, for six of the fourteen are against free coinage. The East is certainly as sound on the silver issue as on that of inflation, while in the great States of the West the outlook for a hopeful fight against a financial craze is far more encouraging now than it was seventeen years ago.

A movement has been started in Boston in favor of sound money which is deserving of imitation in every business community in the United States. It had its beginning in a call issued by Mayor Matthews for a conference to oppose the free coinage of silver. The call was non-partisan, and the leading Democrats as well as the leading Republicans of the State were included in the invitations. There can be no doubt that these gentlemen had been consulted beforehand and had given their adhesion to the movement. Their action will certainly arrest the attention of business men elsewhere, and ought to be followed up immediately by a similar meeting here. The success of the free-silver movement thus far has been due to the absence of organized opposition. An opposition which takes no step to make itself felt in legislation and administration is practically non-existent. Whatever its latent strength may be, its influence will be absolutely nil unless it takes form and shows fight. We believe that there is a sufficient body of public opinion in the country to beat the free-coinage bill and eventually to put an end to the present dangerous Silver Law (of which nobody is really in favor except as a compromise), if that public opinion is ever organized and properly directed.

The situation being what it is—we say it with sorrow and humiliation—the nomination of Hill for the Senate is probably the best disposition that could be made of him. We think it may be said advisedly that he is the first Governor of New York of whom all classes and conditions of men might reasonably and justly feel ashamed. The Governor's chair of this great State has on some occasions been won by means which nobody would venture to justify openly, and has been held by men of slender capacity and low aims. In this it has shared the fortune of all great places in all civilized countries. No community can always lay hold of the right man for any high office. But Hill is the only Governor of New York who, besides being bad, was not ashamed of his badness, and who openly and persistently allied himself with the worst elements of his party to make plunder of the public fortune. He is the only one who has organized the vicious and the corrupt for resistance to every attempt to improve political morals, and who has gloried in his success. It is only by considering what might have been done during the past six years for the purification of State politics by a Governor possessing Hill's capacity as a manager and Hill's power over his party, in the way of ballot reform—in the way of regulation of the liquor traffic, in the way of improving municipal government, in the way of discouraging intrigues for purposes of public plunder, in the way of creating, especially among the younger men, a better tone with regard to the end and aim of public office—that we get the full measure of Hill as a State curse.

That the best and, indeed, the only way of getting rid of him should be the bestowal on him of the greatest honor the State has at its disposal, by sending him to the United States Senate, has an air of bouffe about it. It savors of the political arrangements of the Grand Duchy of Gerolstein, but there is really wisdom in it. It is not an expedient which brings tears of pride to the patriot's eye; but in an age which sees a notorious embezzler of the public money the manager of a great party and the representative in the Senate of a great State, our use of the Senate as a place of deposit for Hill must meet the indulgence of the sternest moralist. He is booked for a place where his powers for evil will be small, and where the feebleness of his intellectual powers, in the proper sense of that term, will speedily reduce him to comparative obscurity. The Senators are not just now a galaxy of talent, but they are not awed or dominated by low cunning.

Two useless Senators were laid on the shelf by the Republican party on Thursday —Blair of New Hampshire and Farwell of Illinois. Blair has been rather worse than useless, being really a dangerous crank. Whether his successor, Gallinger, will prove in any degree better cannot be safely predicted, but the doctrine of averages leads to the opinion that he cannot be worse. It is something in Gallinger's favor, too, that he has earned the severe reprobation of "Bill" Chandler in the domestic arrangements of the party in New Hampshire. Farwell has been useless as a Senator from the beginning. In fact, he never had any quality to commend him to the office except skill as a purveyor of patronage. Even here he failed under Harrison, because Harrison would not give him the offices he wanted. It is the business of a purveyor to purvey. If for any reason he fails in this, he ceases directly to be of any use. A non-purveyor may offer the excuse that the President would not listen to him, but it is the first requisite of the true dispenser of patronage to have patronage. The local beneficiaries will naturally and properly say that if the cow gives no milk, a new milker must be tried. Gov. Oglesby, who has received the caucus nomination, although not yet the election, is an ex-Senator of the "rough and ready" school, a man of good character and abilities, whose worst mistake in public life was playing with the East St. Louis rioters and incendiaries while he was Governor of the State, at a time when Gov. Rusk of Wisconsin was serving out cold lead to a similar mob in Milwaukee.

The letter from the Navy Department to Commander Reiter, refusing him a court-martial, is more unbecoming and even brutal in tone than the first one dismissing him from his ship. It could not be couched in more insolent and contemptuous language if he had surrendered in action without fighting, or fled before an inferior force, although its sole object and use was to inform him that he had failed to ask for a court-martial at the proper time, and that in any case he had no legal right to it. Somebody with a sense of social and official propriety ought to have been employed by Secretary Tracy to draft the letter in which this information was conveyed. The terms of the letter are the more reprehensible because it undertakes to pronounce Commander Reiter guilty of some legal offence which the Department has carefully refrained from defining. Neither he nor the public has, we venture to assert without having had any communication with him, ever been allowed to know what rule of international or municipal law he violated at San José on the 28th of August last. What the Department has to d him is that it disapproved of his conduct on that occasion, but for what legal reason it disapproved of it does not appear; and yet one of the reasons given for refusing him a court-martial is, "that, in determining questions of law arising upon undisputed facts, the Department does not require the assistance of a court-martial." But what "question of law" has the Department "determined"? Not one that it ventures to publish in black and white. We infer from its confused journalistic abuse of Commander Reiter for doing or not doing something or other at San José, that it believes the commander of a public ship can, in his discretion, resist the local police in executing a warrant on board an American merchant vessel in a foreign port; but it has not had the audacity to lay this down as a rule of any "law" known to civilized men. Nor has it ventured to say what was the breach of international obligation committed by the Guatemalan Government which Commander Reiter ought to have resisted by force, and for which the State Department ought to ask for satisfaction. The case has, however, an importance far transcending the particular injustice done to him. The official vituperation of him, confused though it be, will undoubtedly operate as an instruction to other officers to assume powers in foreign ports to which they have no legal right whatever, and the exercise of which may get us into serious international trouble, ending either in war or humiliating retreat. For this reason we sincerely trust that somebody in Congress will take the matter up and make it the subject of an inquiry. If this Congress has not the time, it ought not to be forgotten in the next, when there will be no difficulty in getting hold of Mr. Tracy and making him go publicly through his process of "determining questions of law arising on undisputed facts." It is of the highest public importance that his way of doing this should be examined.

There is a very interesting contest pending over the reappointment of Gen. Corse as Postmaster at Boston, whose term is about to expire. Gen. Corse was one of President Cleveland's appointments, and though vigorous efforts were made when President Harrison first came into office by partisan Republicans in Massachusetts to have him removed, they were not successful. He has been allowed to serve out his term, and has performed the duties of his office so acceptably that Boston citizens of all parties are now requesting his reappointment. This is the aspect of his case which is perplexing the President and good Mr. Wanamaker, and is causing untold annoyance to Senator Hoar, who, together with Henry Cabot Lodge, ex-Gov. Long, Congressman Greenhalge, Stove-Polisher Morse, and a few other Republicans of similar type, is in favor of having Gen. Corse's Superintendent of Mails appointed as his successor. They would thus get rid of Gen. Corse and at the same time preserve the appearance of not being too partisan in their political course. Senator Hoar admits, however, that there are Republicans in Boston who think that Gen. Corse should be continued in office, and he says the number of letters which he gets from such Republicans has already reached fifty, and the stream still flows on. He really does not know what he will do about it. To add to the complications, the Machine Republicans are in the field with two candidates after their own hearts, both thoroughgoing partisans. They believe in taking possession of the office openly, "without any nonsense" of the Lodge variety. The trouble lies mainly in finding an excuse for not reappointing Gen. Corse, who, in addition to having been a brave soldier, has been an admirable official.

The New Haven *Register*, in an exhaustive review of the vote of Connecticut at the last election, shows in a novel form how in the State Legislature the present antiquated Constitution benefits the Republican party. Towns represented in the lower house by 117 Democratic members polled at the last election 92,235 votes, while the towns represented by 133 Republican members polled only 42,019 votes. With 50,216 majority in the towns which they represent, the Democrats are in a minority of 16 in the lower legislative body. In the Senate the Democratic majority in the districts calculated on the same plan is 72,480 for the whole State. The Democrats now have a majority of ten in the Senate; but a Democratic majority appears there for the first time in many years, since the districts have been "gerrymandered" in the Republican interest. To show the more regular condition of things in that body, we may cite the fact that at the election of 1888 its seven Democratic members, out of the whole number of twenty-four, represented districts which cast 64,016 votes, or about three-sevenths of the vote of the whole State. At present, putting the two houses together, the Democratic members represent 195,840 votes, while the Republicans in both branches represent only 73,144 votes; yet the Republicans have a small majority on joint ballot, with which to elect a Republican United States Senator, and, in the event of the failure of a clear majority over all, would put in Republican State officers, as has heretofore been done three times in succession. The figures show clearly the working in the State of the unjust majority

law, out of which the present muddle at Hartford has grown. It shows, also, as a whole, a condition of affairs acutely suggestive of violence and revolution. The wise policy of a State in such plight is promptly to reform provisions of the Constitution which, so long as they continue, must foment discord and discontent.

The English Nonconformists are having a hard time in the newspapers defending themselves against the attacks of the Unionists, now touching the morality of the irrelations with the Irish Home-Rulers. The Unionists are flushed with the encouragement given them by the result of the O'Shea divorce case, and are now pressing the Nonconformists hard to know why, if they are so much shocked by Parnell's adultery, they were able to stand the Irish outrages during the past six years. The ruin of every description which has come on Parnell's personal character is undoubtedly very embarrassing for the Nonconformists, for they in a measure guaranteed him to the British public. But the accusation of complicity in or condonation of the outrages, based on willingness to act in public with the Home-Rule leaders, is one of the oldest and best-worn weapons in the Conservative armory of all nations. It did much service in the English newspapers, during the American Revolution, against the Americans on account of the persecution of the Loyalists; and during the French Revolution every man who rejoiced in the overthrow of the monarchy was held by some to be a confederate of the Septembrist assassins, or an admirer of Marat and Robespierre. So, also, during the Italian struggle for independence, the friends of Italy were exposed to the charge of responsibility for the wickedness of the Carbonari, and of sharing in Mazzini's views about assassination. It is hardly necessary to recall, too, the way in which, within a very few years, the Democratic leaders both at the North and at the South were held responsible for the Kuklux outrages. The truth is, that there is no question of morals older or nicer than the question how far each man who takes part in a political movement is responsible for the behavior of all the others, particularly when the movement is a revolutionary one.

The mode in which the English Ministry is dealing with Irish distress is a fair illustration of the absurdity of the way in which Ireland is governed, and of the abundance of the excuses under which even the most unreasonable Home-Rulers may take shelter. Mr. Balfour, we need hardly say, is now the Government of Ireland. He has never lived in Ireland, and is separated from the people of that country not only by great ignorance of them, but by both intellectual and caste contempt. There is, therefore, an almost Turkish monstrosity in making him their governor, with semi-martial powers, particularly as one of the Tory rules of Irish administration is not to pay any heed to what the Irish representatives in Parliament say. Under this rule, when some of these representatives, in September last, announced the prospect of a famine in certain parts of Ireland, and proposed to ask subscriptions to relieve the prospective distress, Mr. Balfour, who was then playing golf in Scotland, and had not the smallest knowledge of the facts, announced, in a letter written on the 3d of October, that the idea of any general distress in Ireland was "wholly absurd," and that the information given about it by the Home-Rulers was "obviously doctored for political purposes." As soon as he had finished his golf he went to Ireland himself, where he ought to spend most of his time, and found out what the dismal truth was, and he has now started a private subscription for a relief fund to which he says a "rapid and generous response is being made," although in the October letter he said, when deriding the Irish subscriptions in America, that the "Government measures without question would be sufficient to deal with any real distress which might be beyond the power of the ordinary poor-law to meet." It is the constant recurrence of these caricatures of representative government in Ireland which really keeps the Home-Rule movement on its legs. Were there any steady recognition of the fact that the Irish representation in Parliament was a real representation, and as such entitled to legal respect, even if the members of it were not "nice" men, and were badly dressed, the wind could not be kept in the Home-Rule sails.

The first reading of a new copyright bill took place last month in the House of Lords. The present copyright law of Great Britain rests upon a number of distinct statutes, wholly or partly in force, dating from 1735 to 1888, and is so involved and difficult of interpretation that its codification has long been a crying need. On April 17, 1876, the Queen appointed a commission to make inquiry with regard to the laws relating to copyright. The Commissioners were fifteen in number, including such well-known persons as Sir Henry Holland, Sir Henry Drummond Wolff, Sir Julius Benedict, Sir James Stephen, Mr. James Anthony Froude, and Mr. Anthony Trollope. They submitted an elaborate report on May 24, 1878, which was printed, together with a folio volume of more than 400 pages of the 'Minutes of the Evidence taken before the Commission,' the two volumes forming probably the most important work in the English language relating to literary property. Of the fourteen statutes then in force, the report says: "The law is wholly destitute of any sort of arrangement, incomplete, often obscure; and even when it it is intelligible upon long study, it is in many parts so ill-expressed that no one who does not give much study to it can expect to understand it." The various recommendations of the Commissioners were embodied in a bill by Lord John Manners (now Duke of Rutland, himself one of the Commissioners), and presented to Parliament in 1879, but no legislation resulted. Since that date three new acts, relating to musical and international copyright, have been passed, in 1882, 1886, and 1888.

The new bill has been prepared by the Society of Authors (which fact does not seem to prepossess British publishers in its favor), and is said to combine into one measure the provisions of the Copyright Commission Bill of 1879, the International Copyright Act of 1886, and the elaborate bill for artistic copyright prepared by Mr. Hastings and successively presented to Parliament in 1884, 1885, and 1886, but never enacted into law. It grants protection for the lifetime of the author and thirty years after his death. This term was fixed upon by the Copyright Commissioners in 1878, who named half-a-dozen countries that granted protection for a longer term, namely, life of the author and fifty years, which term they thought excessive and unnecessary. That the movement of copyright legislation is distinctly in the direction of an increased term of protection, however, is demonstrated by the fact that at the present time thirteen countries give copyright for the author's life and fifty years after his death, while two have increased the term to life and eighty years, and three have declared literary property perpetual. By the new bill, authors control the abridgment and dramatization, and, presumably, the translation of their works. Registration of copyright is made compulsory.

The most dangerous attack on Greek in the schools and colleges yet seen, was made the other day in England, at a meeting of the head masters of the Eton, Harrow, Rugby, Winchester, Westminster, Charterhouse, St. Paul's, Clifton, and other schools —one of their usual annual or semi-annual gatherings. It was led, or in fact made, by Mr. Welldon, the head master of Harrow. He advocated the abolition of obligatory Greek both at school and at college, and the substitution of science, or modern languages, on two grounds. The first was the need of adapting education to individual tastes and capacity. The second—in the interest of Greek study itself—was that the Greek language might be left in the hands of those who really loved it and could cultivate it with success—to a sort of classical élite, in short, who would rescue it from its present degraded condition, as the bugaboo of dunces and sluggards. There was a good deal of discussion, pro and con, which elicited nothing very new, but Mr. Welldon came within two votes of carrying his resolution, this adverse majority being obtained by the adhesion of two of the smaller schools. We doubt if anything so ominous for Greek has yet occurred, for the English public schools are its stronghold today, and indeed England may be said to be its main champion. It has never struck such deep roots in education and general culture on the Continent or in this country.

HUMOROUS DIPLOMACY.

THERE is no species of composition, not even pulpit oratory, the proprieties of which are better settled than those of diplomatic correspondence. The object of such correspondence is to keep the peace between nations by means of amicable discussion, and the object of a written or spoken composition of course fixes the style. Every diplomatic despatch, therefore, except in the rare cases (like Menshikoff's communication to the Porte in 1853) which really aim at war, not only is couched in terms of studious politeness, but avoids all rhetorical weapons, whether in the nature of arguments, illustrations, or analogies, which are likely to irritate the opponent by wounding his self-love, and thus make it difficult for him to yield the point without a sense of humiliation. Diplomatic discussion is in form addressed to experts, like arguments before a bench of judges, which always at least affect extraordinary respect both for the character and understanding of the court. It is intended to get you what you want without having to fight for it.

In Mr. Blaine's now voluminous diplomatic compositions, this great rule seems to be totally forgotten. He always begins his discussions, as we said the other day, horns down. He assumes from the outset that his adversary is a tricky, grasping, light-headed fellow, whom he is determined to expose in his true light to a disgusted world. How the affair will end, whether in peace or war, he cares but little, if he can achieve his own rhetorical triumph. As to the form of his argumentation, he is as little concerned about it as if he were still editing the *Kennebec Journal*, and were engaged in holding up the Bangor *Whig* to the contempt and ridicule of the people of Maine. In fact, his view of controversy is strictly journalistic. His despatches are only nominally addressed to the Foreign Minister: they are really meant for "our readers"—that is, for the multitude who are looking on, and know and care but little about the merits of the controversy.

An amusing illustration of this is furnished by the last batch of his correspondence with Lord Salisbury. Salisbury had pressed him hard with American authorities against his claim that the Bering Sea was a *mare clausum*, or, what was the same thing, that, owing to the presence of seals in it, it was "affected," to use the term of the Court of Appeals, with a *mare clausum* quality, and that in it, therefore, the jurisdiction of the United States extended beyond the three-mile limit. The true diplomatic answer to this would have been either a counter explanation of the American authorities, or the citation of some European precedent covering the same ground and likely to impress Salisbury's mind. But the journalistic instinct in Mr. Blaine was too strong for this. In his anger he determined to "corner" Salisbury by producing, not a legal precedent, but a low trick of which his wretched contemporary had at one time been guilty himself. The readers of the *Kennebec Journal* were to see what kind of fellow Boutelle of the Bangor *Whig* was. So he produced, with an air of suppressed rage, the British Act passed in 1816, with the concurrence of Russia, Prussia, and Austria, regulating the custody of Napoleon at St. Helena, and forbidding all foreign vessels not only to land on the island, but to "hover within eight leagues" or twenty-four miles of the coast, the offence to be punishable by the forfeiture of the ships, and to be triable in England as if committed in the county of Middlesex.

That remarkable person "the merest tyro" would, of course, have known that this Act could only bind the subjects of the Powers which assented to it. A very slight examination of authorities, such as a diplomatist engaged in an important diplomatic discussion is bound to make, would have shown Mr. Blaine that Great Britain could not possibly maintain the claim to interdict a radius of twenty-four miles of high seas to such nations as cared nothing about the safe-keeping of Napoleon, and especially to the United States. It could prevent landing on the island, but it could not prevent hovering, backing and filling, tacking, or any other marine manœuvre on the open sea outside the legal limit. One year later, Lord Stowell had, in the British Court of Admiralty, solemnly denied the power of Parliament to make the slave trade piracy or to contravene in any respect the settled law of nations. The *St. Louis* case in which he did this is one of the famous cases in the history of the slave trade, and therefore well known to the Merest Tyro; and yet Mr. Blaine, in his eagerness to smash and pulverize his miserable contemporary, totally overlooked it. Not only did he overlook it, but, in his journalistic fervor, he went on to analyze the operation of this hellish Act, and plunged into an actuary's calculation of Napoleon's expectation of life. It was, he says, in 1816, the same as Wellington's, forgetting that no office would in 1816 have given Napoleon a policy on the same terms as Wellington, as he was well known to have at that period stomachic troubles of a serious character, while Wellington was "as hard as nails." A life-insurance company which treated all persons born the same year as equally safe risks would be a very amusing corporation, but not one in which James G. Blaine would buy stock. But without consulting an actuary Mr. Blaine assumes that Napoleon might have been expected to live till 1852, and thus Great Britain would have kept a circle of open ocean, of twenty-four miles radius, all to herself during a period of thirty-six years, had Napoleon not died. The way in which the case grows on him and increases his ardor as he contemplates it, is delightful; for not only might Napoleon have reasonably lived till 1852, but, during the five years he did live, this British Act denied the liberty of the seas "to 500 American ships bound round the Cape and carrying, to be accurate, 14,000,000 tons of shipping over a space fifty miles wide." The fun of this lies in the fact that there is not a particle of evidence that any American ship ever paid the slightest attention to the prohibition, or was ever warned out of the circle, or ever changed her course on reaching it. The whole contention is an immense journalistic spree. But it shows, according to Mr. Blaine, what a mean, hoggish fellow Lord Salisbury is to

> "deny the right of the United States to assume control over a limited area for a fraction of each year, in a sea which lies far beyond the line of trade, whose silent waters were never cloven by a commercial prow, whose uninhabited shores have no port of entry and could never be approached on a lawful errand under any other flag than that of the United States."

The peroration reminds one of some of the apostrophes at Harrigan & Hart's. As Father Tom said to the Pope, it "makes a hare" of Salisbury, and would entitle the learned author to a high place in the "editorial council" of our esteemed contemporary the *Herald*—a body which puts its foot on the necks of kings, not to speak of the necks of Foreign Secretaries:

> "Is this Government to understand that Lord Salisbury justifies the course of England? Is this Government to understand that Lord Salisbury maintains the right of England, at her will and pleasure, to obstruct the highway of commerce in mid-ocean, and that she will at the same time interpose objections to the United States exercising her jurisdiction beyond the three-mile limit, in a remote and unused sea, for the sole purpose of preserving the most valuable fur-seal fishery in the world from remediless destruction?"

MR. BLAINE'S OWN WITNESS.

OUR Secretary of State is permitted by the President to stake the pending controversy over the seal fisheries and the adjacent waters on the issue whether or not the treaties of 1824 and 1825 intended to include, and did include, Bering Sea, by the words "Great Ocean," commonly called "the Pacific Ocean, or South Sea."

He produces, as a chief witness, Hubert Howe Bancroft, and presents him as an expert worthy of credit. Without accepting or rejecting all that Mr. Bancroft says in his History of the Pacific States, it will be profitable, after Mr. Blaine's endorsement, to observe what he really has said. He regards the Pacific Coast above 42°, which is the present southern boundary of Oregon, "as an undiscovered country" till 1775, and the explorations of 1774–'5 as giving to Spain, so far as mere *discovery* could, all "the northwest coast," but that, nevertheless, Russia from the North "discovered America, and touched the coast as low as latitude 56°," or a little to the south of the present Sitka. About this time Russia claimed vaguely that her possessions extended down to the Columbia River, and Spain pushed hers up to Prince William Sound. In 1788, says Bancroft, the American *fur trade* began in that region, meaning on the Pacific to the south of what is now Alaska; before 1800 forty vessels had visited that coast, and "later the Americans monopolized the trade." No nation protested against it till 1808, when Russia did, and asserted a claim to the *whole* coast down to the Columbia River, or 46°. The United States replied that the Spanish title extended up to 60°, or to what is now the southern coast of our Alaska. Then, in 1821, came the Russian ukase, declaring "the whole of the north-

west coast of America, beginning from Bering's Straits to the 51st degree," to be exclusively Russian. The 51st degree touches the northern point of Vancouver's Island. Secretary Adams rejected the *entire* Russian claim. The treaty between the United States and Russia was signed in 1824. Mr. Blaine contends that it did not include any part of Bering Sea (first named Bering Sea, he affirms, in 1817), extending down to 52° or 51°. By that treaty, Bancroft says, "the boundary was fixed at latitude 54° 40′, beyond which neither nation was to found any establishment or resort without permission of the other, though for a period of ten years the vessels of other nations were to have free access, for trade and fishery, to all *interior* waters of the other's territory." Mr. Blaine contends that it did not include Bering Sea, but covered only the main coast on what is now Canada and the United States, leaving the latter and England to fight over all between 42° and 54° 40′. In 1825, says Bancroft, another treaty was made between England and Russia by which the latter again relinquished all below 54° 40′, "and the broad interior *up to the frozen ocean.*" The United States did not protest against the last-named concession to England, although Greenhow said it virtually annulled our treaty of 1824.

In endeavoring to ascertain the truth of the pending international discussion, it must be borne in mind that the first concession made in 1799, for twenty years, to the Russian American Company, described the area of the concession on the south by a line of latitude (which was the 55th degree) including the chain of islands from Kamtchatka to North America, and south to Japan, and also the Aleutian, Kurile, and other islands "in the *North-Eastern* Ocean." It was renewed in 1821, and again from 1841 to 1862, when the boundary was, of course, changed, says Bancroft, "in accordance with the English and American treaties." The ukase of 1821 defined, in like manner, the southern limit of exclusion of foreigners as latitude 51°, but the treaties of 1824 and 1825—permitting Americans and Englishmen to enter, navigate, fish, and trade—only referred to "*all* parts of the Great Ocean," etc., although "settlements" were restrained by the line of 54° 40′. To appreciate Secretary Blaine's contention that those treaties of 1824 and 1825 did not cover Bering Sea, one should refer to any good map and observe how the peninsula of Alaska, and the chain of Aleutian islands projecting westward from the mainland of Alaska, cut off the North Pacific Ocean from Bering Sea. One must also bear in mind that American and English diplomacy had to accomplish, as best it could, a withdrawal *in effect* of the prohibitions of the ukase of 1821 without a humiliation of Russia. The ukase of 1821 covered Bering Sea, all concede. Is it likely that the United States and Great Britain intended in the treaties to be content with only the waters to the eastward of the peninsula of Alaska, and south as well as east of the Aleutian Islands, leaving Bering Sea to Russia? Mr. Blaine says, Yes!

Mr. Bancroft in his History of Alaska describes with much and admirable detail the rise and growth of the Russian-American Company from 1799 to 1862. He tells how the company, having demanded it, soon saw the folly of the ukase excluding foreign trade. He sets forth how the ukase raised up American and British protests, and, in the end, the traffic was surreptitiously winked at by the company for its own good. He avers (p. 544) that, under the treaties, Americans and Englishmen could freely navigate, fish, and trade "*in Aleutian waters*" for ten years, but that the treaties created remonstrances at St. Petersburg by the company on account of the vagueness of the language used, which might admit foreigners into Bering Sea. The Emperor Alexander paid no heed to the remonstrances, but the Emperor Nicholas did. He addressed himself to our State Department at Washington, and accomplished nothing, but to appease the company he issued another ukase confining foreigners, says Bancroft, "to the strip of coast between the British possessions and the 141st meridian." He adds that no attempt was made to apply the treaties "to the islands and coasts of western Alaska," or, in other words, the treaties, as to those areas, were unexecuted.

It is no doubt true that at the close of the last and the beginning of the present century the theatre of the struggles of rival explorers, fur-hunters, and traders was the region east of the Alaskan peninsula, and bounded by what is now our Alaska, British Columbia, Washington, and Oregon. The Pribyloff Islands were not discovered in Bering Sea till 1786. But the pending question, however it be obscured, is whether or not Russia held Bering Sea as a "shut sea" till 1867, and on that Mr. Blaine's witness, the California historian Bancroft, has much to say in his History of Alaska that is edifying. If Bering Sea was a "shut sea," how did American whalers go from the New England coast to Bering Straits, and through them into the Arctic Sea? In 1842, Bancroft says, thirty American whaling vessels were in Bering Sea, and fifty in 1841. Russia was asked by the Russian-American Company, he says, to send to Bering Sea armed cruisers to preserve it as a *mare clausum*, but she refused, and replied that the treaty of 1824 "*gave to Americans the right to engage in fishing over the whole extent of the Pacific Ocean.*" Bancroft's twenty-second chapter affirms that, forty years ago, Bering Sea was well occupied by American fishermen of all sorts, and that after 1862 the number increased.

COST OF OUR LATEST INDIAN WAR.

GEN. MILES calls official attention to the fact that the Indian war is over by issuing a congratulatory address to his troops, and making efforts to have them returned to their former posts of duty as soon as possible. In his address he gives a rapid summary of the causes of the war and its leading episodes, but he does not go into details, leaving those, presumably, for his official report, or for the investigation which Congress is to make. We trust that sooner or later the facts in this most lamentable but entirely typical Indian war will be brought to light, for they cannot fail to have a salutary effect in putting an end, before many years more shall have passed, to the wretched "spoils" system which was responsible for this as well as for nearly all others of our Indian wars.

Gen. Miles gives in his address no statistics of the losses of life upon both sides, and we must wait for official information on that point, but unofficial figures are obtainable and are not far from the truth. The total number of Indians killed, "bucks," squaws, and pappooses, is placed at 483 by newspaper correspondents who kept a close account of the losses. The total number of soldiers killed is placed at about 30, and the number wounded at about 40. The killed included Capt. Wallace and Lieuts. Casey and Mann, all men of fine character, whose death in the very prime of life was a distinct loss to the service. The chief loss of life among the Indians was at the battle of Wounded Knee on December 29, when the soldiers, under a burst of genuine savage fury, mowed down with the Hotchkiss gun warriors, women, and children, leaving them in heaps, dead and wounded together, upon the snow. The terrible pictures of that slaughter are too fresh in the minds of the public to need reproduction now.

Why was this loss of life made necessary? There is no longer any doubt about the chief cause. The Indians were starved into discontent and revolt through the conduct of the Interior Department in reducing their supplies of beef. Mr. Frank C. Armstrong, United States Indian Inspector, in a letter made public a few weeks ago, warned the Interior Department in April last that trouble was coming because of its policy in this particular. He called the Department's attention to the fact that the supply of beef for the Pine Ridge Agency had been cut down from 5,000,000 pounds to 4,000,000, without previous intimation of such reduction, adding:

"The full allowance of beef should be given them. They complain, and with good grounds, that they were told by the Sioux Commissioners that their rations, etc., should not be reduced; that while this very talk was going on the Department in Washington was fixing to cut off one-fifth of their meat supply, but did not let them know it, nor did the agent know it until they had signed the Sioux Bill. They had a good start in cattle, but have had to kill over three times as many of their own cattle, old and young, as they did the year before; that they have been deceived in doing what they did by the Government, and that they don't get as much now as they did before.

"I think cutting off this 1,000,000 pounds of beef, and thereby forcing them to kill their own young cattle, has put them back two years or more in raising stock, and has created a feeling of distrust, which, unless something is done to repair it, will lead to trouble and bad conduct. They have now killed many of their own cattle, and will next commence to kill range cattle. Already hides and other evidences of this are being found on the reservation borders.

"Men will take desperate remedies sooner than suffer from hunger. Not much work can be expected with the present feeling. The Indians who advocated signing are now laughed at and blamed for being fooled. They don't get even their former rations, and ask where are all the promises that were made. The

Government must keep faith as well as the Indians."

This warning had no effect whatever upon the Interior Department. Not only were the supplies kept down to the reduced limit, but an entirely worthless politician was put in charge of the agency at Pine Ridge to superintend the distribution. After the trouble began, Maj. W. W. Anderson, a former Indian agent of large experience, who had been on the ground and examined the situation personally, said on January 9 last that the real cause of the trouble was the violation of the Sioux treaty of 1876; that he knew personally of many cases in which the Indians did lack food and did not receive the rations to which they were entitled; that the ghost dance had been used to influence some of the young men, but was not the prime cause of the trouble; and that some of the blame belonged to the Pine Ridge agent, Royer, who, instead of remaining at his post when signs of trouble appeared, "ran away to Bushville and called for troops, and then, when he went back to the agency with troops, was harsh and irritating towards the Indians."

There is an abundance of other evidence on this point, but these citations are sufficient to show that this war which has cost us the lives of thirty soldiers and has led to the slaughter of nearly 500 Indians, including many women and children, was due entirely to the mismanagement of the Indian service by the Interior Department. Upon that Department, which was following out the vicious policy of many years' standing, must rest the entire responsibility for this unnecessary bloodshed. It drove the Indians to war by starving them, and then killed off nearly 500 of them to restore them to peace. If there had been an honest man like Dr. McGillicuddy at the Pine Ridge Agency, and if the Interior Department had kept its treaty obligations with the Indians, there would have been no war. Peace came as soon as the Secretary of the Interior confessed his error by removing the agent Royer. No sooner had Gen. Miles got control of the agency, and Royer gone home to his natural place in Eastern "politics," than the war was over.

We observe that Secretary Noble has been "talking freely" of what he thought our Indian policy should be, and that he believed the first thing to be done would be to deprive the Indians of firearms and give them an opportunity to earn their own living. But what is the use of giving them an opportunity to earn their own living when the Government breaks faith with them, cuts down their rations, and starves them into killing their own stock, thus neutralizing their own efforts to better their condition by imitating the methods of civilized men?

THE SCOTCH STRIKE.

THE Scotch railway strike, which is apparently drawing slowly to a close, if not the greatest, is one of the greatest that have ever occurred, not excepting the Pennsylvania strike of 1877 and the Southwestern strike of 1886. Every Scotch line, as well as some of the North of England lines, has experienced it, and nearly every branch of industry, including the northern fisheries, has suffered from it. In spite, too, of the high order of intelligence of the men, and their Scotch sobriety and patience, the strike has had all the usual characteristics of strikes in other places and among other races. The men have undoubtedly had a number of substantial grievances to complain of in the shape of long hours and insufficient wages, for which they have hitherto vainly sought redress; but what seems to have precipitated the strike was that perennial trouble, the refusal of the companies to treat with the labor organizations to which the men belong, or with their representatives in the person of labor agitators—some of whom, by the by, came on from London. On this point the companies have been unyielding, and their obstinacy, as usual, roused a good deal of sympathy with the men among philanthropists both in Scotland and in England. In fact, all attempts everywhere to arrange a *modus vivendi* between employees and employed in all the large industries seem to split on this rock. The men organize in order to increase their strength and give individuals shelter from oppression or persecution; but when the time comes to use the organization for purposes either of offence or defence, it utterly fails. The employers attack it with energy, and invariably, or almost invariably, break it up.

In justification of their course on this point, the companies in Scotland produce two pleas, which events generally justify. They say, in the first place, that the organizations do not and cannot control the men, and that therefore any contract with them would be worthless, because the leaders could not carry it out if the rank and file found reason at any time for breaking it. In the present case every Scotch railway employee is bound by his own signature to give a month's notice of his intention to quit his place; but this did not prevent the present strikers from abandoning their places without notice, just as the strikers on the New York Central did, nor did it prevent them from selecting the very season and the very week of the year when it would cause most inconvenience to the public and most loss to the companies, to abandon their trains and suspend traffic on all the great lines.

In the second place, the companies say that to make a contract with the leaders of the trades unions is to surrender the control of the roads to persons responsible neither to the public nor to the stockholders, and power without responsibility is something which no heads, and especially the heads of labor agitators, can stand. The effect of any such surrender has, in fact, been abundantly manifested in England in the case of the dockers' strike, and in this country in the case of the Reading strike. In the former case the surrender has led ever since to incessant, almost weekly, strikes against the enforcement of the commonest business rules, and in the latter it led to the extraordinary insubordination described by Mr. Powderly in his letter touching the late strike on the New York Central, which he illustrated by mentioning that the engineers on the Reading Road used to stop meeting trains in midway, to discuss labor matters. This is really now the chief difficulty in the way of the harmonious relations between labor and capital in the great industries. What is needed is, that labor should set up some organization capable of fulfilling a contract. Until it does this, corporations, and especially corporations charged with the management of great lines of public traffic, cannot settle labor disputes by negotiation. Strikes will be war, and the weaker party will have to go to the wall.

It is interesting to see how closely the Scotch strike among what may be called a select population has followed the lines of similar strikes elsewhere in the matter of behavior. Trains were suddenly abandoned at the outset in the old way. Then new hands were warned off, first by persuasion and next by intimidation. Then, when the new men began to work the lines, meetings were held to show the awful risks the companies were running in suffering "green hands" to run trains; and, finally, when everything else failed, assaults on the "green hands" began. This is everywhere the final stage, not necessarily of the strike, but of the dispute. For although nearly every line in Scotland is running again as usual, the strike is still "on" the same as ever, and orators are still promising in the public houses the speedy surrender of the companies.

GEORGE BANCROFT.

GEORGE BANCROFT, who died in Washington, D. C., on Saturday, was born at Worcester, Mass., October 3, 1800, being the son of Aaron and Lucretia (Chandler) Bancroft. His first American ancestor in the male line was John Bancroft, who came to this country from England, arriving on June 12, 1632, and settling at Lynn, Mass. There is no evidence of any especial literary or scholarly tastes in his early ancestors, although one at least among them became a subject for literature, being the hero of one of Cotton Mather's wonderful tales of recovery from smallpox. Samuel Bancroft, grandfather of the great historian, was a man in public station, and is described by Savage as "possessing the gift of utterance in an eminent degree"; and the historian's father, Rev. Aaron Bancroft, D.D., was a man of mark. He was born in 1755, fought at Lexington and Bunker Hill when almost a boy, was graduated at Harvard College in 1778, studied for the ministry, preached for a time in Nova Scotia, was settled at Worcester, Mass., in 1788, and died there in 1839. He was a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, was an Arminian in theology, and in later life President of the American Unitarian Association. He published various occasional sermons, a volume of doctrinal discourses, and (in 1807) a 'Life of Washington,' which was reprinted in England, and rivalled in circulation the larger work of Marshall, which appeared at about the same time. He thus bequeathed literary tastes to his thirteen children; and though only one of these reached public eminence, yet three of the daughters were prominent for many years in Worcester, being in charge of a school for girls, and highly esteemed; while another sister was well known in Massachusetts and at Washington as the wife of Governor (afterwards Senator) John Davis.

George Bancroft was fitted for college at Exeter Academy, where he was especially noted for his fine declamation. He entered Harvard College in 1813, taking his degree in 1817. He was the classmate of four men destined to be actively prominent in the great anti-slavery agitation a few years later—Samuel J. May, Samuel E. Sewall, David Lee Child, and Robert F. Wallcut—and of one prospective opponent of it, Caleb Cushing. Other men of note in the class were the Rev. Stephen H. Tyng, D.D., the Rev. Alva Wood, D.D., and Samuel A. Eliot, afterwards Treasurer of the College and father of its present President. Mr. Bancroft was younger than any of these and very probably the youngest in his class, being less than seventeen at graduation. He was, however, second in rank, and it happened that Edward Everett, then recently appointed Professor of Greek Literature in that institution, had proposed that some young graduate of promise should be sent to Germany for purposes of study, that he might afterwards become one of the corps of instructors. Accordingly, Bancroft was selected, and went, in the early summer of 1818, to Göttingen. At that time the University had among its professors Eichhorn, Heeren, and Blumenbach. He also studied at Berlin, where he knew Schleiermacher, Savigny, and W. von Humboldt. At Jena he saw Goethe, and at Heidelberg studied under Schlosser. This last was in the spring of 1821, when he had already received his degree of Ph.D. at Göttingen and was making the tour of Europe. At Paris he met Cousin, Constant, and Alexander von Humboldt; he knew Manzoni at Milan, and Bunsen and Niebuhr at Rome. The very mention of these names seems to throw his early career far back into the past. Such experiences were far rarer then than now, and the return from them into what then was the village life of Harvard College was a far greater change. Yet he came back at last and discharged his obligations, in a degree, by a year's service as Greek tutor.

It was not, apparently, a satisfactory position, for although he dedicated a volume of poems to President Kirkland, "with respect and affection" as to his "early benefactor and friend," yet we have the testimony of George Ticknor (in Miss Ticknor's Life of J. G. Cogswell) that Bancroft was "thwarted in every movement by the President." Mr. Ticknor was himself a professor in the College, and though his view may not have been dispassionate, he must have had the opportunity of knowledge. His statement is rendered more probable by the fact that he records a similar discontent in the case of Prof. J. G. Cogswell, who was certainly a man of conciliatory temperament. By Ticknor's account, Mr. Cogswell, who had been arranging the Harvard College library and preparing the catalogue, was quite unappreciated by the Corporation, and though Ticknor urged both him and Bancroft to stay, they were resolved to leave, even if their proposed school came to nothing. The school in question was the once famous "Round Hill" at Northampton, in which enterprise Cogswell, then thirty-six, and Bancroft, then twenty-three, embarked in 1823. The latter had already preached several sermons and seemed to be feeling about for his career; but it now appeared that he had found it.

In embarking, however, he warbled a sort of swan-song at the close of his academical life, and published in September, 1823, a small volume of eighty pages, printed at the Cambridge University Press and entitled 'Poems by George Bancroft, Cambridge: Hilliard & Metcalf.' Some of these were written in Switzerland, some in Italy, some, after his return home, at Worcester; but almost all were European in theme, and neither better nor worse than the average of such poems by young men of twenty or thereabouts. The first, called "Expectation," is the most noticeable, for it contains an autobiographical glimpse of this young academical Childe Harold setting forth on his pilgrimage:

"'Twas in the season when the sun
More darkly tinges spring's fair brow,
And laughing fields had just begun
The summer's golden hues to show.
Earth still with flowers was richly dight,
And the last rose in gardens glowed;
In heaven's blue tent the sun was bright,
And western winds with fragrance flowed;
'Twas then a youth bade home adieu;
And hope was young and life was new,
When first he seized the pilgrim's wand
To roam the far, the foreign land.

"There lives the marble, wrought by art,
That clime the youth would gain; he braves
The ocean's fury, and his heart
Leaps in him, like the sunny waves
That bear him onward; and the light
Of hope within his bosom beams,
Like the phosphoric ray at night
That round the prow so cheerly gleams.
But still his eye would backward turn,
And still his bosom warmly burn,
As towards new worlds he 'gan to roam,
With love for Freedom's western home."

This is the opening poem; its closing words, at the end of the final "Pictures of Rome," are in a distinctly patriotic strain:

"Farewell to Rome; how lovely in distress;
How sweet her gloom; how proud her wilderness!
Farewell to all that won my youthful heart,
And waked fond longings after fame. We part.
The weary pilgrim to his home returns;
For Freedom's air, for Western climes he burns;
Where dwell the brave, the generous, and the free,
O! there is Rome; no other Rome for me."

It was in order to train these young children of the republic—"the brave, the generous, and the free"—that Bancroft entered upon the "Round Hill" enterprise.

This once famous school belonged to that class of undertakings which are so successful as to ruin their projectors. It began in a modest way; nothing can be more sensible than the 'Prospectus'—a pamphlet of twenty pages issued at Cambridge, June 20, 1823. In this there is a clear delineation of the defects then existing in American schools; and a modest promise is given that, aided by the European experience of the two founders, something like a French *collège* or a German gymnasium might be created. There were to be not more than twenty pupils, who were to be from nine to twelve on entering. A beautiful estate was secured at Northampton, and pupils soon came in. Then followed for several years what was at least a very happy family. The school was to be in many respects on the German plan; farm life, friendly companionship, ten-mile rambles through the woods with the teachers, and an annual walking tour in the same company. All instruction was to be thorough; there was to be no direct emulation, and no flogging. There remain good delineations of the school in the memoirs of Dr. Cogswell, and in a paper by the late T. G. Appleton, one of the pupils. It is also described by Duke Bernard of Saxe-Weimar in his Travels. The material of the school was certainly fortunate. Many men afterwards noted in various ways had their early training there: J. L. Motley, H. W. Bellows, R. T. S. Lowell, F. Schroeder, Ellery Channing, G. E. Ellis, Theodore Sedgwick, George C. Shattuck, S. G. Ward, R. G. Shaw, N. B. Shurtleff, George Gibbs, Philip Kearney, R. G. Harper. At a dinner given to Dr. Cogswell in 1864, the most profuse expressions of grateful reminiscence were showered upon him, though Mr. Bancroft, who was then in Europe, was absent. The prime object of the school, as stated by Mr. Ticknor, was "to teach *more thoroughly* than has ever been taught among us." How far this was accomplished can only be surmised; what is certain is that the boys enjoyed themselves. They were admirably healthy, not having a case of illness for sixteen months, and they were happy. When we say that, among other delights, the boys had a large piece of land where they had a boy-village of their own, a village known as Cronyville, a village where each boy erected his own shanty and built his own chimney, where he could roast apples and potatoes on a winter evening and call the neighbors in—when each boy had such absolute felicity as this, with none to molest him or make him afraid, there is no wonder that the "old boys" were ready to feast their kindly pedagogues forty years later.

But to spread barracks for boys and crony villages over the delightful hills of Northampton demanded something more than kindliness; it needed much administrative skill and some money. Neither Cogswell nor Bancroft was a man of fortune. Instead of twenty boys they had at one time 127, nearly fifty of whom had to be kept through the summer vacation. They had many Southern pupils and, as an apparent consequence, many bad debts, Mr. Cogswell estimating a loss of $2,000 from this cause in a single year, and sometimes they had to travel southward to dun delinquent parents. The result of it all was that Bancroft abandoned the enterprise after seven years in the summer of 1830; while Cogswell, who held on two years longer, retired with health greatly impaired and a financial loss of $20,000. Thus ended the Round Hill School.

While at Round Hill Mr. Bancroft prepared some text-books for his pupils, translating Heeren's 'Politics of Ancient Greece' (1824) and Jacobs's Latin Reader (1825)—the latter going through several editions. His first article in the *North American Review*, then the leading literary journal in the United States, appeared in October, 1823, and was a notice of Schiller's Minor Poems, with many translations. From this time forward he wrote in almost every volume, but always on classical or German themes, until in January, 1831, he took up "The Bank of the United States," and a few years later (October, 1835) "The Documentary History of the Revolution." These indicated the progress of his historical studies, which also began at Round Hill, and took form at last in his great history. The design of this monumental work was as deliberate as Gibbon's, and almost as vast, and the author lived, like Gibbon, to see it accomplished. The first volume appeared in 1834, the second in 1837, the third in 1840, the fourth in 1852, and so onward. Between these volumes were interspersed a variety of minor essays, some of which were collected in a volume of 'Literary and Historical Miscellanies' published in 1855. Bancroft also published, as a separate work, a 'History of the Formation of the Constitution of the United States' (1882).

He was, while at Northampton, an ardent Democrat of the most theoretic and philosophic type, and he very wisely sought to acquaint himself with the practical side of public affairs. In 1826 he gave an address at Northampton, defining his position and sympathies; in 1830 he was elected to the Legislature, but declined to take his seat, and the next year declined a nomination to the Senate. In 1835 he drew up an address to the people of Massachusetts, made many speeches and prepared various sets of resolutions, was flattered, traduced, caricatured. From 1838 to 1841 he was Collector of the Port of Boston; in 1844 he was Democratic candidate for Governor of Massachusetts, but was defeated, George N. Briggs being his successful antagonist, although he received more votes than any Democratic candidate before him. In 1845 he was Secretary of the Navy under President Polk. In all these executive positions he may be said to have achieved success—it was, for instance, during his term of office that the Naval Academy was established at Annapolis; it was he who gave the first order to take possession of California, and he who, while acting for a month as Secretary of War, gave the order to Gen. Taylor to march into Texas, thus ultimately leading to the annexation of that State. This, however, identified him with a transaction justly censurable, and indeed his whole political career occurred during the most questionable period of Democratic subserviency to the Slave Power, and that weakness was never openly—perhaps never sincerely—resisted by him. This left a reproach upon his earlier political career which has, however, been effaced by his literary life and his honorable career as a diplomatist. In 1846 he was transferred from the Cabinet to the post of Minister Plenipotentiary to Great Britain, where he contrived to combine historical researches with public functions. In 1849 he returned to this country—a Whig administration having been elected—and took up his residence in New York. In February, 1866, he was selected by Congress to pronounce a eulogy on President Lincoln, and in the following year he was appointed Minister to Prussia, being afterwards successively accredited to the North German Confederation and the German Empire. In these positions he succeeded in effecting some

important treaty provisions in respect to the rights of naturalized German citizens residing in Germany. He was recalled at his own request in 1874, and has since resided in Washington in the winter and at Newport, R. I., in summer.

Dividing his life between these two abodes, he passed his later years in a sort of existence more common in Europe than here—the well-earned dignity of the scholar who has also been, in his day, a man of affairs, and who is yet too energetic to repose upon his laurels or waste much time upon merely enjoying the meed of fame he has won. In both his winter and summer abodes he had something of the flattering position of First Citizen; he was free of all sets, an honored member of all circles. His manners were often mentioned as "courtly," but they never quite rose to the level of the two classes of manner described by Tennyson—

> "Kind nature is the best, those manners next
> That fit us like a nature second hand;
> Which are indeed the manners of the great."

Neither of these descriptions exactly fitted Mr. Bancroft; his manners were really of the composite sort, and curiously suggestive of the different phases of his life. They were like that wonderful Japanese lacquer work, made up of twenty or thirty different coats or films, perhaps laid on by several different workmen. There was at the foundation the somewhat formal and literal manner of the scholar, almost of the pedagogue; then one caught a glimpse of an executive, official style, that seemed to date from the period when he ordered California to be occupied; and over all there was a varnish of worldly courtesy, enhanced by an evident pleasure in being admired, and broken by an occasional outburst of rather blunt sincerity.

But he matured and mellowed well; his social life at Washington was more satisfactory to himself and others than that he led in New York; he had voluntarily transplanted himself to a community which, with all its faults and crudities, sets intellect above wealth, and readily conceded the highest place to a man like Bancroft. Foreign Ministers came accredited to him as well as to the Government; he was the friend of every successive Administration, and had as many guests as he cared to see at his modest Sunday evening receptions. There he greeted every one cordially, aided by a wife amply gifted in the amenities. He was cordial to everybody, and remembered the father or grandfather of anybody who had any such ancestors whom it was desirable to mention. In summer, at Newport, it was the same; his residence was like that described by his imagination in one of his own early poems—

> "Where heaven lends her loveliest scene,
> A softened air, a sky serene,
> Along the shore where smiles the sea."

Unlike most Newport "cottages," his house was within sight of the ocean; between it and the sea lay the garden, and the rose in Kenmure's cap in the Scottish ballad was not a characteristic more invariable than the same flower in Mr. Bancroft's hand or buttonhole. His form was familiar, too, on Bellevue Avenue, taking as regularly as any old-fashioned Englishman his daily horseback exercise. At the same time he was one of the few men who were capable, even in Newport, of doing daily the day's work; he rose fabulously early in the morning, and kept a secretary or two always employed. Since John Quincy Adams there has not been among us such an example of laborious, self-exacting, seemingly inexhaustible old age; and, unlike Adams, Mr. Bancroft kept his social side always fresh and active, and did not have, like the venerable ex-President, to force himself out in the evening in order "to learn the art of conversation." This combination, with his monumental literary work, will keep his memory secure. It will possibly outlive that of many men of greater inspiration, loftier aims, and sublimer qualities.

Mr. Bancroft, as an historian, combined some of the greatest merits and some of the profoundest defects ever united in a single author. His merits are obvious enough. He has great enthusiasm for his subject. He is profoundly imbued with that democratic spirit without which the history of the United States cannot be justly written. He has the graphic quality so wanting in Hildreth and the saliency whose absence makes Prescott too smooth. He has a style essentially picturesque, whatever may be its faults. The reader is compelled to admit that his resources in the way of preparation are inexhaustible, and that his command of them is astounding. One must follow him minutely, for instance, through the history of the war for independence, to appreciate in full the consummate grasp of a mind which can deploy military events in a narrative as a general deploys brigades in a field. Add to this the capacity for occasional maxims to the highest degree profound and lucid, in the way of political philosophy, and you certainly combine in one man some of the greatest qualities of the historian.

Against this are to be set very grave faults. In his earlier editions there was an habitual pomposity and inflation of style which the sterner taste of his later years has so modified that we must now condone it. The same heroic revision has cut off many tame and commonplace remarks as trite as those virtuous truisms by which second-rate actors bring down the applause of the galleries at cheap theatres. Many needless philosophical digressions have shared the same fate. But many faults remain. There is, in the first place, that error so common with the graphic school of historians—the exaggerated estimate of manuscript or fragmentary material at the expense of what is printed and permanent. In many departments of history this dependence is inevitable; but, unfortunately, Mr. Bancroft is not, except in the very earliest volumes of his history, dealing with such departments. The loose and mythical period of our history really ends with Capt. John Smith. From the moment when the Pilgrims landed, the main facts of American history are to be found recorded in a series of carefully prepared documents made by men to whom the pen was familiar, and who were exceedingly methodical in all their ways. The same is true of all the struggles which led to the Revolution, and of all those which followed. They were the work of honest-minded Anglo-Saxon men who, if they issued so much as a street hand-bill, said just what they meant and meant precisely what they said. To fill the gaps in this solid documentary chain is, no doubt, desirable—to fill it by every passing rumor, every suggestion of a French agent's busy brain; but to substitute this inferior matter for the firmer basis is wrong. Much of the graphic quality of Mr. Bancroft's writing is obtained by this means, and this portends, in certain directions, a future shrinkage and diminution in his fame.

But a fault far more serious than this is one which Mr. Bancroft shared with his historical contemporaries, but in which he far exceeded any of them—an utter ignoring of the very meaning and significance of a quotation-mark. Others of that day sinned. The long controversy between Jared Sparks and Lord Mahon grew out of this—the liberties taken by Sparks in editing Washington's letters. Prof. Edward T. Channing did the same thing in quoting the racy diaries of his grandfather, William Ellery, and substituting, for instance, in a passage cited as original, "We refreshed ourselves with meat and drink," for the far racier "We refreshed our Stomachs with Beefsteaks and Grogg." Hildreth in quoting from the 'Madison Papers,' did the same, for the sake not of propriety, but of convenience; even Frothingham made important omissions and variations, without indicating them, in quoting Hooke's remarkable sermon, "New England's Teares." But Bancroft is the chief of sinners in this respect; when he quotes a contemporary document or letter, it is absolutely impossible to tell, without careful verifying, whether what he gives us between the quotation-marks is precisely what should be there, or whether it is a compilation, rearrangement, selection, or even a series of mere paraphrases of his own. It would be easy to illustrate this abundantly, especially from the Stamp Act volume; but a single instance will suffice.

When in 1684 an English fleet sailed into Boston harbor, ostensibly on its way to attack the Dutch settlements on the Hudson, it left behind a royal commission, against whose mission of interference the colonial authorities at once protested, and they issued a paper, as one historian has said, "in words so clear and dignified as to give a foretaste of the Revolutionary state papers that were to follow a century later." If ever there was a document in our pre-Revolutionary history that ought to be quoted precisely as it was written, or not at all, it was this remonstrance. It thus begins in Bancroft's version, and the words have often been cited by others. He says of the colony of Massachusetts: "Preparing a remonstrance, not against deeds of tyranny, but the menace of tyranny, not against actual wrong, but against a principle of wrong, on the 25th of October, it thus addressed King Charles II." The alleged address is then given, apparently in full, and then follows the remark, "The spirit of the people corresponded with this address." It will hardly be believed that there never was any such address, and that no such document was ever in existence as that so formally cited here. Yet any one who will compare Bancroft's draft with the original in the Records of Massachusetts (volume iv., part 2, pages 168–9) will be instantly convinced of this. Bancroft has simply taken phrases and sentences here and there from a long document and rearranged, combined, and, in some cases, actually paraphrased them in his own way. Logically and rhetorically the work is his own. The colonial authorities adopted their own way of composition, and he adopted his. In some sentences we have Bancroft, not Endicott; the nineteenth century, not the seventeenth. Whether the transformation is an improvement or not is not the question; the thing cited is not the original. An accurate historian would no more have issued such a restatement under the shelter of quotation-marks than an accurate theologian would have rewritten the Ten Commandments and read his improved edition from the pulpit. And it is a curious fact that while Mr. Bancroft has amended so much else in his later editions, he has left this passage untouched, and still implies an adherence to the tradition that this is the way to write history.

And it is to be noted that the evil is doubled when this practice is combined with the other habit, already mentioned, of relying largely upon manuscript authorities. If an historian garbles, paraphrases, and rearranges when he is dealing with matter accessible to all, how much greater the peril when he is dealing with what is in written documents held under his own lock and key. It is not necessary to allege intentional perversion, but we are, at the very least, absolutely at the mercy of an inaccurate habit of mind. The importance of this point is directly manifested on opening the leaves of Mr. Bancroft's last and perhaps most valuable book, 'The History of the Constitution.' The most important part of this book consists, by concession of all, in the vast mass of selections from the private correspondence of the period; for instance, of M. Otto, the French Ambassador. We do not hesitate to say that, if tried by the standard of Mr. Bancroft's previous literary methods, this mass of correspondence, though valuable as suggestion, is worthless as authority. Until it has been carefully collated and compared with the originals we do not know that a paragraph or a sentence of it is left as the author wrote it; the system of paraphrase previously exhibited throws the shadow of doubt over all. No person can safely cite one of these letters in testimony; no person knows whether any particular statement contained in it comes to us in the words of its supposed author or of Mr. Bancroft. It is no answer to say that this loose method was the method of certain Greek historians; if Thucydides composed speeches for his heroes, it was at least known that he prepared them, and there was not the standing falsehood of a quotation-mark.

A drawback quite as serious is to be found in this, that Mr. Bancroft's extraordinary labors in old age were not usually devoted to revising the grounds of his own earlier judgments, but to perfecting his own style of expression and to

weaving in additional facts at those points which especially interested him. Prof. Agassiz used to say that the greatest labor of the student of biology came from the enormous difficulty of keeping up with current publications and the proceedings of societies; a man could carry on his own observations, but he could not venture to publish them without knowing all the latest statements made by other observers. Mr. Bancroft had to encounter the same obstacle in his historical work, and it must be owned that he sometimes ignored it. Absorbed in his own great stores of material, he often let the work of others go unobserved. It would be easy to multiply instances. Thus, the controversies about Verrazzano's explorations were conveniently settled by omitting his name altogether; there was no revision of the brief early statement that the Norse sagas were "mythological," certainly one of the least appropriate adjectives that could have been selected; Mr. Bancroft never even read—up to within a few years of his death, at any rate—the important monographs of Varnhagen in respect to Amerigo Vespucci; he did not keep up with the publications of the historical societies. Laboriously revising his whole history in 1876, and almost rewriting it for the edition of 1884, he allowed the labors of younger investigators to go on around him unobserved. The consequence is that much light has been let in upon American history in directions where he has not so much as a window; and there are points where his knowledge, vast as it is, will be found to have been already superseded. In this view that cannot be asserted of him which the late English historian, Mr. J. R. Green, proudly and justly claimed for himself: "I know what men will say of me—he died learning." But Mr. Bancroft at least died laboring, and in the harness.

Mr. Bancroft was twice married, first to Miss Sarah H. Dwight, who died June 26, 1837, and in the following year to Mrs. Elizabeth (Davis) Bliss. By the first marriage he had several children, of whom two only survive—John Chandler (Harv. Coll., 1854), now residing in Boston, and George (Harv. Coll., 1856), who has spent most of his life in Europe.

WITH BRADFORD AND HARVARD.

LONDON, December, 1890.

TRINITY COLLEGE in Cambridge holds the tithes, and a former Fellow of Trinity is the incumbent, of the joint parish of Bawtry and Austerfield in Yorkshire, where Lord Houghton, son of the late peer who was better known as Richard Monckton Milnes, is lord of the manor. His estate of Bawtry Hall lies just at the end of the little market square in Bawtry, exhibiting nothing, however, to the passer but its tufted trees behind a high brick wall; but within one finds a sloping sweep of lawn and diversifying water, open to the south, marking it as the estate of a well-conditioned landed proprietor. The present lord is hardly known to his people, being an invalid and an absentee, seeking his health in milder climes, and his estate is rented. Within his domain and neighboring to Bawtry are the little hamlets of Austerfield and Scrooby, so closely associated with the foundations of our New England Pilgrim history. At Scrooby almost every vestige is gone of the old manor-house in which Cardinal Woolsey lived at one time, and in which, during the occupancy of William Brewster, the lowly people of this region came stealthily to commune together and to counsel towards the forming of that little church of the Separatists which ultimately took the Pilgrim spirit to New England. A few old beams in an outbuilding are all that one can with confidence look upon as relics of that association of house and timid worshippers.

I stopped in Bawtry at the Crown Inn, and in sundry walks swept this hallowed region with my eye. The face of the country very likely has changed little. It is not far from level, and there still run the very by-paths across the fields by which Bradford walked from his home in Austerfield to Brewster's house in Scrooby; or at least gate, and stile, and trodden sod indicate passages that might have been made nearly three hundred years ago, preserving the neighborly rights of way which are so stubbornly supported in this country. I walked out to Austerfield on Sunday afternoon by the old highway which connects it with Bawtry and with Scrooby beyond. The little hamlet is built along a narrow road. The houses are of brick, as humble in appearance as its people are poor in substance. They told me there had not been a building built in it almost within the memory of man, except perhaps a chapel of "Primitive Methodists," where the passer heard the worshippers singing hymns. You see none of the vigor of early manhood in the people. The children pass out of the school to migrate and seek to develop in more promising regions. A little Norman church, from which the late Lord Houghton sent a stone to be built into Robert Collyer's church at Chicago, lies at one end of the village, not far from the old brick house, just beyond, which is pointed out as the home of the Bradfords of those early days of the seventeenth century. I found the vicar had already preceded me from Bawtry to hold an afternoon service. The two bells in the little belfry were alternately tolling, and as we turned from the street into a lane which bordered a cow-yard, there was no token of human presence to be seen. The long uncut dun grass was matted among the gravestones in the yard surrounding the curious little church, which stood with the belfry end towards the approach, and was streaked with the patchwork in rough stone and in plaster of change after change in the centuries since the cunning workmen groined the sightly Norman chancel arch. This arch at once attracts your attention when you enter by the rather striking little porch on the south side. The tiny building palpably shows each succeeding development of its architectural growth. Looking up the shallow chancel, we see a later Gothic window, with its apex cut off by a suspended ceiling of recenter construction. The organ-loft and seatings are of modern construction, and beneath the loft stands the old font of Bradford's day. A tablet on the wall records the fact that, some fifty years ago, additional seats were made in the little church. The vicar who holds a morning service at Bawtry, conducts another here in the afternoon with small encouragement. The sexton sat under the little reading-desk, and two women, an old man, and a child or two constituted, with my own party, the whole congregation. The vicar's wife sat at the organ, and a few children's voices in the loft joined in the anthem. The declining sun streamed upon the spot where Gov. Bradford was baptized, and the warm suffusion of the hour did something to dispel the cheerlessness of the surroundings.

The vicar showed to me at his house the registry of the church in the sixteenth century. The Bradfords, or Bradforths, were not infrequent names, before and later than the baptismal record of the future Governor of New Plymouth. I noticed the name of Button—that of one of the *Mayflower* company; but hardly another having any such familiar associations. It was but a few days later that news reached me of the death of Dr. Henry M. Dexter, who, in his pursuit of the traces of Pilgrim history, had spent so much time in more than one visit in examining this register, and drinking in the associations of a region so sacred to him as this. It is to be hoped that the ripe results of his long years' study of the formation and early progress of the church of Brewster and Bradford have culminated in a narrative which will not be kept much longer from the world. The vicar of Bawtry spoke of Dexter's eager inquiries in this region during six weeks which he spent at the Crown Inn in 1874. I have found traces of his protracted study in this field among the sixteenth and seventeenth-century tracts preserved in the Cathedral library at York and in the library of St. John's College at Cambridge.

From a pilgrimage at Austerfield and its neighborhood, I came to linger at the collegiate home of John Harvard. There is nothing in its architecture to connect him with the present condition of Emmanuel College, where Puritanism was long since banished, except one external wall of its oldest building, which is much the same in appearance as he must have known it, barring the manifest decay which threatens the whole structure. The Harvardian would gladly see in the main quadrangle of Emmanuel a duplicate of the statue of Harvard at the west end of our Memorial Hall; and one might indulge the hope that it will one day be seen there. They have his effigy in one of the stained windows of the refectory; but the figure is far from being of the same dignified and effective character with that of the statue. The colleges of Cambridge have each their distinctive boast, and the sponsorship of Harvard is most certainly that of Emmanuel. A connection with Harvard is of equal certainty a passport to the most kind hospitality of the master and fellows of the whilom Puritan College. They have nothing to exhibit as indicating the touch of his hand, except an account-book of Harvard's time, in which it seems to have been the custom of the undergraduates to debit items of expense. That the men made these entries rather than the bursar, seems perfectly clear from the variety and individual character of the hands in which, on the same page, the entries are made. There is one entry in this book under the name of John Harvard, and the signature I compared carefully with those in the registry of the University which Harvard signed when he took his bachelor's and master's degrees. The writing seemed to me identical in its distinctive peculiarities, and was quite different from that of the other entries in its neighborhood on the same page. It was interesting, when I stood by Dr. Luard in the Registry Office and looked at these signatures of Harvard, to see the men of to-day come in and sign just in the same way for the degrees which I saw conferred upon them the next day in the Senate House, when, kneeling before the Vice-Chancellor in his robes, and placing their hands in his, in an act of homage which had come down in observance from the feudal days, they listened to the complimentary honor given in language almost identical with that which President Eliot uses in Sanders Theatre on commencement days, and with the same old English pronunciation of Latin.

Dr. Phear, the Master of Emmanuel, may one day, if renewed health permits, allow Harvardians in America to testify their reverence for his College with the same emphasis which accompanied the reception of one of the Fellows of the College, Dr. Creighton, when he attended the jubilee in our Cambridge in 1886. The friends whom that gentleman made then will be glad to know with what satisfaction the Queen's recent action has been received here, when she transferred him from a canonry at Worcester to a stall in St. George's Chapel

in Windsor. One of the London weekly journals remarked upon this intelligence, that the pupil of Stubbs in historical studies has apparently begun to tread the same path that led that distinguished historian to the bishoprics of Chester and Oxford.

There are few readier and more engaging speakers in England than Prof. Creighton, and no one who shuns work less. I have heard him twice of late. The first time was when he lectured on the preparation in Europe for the Reformation, before an audience of the townspeople, in the Chapter-house at Worcester; and the eager attention of his hearers testified to his easy mastery of a somewhat difficult subject in presenting it to the common apprehension, without prejudice or cant. The second time I listened to him on the piratical spirit of commerce in Queen Elizabeth's time. It was in the dining-hall of Emmanuel, with John Harvard looking on from the painted windows, beside Mildmay, the founder of Emmanuel. As the dining-rooms of the colleges are only used for a late dinner, it often happens that lectures are given in them, when the tables are put to use for the taking of notes. It was so on this occasion. There were three tables running lengthwise of the hall, and the speaker, using a waiter's tray propped on a cross-legged stool for a rostrum, spoke from a few notes, and referred at intervals to the books beside him. The centre table and one at the side were occupied by undergraduates and other of their sex, while the other wall table was filled with ladies and with the young women from Newnham and Girton. After the lecture, the Professor took me to one of his hearers and pupils, a recent graduate of the Harvard Annex. She later spoke to me of the inspiring character of Creighton's talks in the class-room at Newnham, where his kindly yet searching questions forced his pupils to their best endeavors. She was also struck, she said, with the labors of Seeley and Prothero—the latter a reader in history at King's—among the Newnham girls; but was not, at the same time, unmindful, of the warm efforts by which the history-students of the Harvard Annex are so admirably nurtured under Prof. Hart in the "Annex."

"But what is your drawback here?" I asked. "It is the absence of the Harvard library. When will the English learn the value of a subject-catalogue?" This is certainly a vital question in the British library methods. The idea was an appalling one to English librarians, when I was here at the forming of their library association in 1877. I perceive a great change has taken place since then, and the idea of the help which a subject-catalogue affords has been certainly grasped to some extent, and, once seized upon, one may be sure it will never be surrendered. Yet in the conversations which I had with the librarian of the University at Cambridge, I found he was still clinging to the old feeling that special published bibliographies were enough. At the British Museum, however, the other day, I found Dr. Garnett, the Keeper of the Printed Books, quite prepared to say that if the Treasury, ten years hence, would give them the money, they would then have completed their author's catalogue in type and would be ready to begin a subject-index. The American libraries boast the subject-catalogue as their invention—at least in its full development—and it is not a little gratification to see what progress their ideas have made in England during the last fifteen years—particularly to have won to their support so influential an advocate as Richard Garnett, whose name is one with which I like to close this letter.

JUSTIN WINSOR.

THE GUELPH EXHIBITION.

LONDON, January 1, 1891.

WHEN, last year, reversing chronological order, the Tudors succeeded the Stuarts at the New Gallery on Regent Street, it was thought that with them interest in these winter historical exhibitions must cease. There remained for illustration but the House of Hanover; and of the princes of this royal family Englishmen, though grateful to them, have never been proud. The four Georges and the sailor King evoke no sentiment; they arouse no enthusiasm. Among them was no great sovereign like the Tudor Henry or Elizabeth, no gallant heroes like the descendants of the martyr Charles. They were useful to England, and their services, at best but of negative value, are their sole claim to respect or honor. It seemed impossible with such material to make a show that could worthily follow the two already held. And yet the Guelph Exhibition (the Committee probably hope that the old family name may cast a glamour of romance over the sadly mediocre rulers of the Dutch Versailles), opened this week, is, taking it as a whole, the most interesting the New Gallery has yet given us.

The reason for this is not far to seek. If Hanoverian princes themselves were insignificant, the century their five reigns cover is one of the most striking in English history. Never has England had greater statesmen; never, not even in Elizabeth's day, braver soldiers and sailors. English art in the latter half of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century attained its most brilliant stage; English letters can boast of but few more glorious names than those on the long list that begins with Addison, Steele, and Pope, and ends with Byron, Shelley, and Coleridge. The English stage reached the zenith of its fame with its Garricks, and Keans, and Kembles. A new era was inaugurated in English science with Newton, Herschel, and Jenner. The period was great despite, and not because of, its kings, and the very insignificance of sovereigns gave additional prominence to distinguished subjects. In like manner, in the Guelph exhibition, kings and princes, who dominated the two other shows, hold but a secondary position. Interest now centres about the men and women whose genius and intellect made them the true rulers of the times.

The portraits are again the most important feature of the exhibition, and much space has been reserved for them. They cover the walls in the three galleries and in the balcony upstairs. With few exceptions, all have been seen before; many have long since been made familiar by numerous reproductions; others are known by their replicas in the National Portrait Gallery. But they never have been thus brought together to illustrate one particular period, and herein exists the chief novelty of the present arrangement. They have been divided for convenience into portraits of royalty, portraits of statesmen and commanders, portraits of artists, literary men, actors, and scientists. As the exhibition is frankly historical, and only accidentally artistic, this is the best division that could have been suggested.

In the first gallery, royalties can at once be cheerfully disposed of. There they hang in all their mediocrity: the first George, in great flowing wig, to whom Sir Godfrey Kneller could not impart a spark of interest; the second, the profligate, whom even his vices could not redeem from commonplaceness on horseback and in all the glory of red military coat; the third, his well-meaning stupidity writ large on every feature, as on that of good Queen Charlotte, an amiable, motherly person, for all her enormous hoops and fine jewels; the fourth, the first gentleman of Europe, as his valet made him; and William, with a certain theatrical pretentiousness which was not his, but was lent him by the painter, Sir Thomas Lawrence. It is interesting to compare them with the manly, self-assertive Tudors who hung on these same walls last year. There is not a man, a real man, among these English Guelphs. Is it any wonder that court painters of the eighteenth century seemed paralyzed by their royal sitters? Not Sir Joshua nor Gainsborough could give virile character to Hanoverians, though he could fill their portraits with the loveliness of color and the perfection of drawing. And if either had painted with the almost brutal realism of a Holbein, what then? These were but royal nonentities who sat to them.

In the second gallery there is another tale to tell. It is filled with statesmen and commanders. Together hang Fox and Pitt—in one portrait Pitt appears as a charming boy with a pretty girlish face, his soft hair hanging about it, in red coat and white waistcoat and breeches, lying in a brown wood—Canning and Burke. Here are Vernon—a stiffly painted and worse colored portrait, Thicknesse thought, when he saw it in the studio of Gainsborough, whose landscapes, to us so conventional, he preferred to his portraits—and Nelson, to whom, as he commanded, Rigaud the painter has added the "much-needed" beauty, but who has not fared so well at the hands of Guzzardi, the latter having shown him in his old age with the one eloquent armless sleeve. And here, too, is Col. Arthur Wellesley, weak, sensuous, effeminate-looking in his younger days, if he was at all as Hoppner painted him when Colonel of the Thirty-third Foot, and not in the least like the Duke of Wellington, the elderly gentleman with strong face and firm mouth, who hangs just above. It may be to add to his glory that the Committee have placed quite near him a portrait of Napoleon, with that marvellous head and face of his making all others in the gallery seem weak by comparison. Neither a statesman nor a commander, though included among them, but interesting to some Americans, is William Penn's second son, Thomas, in a drab coat and wig; feudal lord over 25,000,000 acres, the catalogue proudly describes him, and perhaps it is this that has gained the right of admission for himself and Lady Juliana Penn, who surely have as little claim to the distinction as the indifferent painter of their hard, flat portraits.

But it is in the third room—the Poets' corner—that the chief interest of the exhibition is concentrated. In this large company of writers, artists, scientists, and actors the whole history of Georgian greatness is revealed. More than to her Pitts and Nelsons and Wellingtons England has owed to her Popes, Shelleys, and Byrons, her Johnsons, Sternes, and Scotts, to her Reynoldses, Gainsboroughs, and Romneys, her Newtons and Herschels. There is not space here even to mention all the portraits of importance in this third room—for all are important because of their associations, even when as paintings they are as uninteresting as Westall's Byron, which cannot, however, altogether conceal the poet's great beauty, or the Shelley painted by Miss Curran, or the Keats done after his death by Joseph Severn, and repeated in many miniatures, but without the value of Hilton's drawing, also here, which has been reproduced and published in Lord Houghton's

Life. Some, as the Gray from Pembroke College, or the Charles Lamb lent by Sir Charles Dilke, are sadly dingy and faded, with but little quality left either as portraits or paintings. But it is a fact worth noting that many of the most distinguished canvases in the exhibition are to be found in the art-and-letters group, and in this connection I shall have something to say about them.

Another very obvious classification of the portraits would separate them into those whose value is historical solely and those which possess artistic distinction as well. There is perhaps no one portrait of such preëminence as Holbein's Duke of Suffolk or Christina of Milan of last year's show; but a series that includes the work of Hogarth, Gainsborough, Reynolds, and Romney, even though their masterpieces may not be shown, cannot fail to be of enormous interest artistically. To the best in this series I can but briefly refer. In George I.'s day the court painter still came from abroad, and Sir Godfrey Kneller then held that post. As a rule, he painted mere dummies in courtier's dress, though occasionally, in rendering a voluptuous, not to say coarse, type, like the Baroness Kilmansegge, the elephant of George I.'s court, he had a certain success. But while on his canvases Addison, Steele, and Congreve, now exhibited once again, lose their individuality and are transformed into courtiers pure and simple, one of the best works of Kneller, also here, is the well-known Pope, in green gown and red cap, with character enough in the long thin face, the fine broad brow, the protruding eyes, and the sad, worn expression. For it, one would willingly exchange all the court painter's fine lords and ladies. In other London loan exhibitions Hogarth has often been better represented. His admirable portrait of his sister Anne, in Quaker-like cap and fichu, full of character, well modelled and good in tone, is an example of his work at its best. But it is his one portrait of note. A picture of the Mall, where royalty in those days condescended to walk, is attributed to him; it is interesting topographically and because of the historical record in the crowd in the foreground, but it lacks quality as a painting, and it is very doubtful whether Hogarth is really responsible for it. But little more can be said for the "Trial of the Governor of the Fleet," which, however, is a genuine Hogarth, having been presented by the artist to Sir Horace Walpole, who was loud in its praise—a fact more noteworthy than the picture.

The most important Sir Joshuas for the rendering of character, no less than for subject, are, without doubt, the portraits of Dr. Johnson—his head, free of wig, showing all its massive proportions, his hands appropriately raised as if in declamation—and of Goldsmith, the serious dignity of his face redeeming its comic if friendly homeliness. "Sir Joshua," says Leslie in his Life of the artist, "meant to paint the author of the 'Vicar of Wakefield' and of the 'Deserted Village,' and not the Goldy who was laughed at by Boswell and Hawkins and quizzed by Burke." These two portraits were sent to the Royal Academy of 1770, and there hung side by side. Near them now, originally exhibited ten years earlier, is the portrait, which every one knows, of Sterne, in gown and wig, sitting with his head supported by one hand while the other rests on his hip, the face full of humor and intellect. It is, however, in such portraits as the marvellous Mrs. Siddons as "Tragic Muse," with its fine pose and rich glowing golds and reds, sent to the Academy of 1784, and the portrait group of Jane, Duchess of Gordon, and her little boy, exquisite in composition, that the beauty of color and the grace of flowing line which Sir Joshua seems to have inherited from the Venetians, is most apparent. And to the loveliness of the first is added the charm of association; for it was in this picture that Sir Joshua signed his name in the gold border of the drapery, and then, when Mrs. Siddons discovered it, said to her, with that fine old courtesy which long since went out of fashion, "I could not lose the honor this opportunity afforded me of going down to posterity on the hem of your garment." Of the other notable Sir Joshuas, I must at least mention his Beckford, of 'Vathek' fame, with heavy, dreamy eyes and full red lips, and all the charm of color that Reynolds could give to old lace falling in a jabot over a dark coat, and to the golden glow in a brown background; his young Alexander, tenth Duke of Hamilton, and his no less youthful Canning, both with a little of that peculiar grace and elegance that gave picturesqueness to an earlier generation.

The Gainsboroughs which call for most attention are two or three sketches, brilliant and vigorous, the most delightful, perhaps, being one of the Duchess of Cumberland, the face worked out, but the hair and the dress and its laces and ruffles suggested with a few unerring touches, each of which marks the master. The completed portrait which also finds a place on the walls loses by comparison. It is in these sketches that Gainsborough was least hampered by traditional conventions and the whims of his sitters. Another is of James Quin, the comedian, and nothing could be better than the character expressed in the fat face, alight with humor, despite the heavy, gross cheeks and double chin, and nothing simpler than the means employed; the head alone has been sketched in. This portrait, lent by the Queen, usually hangs in one of the bedchambers in Buckingham Palace into which the tourist never penetrates, and is now publicly exhibited for the first time.

To Romney justice is scarcely done, though he is represented by three portraits of Lady Hamilton, the first he ever painted of the beauty he afterwards painted so often, when he found her a servant in Mrs. Harvey's house at Ickwell Bury, and two lovely studies of her bewitching, smiling face set in a halo, as it were, of fair brown hair. A curious contrast is his Cowper, in bright red cap, and his striking portrait of himself. This is a half-length, and the artist's father, an old man with gray hair, stands just behind him. The color is sombre, and from the dark background the strong, nervous, strangely handsome face of the artist looks out with an intensity that is fairly startling. There are also portraits of Kneller, courtly, of course; Reynolds, fine in color; Gainsborough, disappointingly characterless; Hoppner, with fine qualities; Morland, bottle and glass at his side, which each artist has painted of himself, thus giving his portrait a double value; but all are thrown into comparative shade by the haunting face of Romney.

Like the portraits, the other exhibits—and they are many—are either wholly historical or partly works of art. To the first category belong the manuscripts. The collection is really a very wonderful one, and has been selected with much care and skill. Again royalty is eclipsed in interest, though it is curious to find how much more readily the first Georges wrote in every language but English; and one does not look wholly with indifference on a letter from George IV. to Wellington offering him the command of the army, beginning "My dear Friend," and signed "Always with great truth, your sincere friend, G. R." But one lingers far longer and with greater pleasure over Addison's illegible correspondence, or Boswell's invitations to dinner at the Crown and Anchor in the Strand to meet Dr. Johnson; over Byron's letters to Hoppner from Ravenna announcing a flight to Switzerland, now the Guiccioli is menaced by a convent; and Shelley's explanations to Byron about Clare and Allegra. There are letters from Smollett and Richardson and Scott, from Sterne and Swift and Charles Lamb; receipts from Kneller and Hogarth, notes to Lady Hamilton from Romney, to Stodhart from Hoppner. The correspondence of Davy, Herschel, Jenner, and Newton has been borrowed from. Among some of the other interesting examples in the collection are a long appeal from Kitty Clive to Garrick after the stoppage of her salary, and a volume of the 'Proceeding in the House of Commons touching the Impeachment of Edward, late Earl of Clarendon,' belonging to Swift, in which in the margin he has written, "a silly, tedious Irony," and "a very foolish Preface, J. S." The manuscripts should have an exhibition to themselves. In such a large show, containing so much that at first sight is more striking, they are but too easily overlooked.

The "relics" also are chiefly historical in their interest. But the enormous success of the Stuart relics cannot be hoped for them. It is not easy to be moved to sentiment over odds and ends that once belonged to the Guelphs. Even the loves of George IV. and Mrs. Fitzherbert hardly suggest romance, and it is not exactly a sentimental pleasure that one takes in their wedding rings and in their "eyes" done by the miniature painter Cosway and set, one in a ring, another in a locket. The uniform worn by Wellington at Waterloo and a number of articles taken from the carriage of Napoleon have more value. But even these have not quite the attraction of Dr. Johnson's writing-desk, Byron's neckerchief, or netting done by the poet Cowper.

Of more artistic importance are the miniatures, of which there is an unusually fine collection; the snuff-boxes, bonbonnières, and patch-boxes in exquisite repoussé work, in lapis lazuli and mother-of-pearl, painted or enamelled, in fact, of every possible sort and description; the seals, beautiful and varied (for the Georgian was the era of seals), and the watches, the latter rivalling the miniatures in numbers and beauty. There are also fair specimens of Worcester, and Chelsea, and Wedgwood ware, and of Battersea enamels, which probably reached their greatest perfection in the latter half of the eighteenth century. But of these I have left myself no space to speak. Rarely before have the English Guelphs appeared to better advantage. The Exhibition serves as a forcible reminder that, however weak and insignificant Hanoverian princes themselves were, the Hanoverian period was great in statesmanship, literature, and art.

N. N.

MADAME DE WARENS.

PARIS, January 11, 1891.

M. FRANÇOIS MUGNIER, Councillor at the Court of Chambéry in Savoy, has used his leisure time in studying the history of Rousseau and of the friend of Rousseau, Mme. de Warens, so well known to all the readers of the famous 'Confessions.' You will recognize at once the lawyer and magistrate in the author

of this historical and critical work; it would be difficult to be more accurate and detailed in the facts—so inexperienced in the art of writing. The book can be praised for its exactitude; it has at times almost a discouraging dulness, and the author loses himself in a multitude of little facts which have an indirect relation to his subject, but which in themselves are without interest. As for the style, one can hardly qualify it; it is no style at all, it is commonplace and what we call *gris* (gray). The book will nevertheless remain a part of the *Literatur*, as the Germans say, of Rousseau.

The rôle played by Rousseau not only in the development of French literature, but also in the development of ideas which preceded and partly caused the French Revolution, is of such magnitude that whatever concerns him assumes some importance. It is not surprising if, in his 'Confessions,' Rousseau, though he spoke of himself with a terrible sincerity, altered many facts. M. Mugnier has been doing for him what a certain M. Biré is now doing for Victor Hugo; he has caught him not once, but a hundred times and more, in what Newman politely called an economy of truth.

Mme. de Warens, the friend and protector of Rousseau when Rousseau was young and unknown, was born at Vevey, on May 31, 1699; her name was Françoise Louise de la Tour. Her mother died a year after her birth; her father married again, uniting with the daughter of a French Protestant who had found a refuge in Switzerland. The child remained with two aunts; when she was not yet fourteen years old, in the spring of 1713, she was engaged to Sébastien Isaac de Loys, son of Jean Baptiste de Loys, Seigneur de Lavardin. The marriage took place in September. M. de Loys was, like many Swiss noblemen, an officer; he had served in the army of the Duke of Savoy, then under the King of Sweden. He was now captain in the service of Berne. He took the name of Warens from a small estate of his father. In 1724 M. and Mme. de Warens settled at Lausanne, and afterwards at Vevey. In 1726 Mme. de Warens left for Evian, on the Savoy shore of the Lake of Geneva, under pretext of taking the waters. King Victor Amadeus was with his little court at that place. Mme. de Warens asked for an audience, and begged for his protection, as she declared to him that she wished to abandon the Protestant religion and to become a Catholic. The King gave her an escort of four of his guards, and she was taken to Annecy, to the Convent of the Visitation, in order to receive a complete religious instruction. On leaving Vevey for Evian, she had taken with her her jewels, the silver, and the best part of the linen. She was twenty-seven years old when she made her flight.

The special protection given by Victor Amadeus II. and by the Bishop of Geneva (Rossillon de Bernex) gave great éclat to the conversion of Mme. de Warens. Victor Amadeus bestowed upon her a pension of 1,500 livres, and the Bishop of Maurienne added to it a pension of 200 livres. The Bishop of Geneva had hoped that the example set by her would be followed by many persons, especially ladies belonging to the first Swiss families; but the Government of Berne took strong measures. It confiscated the property of Mme. de Warens; her divorce from her husband was pronounced. She herself did not show any great religious enthusiasm; she had nothing in her of the saint; she made it her profession to make her house a rendezvous for converts, but she was willing to receive everybody; she was gay and childish, and really indifferent in matters of religion.

She had already been two years in Annecy when Rousseau arrived. If it had not been for this event, the name of Mme. de Warens would certainly never have been mentioned outside of the smallest Savoyard circle, and she would have been long ago forgotten. Jean Jacques was born in Geneva on June 28, 1712; he was therefore thirteen years younger than Mme. de Warens. He came to Annecy in 1728; she was twenty-nine years old, and he was a boy of sixteen. Jean Jacques has told us that his grandfather was a minister; this quality really belonged to his great-uncle; his grandfather was a watchmaker. He also makes a graceful picture of the double marriage of his father and of his uncle on the same day; his uncle was really married five years after his father. As for that father, he was a singular man: violent, quarrelsome, fond of novels; he left the watch-making trade and turned dancing-master. After some quarrel he was condemned to three months' imprisonment; he quitted Geneva and fled to Germany. Jean Jacques had no father left. At the age of ten he entered as an apprentice at an engraver's, and remained three years with him. His master was very brutal, and he left Geneva on the 14th of March, 1728, going to Annecy, where he was directed by a curate to Mme. de Warens. She sent him to Turin, where he changed his religion and was employed as a servant in several houses. We have in the 'Émile' the history of that time: "There was, thirty years ago, in an Italian town, a young man reduced to the greatest penury. He was born a Calvinist, but, finding himself without resources, in a foreign land, he changed his religion in order to get bread." The Abbé Gaime, who showed him some kindness, is the "Vicaire savoyard," and afterwards inspired in Rousseau some of the finest pages which he ever wrote.

Rousseau had preserved a lively recollection of the lady whom he had seen in Annecy, who had appeared to him young, handsome, smiling, when he expected to find a stern matron. He returned to her; she allowed him to call her "Maman," she called him "Petit." She resolved to prepare him for the priesthood, and he entered the seminary. He had no vocation, and he was sent back to Mme. de Warens. After a short sojourn in Lyons, he returned again to Annecy, but did not find his protectress, who had left for Paris with M. d'Aubonne and her intendant, Claude Anet. It would be tedious to relate all the movements of Mme. de Warens. She was always at war with her husband's family, always intriguing, always trying to improve her condition. Rousseau had, even more than she, an uneasy spirit, and we find him in July, 1733, having completed his twenty-first year, fighting with his own family and claiming a part of his father's estate, anxious as he was to repay to Mme. de Warens a part of the money which she continued to spend for him.

In the spring of 1733 Claude Anet attempted suicide, and on this occasion Jean Jacques discovered that this faithful servant of Mme. de Warens was, and had been for several years, her lover. As Claude Anet plays a great part in the 'Confessions,' we must tell exactly who he was. He was born at Montreux, on January 17, 1706; he was therefore six years older than Rousseau and seven years younger than Mme. de Warens. His family had always been in the service of her family. His uncle was gardener of M. de Warens. When Mme. de Warens fled from Vevey, he fled with her, and he changed his religion when she did. It may be inferred from this fact that he obeyed a great passion, and that his passion had been reciprocated even at the time when Mme. de Warens was still under her husband's roof. When Rousseau discovered the real nature of the tie between the person whom so far he had always called "Mamma" and Claude Anet, he aspired to become himself her lover. M. Mugnier doubts, and we doubt with him, if Mme. de Warens, before treating Jean Jacques as a man and a lover, prepared him for this great change with the solemnity of which Rousseau speaks in the 'Confessions'; but it is really difficult to reason on the actions of such extraordinary people as Mme. de Warens and Rousseau. If we believe Rousseau, Claude Anet had not been her first lover; he names two others—M. de Tavel and the pastor Perret. She had for years concealed her relations with young Anet, who was her servant, and apparently a most faithful and devoted one. As for Rousseau, as soon as Mme. de Warens had become his mistress, he confided his happiness to Claude Anet.

It is difficult to imagine a more shocking life than that led at this juncture at Mme. de Warens's house. Rousseau as well as "Maman" appear to have been hardly conscious of it. Claude Anet seems to have had the most natural feelings—the infidelity of Mme. de Warens was a great blow to him. He died on the 13th of March, 1734, of pleurisy. "Mme. de Warens," says M. Mugnier, "was cruelly smitten by this event. She lost a wise and devoted friend, whose economy and firmness almost assured her existence. She lost even more: her fatherland disappeared with him and for ever. With whom could she now, in her hours of sadness, talk of the Lake, of the years of her youth, of the old friends? The fantastic and morose Rousseau, even in the *fine black coat* of Claude, could not replace him." Mme. de Warens lost soon afterwards her protector, the old Bishop of Annecy, who allowed her a pension; the pension which she received from Turin was very irregularly paid, and she was constantly claiming the arrears. The account of the common life of Rousseau and of Mme. de Warens given by M. Mugnier is interesting; it completes and rectifies in some points the account given in the 'Confessions.' Rousseau is not blind to the weakness of his mistress; he tells us how, during a journey he made to Grenoble, she took a substitute in the person of another new consort, a young Vintzenried, "a great *fade blondin*, well made, with a flat face, a mind equally flat, speaking like a fine Leander, vain, ignorant, etc.; and, after having said that the "poor Mamma," wishing to attach him to her service, "employed all the means which she thought proper, not forgetting those on which she counted most," he adds, grandiloquently: "Oh! if souls delivered from their terrestrial chains still behold from the midst of the eternal light what goes on among mortals, forgive me, dear and respected shade, if I do not spare your faults more than my own."

Here you have the whole Rousseau: a singular mixture of meanness and loftiness. Could this medley of vices and of intellectual qualities which characterizes Rousseau be understood by Mme. de Warens? Vile as her conduct was, she was more of a lady than he was of a gentleman, and she probably had a not bad influence over him. Visitors continue to go, year after year, to Les Charmettes. Her life there is described in the minutest details in the book of M. Mugnier. He describes all the little agitations of her empty life after Rousseau left her. Her money troubles ended only with her existence; she died almost in poverty, and was buried July 30, 1762.

Correspondence.

WOMEN AT JOHNS HOPKINS.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: In a minute adopted by the Board of Trustees of Johns Hopkins University on the 29th of October last, it was unanimously resolved that when the Medical School of the University shall be opened, "women whose previous training has been equivalent to the preliminary medical course prescribed for men shall be admitted to such school upon the same terms as may be prescribed for men." If the action of the Trustees had ended here, the pronounced friends of coeducation would have scored a triumph. As a matter of fact, they will have to discover in the policy of the Johns Hopkins Board what Mr. Herbert Spencer has discovered in his social groups, retrogression as well as progression. For the minute already quoted goes on to expressly declare that it shall be understood that "such preliminary training in all its parts shall be obtained in some other institution of learning devoted in whole or in part to the education of women, or by private tuition."

At first sight this clause of the minute (which on its adoption was published in the daily papers of Baltimore, and now appears in the annual report of the University for 1890) will probably appear to the impartial friends of the higher education of women as a wise and useful precaution on the part of the governors of the University. On closer examination it will be seen to partially neutralize the value of the preceding clause. The requirements for admission to the future medical school will be high. It is not stated at present in what degree and in what way they will differ from the entrance requirements of the other leading medical schools of the country; but much may be inferred from the fact that those who have advocated the admission of women to the medical department of a university hitherto severely closed to the sex, have based their claim to support and assistance on the ground of the *national* importance of a school which will be able to supply those advantages which women must now seek in the "great foreign schools of Vienna, Paris, and Switzerland." The "Preliminary Medical Course" of the University, organized in 1882, will lead directly to the subjects required for admission to the Medical School. It is safe to assume that the studies pursued in this course will not overlap or anticipate those prescribed for the medical course proper, and that the time and work of the intending medical student will be economized to the utmost degree consistent with his proper instruction. But of these advantages of economized time and carefully adapted preparation no woman living in Baltimore, or in any of those parts of the South and West of which Baltimore is the natural educational centre, will be at liberty to avail herself.

To urge that Philadelphia, where there is a woman's medical school fully able to meet the necessities of preparation, is only ninety miles away from Baltimore, or that this or that woman's college will organize the requisite preliminary courses in chemistry and biology, does not squarely meet the point. The fact remains that such superior or especial advantage as the chemical and biological departments of the Johns Hopkins University offer in the preparation of medical students, will not be within reach of one class of students, nor will Baltimore, under present conditions, be a practicable place of residence for them. This latter fact is the more to be regretted from a conservative point of view, inasmuch as the Johns Hopkins is situated in a city throughout which its students are scattered as lodgers and boarders, so that the presence of women students could not interfere with the habits of students united in a corporate mode of life, as has been urged with reference to some of the colleges where such a mode exists.

Entrance to any of the Johns Hopkins courses of study is not granted on easy terms, so that women who had obtained the instruction necessary for admission to the preliminary medical course might reasonably be considered "picked" women in a sense sufficient to furnish guarantee of their seriousness of purpose in entering this course. It is difficult to understand why women who are to be trained jointly with men in hospital wards, in clinics, and in medical lecture-rooms, should not two years earlier receive instruction in common with them in physical, chemical, and biological lecture-rooms and laboratories. It is not consistent with a true knowledge of the human mind to draw an arbitrary line of separation in work in which the two sexes are ultimately to be thrown together in the closest relationship as students. Where problems so delicate and serious as those to be discussed in the study of medicine in all its branches are to be faced by men and women together, it would seem only common logic to assume that a previous habit of joint investigation of some of the less difficult problems of organic and inorganic life would afford a highly desirable training, for both sexes, in that purely scientific attude of mind which is in itself the best safeguard against the dreaded evils of coeducation.

A. C. K.

Baltimore, January 13, 1891.

THE DIFFERENCE.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: The letter of my life-long friend, Prof. Thayer, illustrates exactly the difference between the methods which we advocate. He believes in Indian reform through the existing Government machinery, and has for years devoted time and effort as well as money to bringing it about. I tell him, and not for the first time, that his sacrifices are in vain; that Indian or any other reform with the present machinery is impossible, and that all reformers, before they accomplish anything, will have to put their strength together to get the machinery changed, and can then resume their different roads.

No member of either the House or Senate can or will ever get such a bill as he wants passed, for many reasons. In the first place, such a member only represents a locality, and is one unit among nearly 400. As long as he works for some local or private interest, he will find support from members who want his help for *their* schemes. The moment he sets up as guardian of the national honor or interest in the protection of the weak and defenceless, he is regarded as a Don Quixote, and finds himself like a child in the hands of the Indian Ring. Ask anybody who has tried to pilot a bill of general interest, even where there was no opposition, through the committees and the two houses, what sort of work it is, and then what chance he would have against such a combination as stands between him and the Indians.

Suppose, however, that some member or combination of members should by superhuman effort get a bill passed, they would have no security whatever for the mode of administration, at once secret and irresponsible. Mr. Thayer refers to a bill which has been for some years sleeping in the Senate as a good bill, but defective because it leaves the Indian Bureau in existence. Exactly, and does he imagine that any bill could ever be passed which did not contain some similar expedient for neutralizing it in the administration? A popular idea has long been to put the Indians under the control of the army, the result of which, under our present system, would be only to corrupt the army.

The only way to get at any real result would be to put the Indians in direct charge of some department, War or Interior, and to hold the head of that department, ex-officio, personally and publicly responsible for their condition, to make him stand up in open Congress, state, under a fire of debate and cross-examination, which would be even hotter than that of the Indian Ring, what legislation he thought necessary, use all the weight of his national official position to get it passed, and then to hold him to constant and public responsibility for its administration. In carrying out this there would be ample opportunity for the member to whom Mr. Thayer appeals; but to ask such a member to run a tilt against the whole mass of both House and Senate is to consign him, as remarked, to the inevitable fate of Don Quixote against the windmill.

G. B.

Boston, January 15, 1891.

THE JAMESTOWN CHURCH MYTH.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: When a myth creeps into history, it cannot be expelled without resistance. In a pleasantly written article on the old mansions and sites of the lower James River, published in the January number of the *Century Magazine*, it is mentioned that the ruined tower at Jamestown is a part of the old church in which John Rolfe was married to Pocahontas. There is no truth in the declaration, although it has found a place in several respectable histories.

The following are the facts as to Jamestown churches: When Lord Delaware arrived in 1610, he found a log chapel, "ruined and unfrequented," which was repaired. In 1616 John Rolfe described the town as containing fifty persons. Before 1619 the people, at their own charge, had built a church of hewn timber, fifty feet in length and twenty in breadth, an edifice to be remembered as the place where, in July, 1619, the first legislative assembly in North America convened. The first brick edifice of any kind in Jamestown was erected about the year 1640, and after this there was a brick church, twenty-three by fifty-six feet in dimensions, the foundations of which Bishop Meade traced. The church whose tower is now seen was built between 1676 and 1684, long after the bones of John Rolfe had crumbled to dust. The old magazine at Jamestown, a picture of which appears in the *Century*, was built about the same time as the last church. In the manuscript records of the Council of Virginia preserved by the Virginia Historical Society, under date of March 11, 1672 (O. S.), there is complaint against the contractors, who had brought the bricks but had not begun the building of the fort. In time it was completed, and is thus described by Clayton, who had been rector of the church:

"Now they have built a silly sort of a fort, that is, a brick wall in the shape of a half-moon, at the beginning of the swamp, because the channel of the river lies very near to the shore, but it is the same as if a fort were built at Chelsea to secure London from being taken by shipping. Besides, ships passing up the river are secured from the guns of the Fort till they come directly against the Fort by rea-

son it stands in a vale. . . . There was, indeed, an old fort of earth in the town, being a sort of tetragone, with something like bastions, as I remember; they let it be demolished, *and built the new one*, which serves little better than a defence to shoot wild ducks or geese."

Will some of your correspondents give me the authority for the declaration so often made that Rolfe was married at Jamestown?

EDWARD D. NEILL.

MACALESTER COLLEGE, SAINT PAUL, MINN.

TALLEYRAND ANTICIPATED.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In Mr. Whitelaw Reid's introduction to the extracts from the memoirs of Talleyrand, he quotes the statement to the effect that "In our day it is not easy to deceive for a long time. There is some one who has more sense than Voltaire, more than Bonaparte, more than any Director, more than any minister, past, present, or to come."

Commenting on this, he writes: "Students of current American politics are accustomed to the phrase, 'Everybody is wiser than anybody.' It may interest some of them to note from the above that Talleyrand said so before the American politicians."

But before that clever analyst of human nature had jotted down the remarks above mentioned, one who used the scalpel with possibly still greater skill in laying bare the motives of human action, and who exhibited unsurpassed acuteness in formulating rules for a successful career in "the world" — La Rochefoucauld, in short—had, in his 394th maxim, written as follows: "On peut être plus fin qu'un autre, mais non pas plus fin que tous les autres." Whether the adorer of Mme. La Fayette was the first observer who reduced this truth to the compass of a brief remark, or whether it can be traced back still further, I know not, and will leave for some one else to point out.

WM. D. GAILLARD.

CHARLESTON, S. C., January 10, 1891.

THE MISPLACED *H*.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Within a few days I have received a dissertation presented to the University at Helsingfors, Finland, in April, 1890, by Uno Lindelöf, and entitled, 'Die Sprache des Rituals von Durham: ein Beitrag zur altenglischen Grammatik.' The author, a pupil of Zupitza, has made an analysis of the Ritual gloss with much the same care, apparently, that Zeuner bestowed on the Psalter. In treating of the letter *h* he furnishes additional testimony to the antiquity of the peculiar use to which attention was recently called by F. H. In his opinion the gloss belongs probably to the end of the tenth century. He says (p. 69):

"Anlautendes *h* ist vor Vocalen sicher einfacher Hauch. Dass es sehr schwach war, beweist der Umstand, dass es einigemal unorganisch vor Vocalen erscheint, so wie es in neuenglischen Dialekten und in der Sprache ungebildeter Engländer oft der Fall ist. Hierher gehören: *se halda* (anticum) 105.8; *sio hatt'ne* (vipera) 125.14, welches wohl zu *attor* gehört; und *gehude* (praestabat) 197.10. —Nicht nur vor Vocalen kommt ein unorganisches *h* vor; dasselbe lässt sich einigemal auch vor *r* belegen; die Aussprache des *h* in der Gruppe *hr* muss wohl auch sehr schwach gewesen sein; *gihresta* (requiescere) 124.11; *gihriord* (epulam) 116.17 u. *gihrordiga* (epulemur, Skeat's Coll.) 25.9; *halges gihrynes* (sacramenti) 7.9; ebenso vor *l*: *hlæt* 28.10.

"Anderseits kommt auch Schwund von einem etymologisch berechtigten *h* im Anlaut vor: a) vor Vocalen: *use* (tabernaculo) 65.8; *ellvar'* (infernorum) 59.10; b) vor *l*: *lafardscipes* 182.10; *gilytto* (consortia) 22.20 für *gihlytto* (belegt 95.17, etc.; geslytte 191.20 ist Schreibfehler)."

Other examples, drawn mainly from the Northumbrian Gospels, may be found collected by Hilmer ('Zur altnordhumbrischen Laut- und Flexionslehre,' p. 43-4).

Very truly yours, EDWARD M. BROWN.

UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI, January 14, 1891.

"ENGLISH AS SHE IS WROTE."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: As you have recently published two gems of foreign English, I beg to offer you a third, which seems to me too valuable a treasure to be lost or wasted. It is a translation from Baron von Liebig, printed on the wine-list of a Munich hotel, to allure the temperate visitors from England and America:

"As a means of refreshment,
When the faculties are exhausted;
To animate and cheer up,
When tristful days are to be overcome;
To regulate an adjust,
When disproportions in the nourishment
And disturbances of the organism
Have taken place;
And as a defense
Against transitory molestations,
Called forth by disorganic nature;
It is then that WINE
Will not be surpassed
By any product of nature
Or of art."

E. R.

BOSTON, January 16, 1891.

Notes.

THE announcements of the Messrs. Putnam for the coming season include the following works: 'The Battle of Manassas,' a reply to Gen. Joseph E. Johnston, by Gen. Beauregard; the second volume of John Jay's Writings and Correspondence, by Prof. H. P. Johnston; 'Chapters on the Theory and History of Banking,' by Prof. Charles F. Dunbar of Harvard University; 'Principles of Social Economics,' by George Gunton; 'How We Went and What We Saw,' a journey in the Levant, by Charles McCormick Reeve; 'Pilgrims in Palestine,' a family journey described by Thomas Hodgkin; 'Winona, a Dakota Legend; and Other Poems,' by Capt. E. L. Huggins, U.S.A.; 'The Vikings in Western Christendom, A. D. 789-888,' by Charles F. Keary; and 'A Literary Manual of Foreign Quotations (Latin, Italian, French, and German),' by John Devoe Belton.

Col. T. A. Dodge follows up his 'Alexander,' in his series of great military leaders, with 'Hannibal,' which is now in the press of Houghton, Mifflin & Co., as is also the second volume of Mr. James Parton's 'Captains of Industry.' They have nearly ready 'Francis Wayland,' in the series of American Religious Leaders, by Prof. J. O. Murray of Princeton, and the 'Crystal Button,' a Bellamytish story by Chauncey Thomas.

Mr. Edwin Arnold's new poem, 'The Light of the World,' is set down for publication next month by Funk & Wagnalls.

Jameson's 'Story of the Rear Column of the Emin Pasha Relief Expedition' is to find an American publisher in the United States Book Co.

'Undesigned Coincidences in the Old and New Testaments,' by the Rev. John J. Blunt, will shortly be issued by Wilbur B. Ketcham, New York.

W. S. Gottsberger & Co. publish directly 'A Child's Romance,' by Pierre Loti, in an authorized translation by Mrs. Clara Bell.

Riehl's tale, 'Der Fluch der Schönheit,' has been edited for schools by Prof. Calvin Thomas of Michigan University, and is ready to be published by D. C. Heath & Co., Boston.

We recently had occasion to speak with praise of the first two volumes of the new 'Hand book of Athletic Sports,' edited by Ernest Bell for the Bohn Library (New York: Scribner & Welford). The third and last is now obtainable, and we need do no more than mention the branches treated in it, viz., boxing, wrestling, fencing, broad-sword, and single-stick. Under the last caption the shillalah is introduced, with examples of its riotous employment, its mode of use (the left fore-arm guarding the left side of the head), and the humors of the Irish fondness for this weapon.

Nearly twenty years ago Mr. Edward Powers, C. E., sent us his 'War and the Weather,' an attempt to prove that the bringing on of rain was measurably within human control by the use of artillery. Mr. Powers's experimental evidence was drawn, of course, from the history of warfare. His argument and his arrangement seemed to us very defective then, and a revised edition which he has just published at Delavan, Wis., will not yet commend itself to a reasoning mind. He has adopted at least one of the corrections we pointed out in 1871, and by so much, at least, we can say the new book is better than the old; but otherwise we should have to repeat our judgment.

Mrs. F. J. A. Darr's 'The Strange Friend of Tito Gil' (A. Lovell & Co.), from the Spanish of Pedro A. De Alarcón, is really that writer's 'The Friend of Death' (*El Amigo de la Muerte*), with the hero given a new name and other liberties taken with the original. The translator's knowledge of Spanish appears to be so good that her occasional blunders are probably due to carelessness. For the rest the little tale is a whimsical one, miles away from all likelihood even to a Spanish reader, and still further to the English. The statement volunteered by the publishers that this story has led all Alarcón's others "in popularity and sales" is grossly inaccurate.

No. 1 in the "Diplomatic Series" of Mr. Worthington C. Ford's 'Winnowings in American History,' takes up the first diplomatic question that confronted the newly framed government of the United States in 1790, namely, our relations with Spain, and particularly the question what reply was to be given to the request which Washington expected the British to make, for permission to cross our territory with an expeditionary corps directed against the Spanish forts on the lower Mississippi. The President asked the opinion of each member of his Cabinet on this point, and their replies are here published in full. The general opinion was, that the permission should not be granted, and yet that it would be unwise to refuse outright lest the British should go ahead anyhow, and the feeble Government be unable to resent the affront. From those weak beginnings to the time when we do not propose to allow British vessels to navigate the Pacific Ocean, how vast the change!

Mr. Cecil Charles's 'Honduras' (Rand, McNally & Co.) is an unpretentious account of personal experiences in mining camps and along the route across the country, together with considerable information about its mineral and agricultural resources.

Something of the air of a hymn-book or a pocket Bible has been given to a complete edition of Tennyson's Poems just issued by Macmillan & Co. Gilt edges, rounded corners, flexible, dark morocco covers imply what is precious and intimate, and the small type and the thin but not translucent paper insure the necessary compactness. Altogether one seldom sees a more attractive volume of poetry, and it may well serve as a model. A steel portrait accompanies it.

'Memorabilia' is almost the last word to be applied to the volume intended to commemorate the late George B. Cheever, D.D., and his wife Elizabeth Wetmore, which comes to us from John Wiley & Sons. Half the book, or nearly 340 pages, is devoted to a collection of Dr. Cheever's verse, which has nothing memorable about it. So Dr. Cheever's nominal biography of his wife is inexpressibly crude, diffuse, discursive, and would be no loss if it had never been written. The same may be said, with very few exceptions, of the mass of letters pitchforked in at the end, with such an utter disregard of chronology that generally no date is affixed, and sometimes the reply precedes the original missive. The contents are dreadfully commonplace, for the most part. Cheever was a college classmate of Longfellow, and there are two or three characteristic brief letters by the poet. In one of these he says truly of Dr. Cheever's portrait, as the reader may judge from the frontispiece: "It not only resembles you, but two other persons whom one may not be ashamed to resemble, namely, Dr. Channing and Mr. Ruskin. The same outline of face, the same expression." A climax of disappointment is afforded by the so-called "copious index," which is neither an index nor copious.

Dr. Augustus Jessopp has done a good service by reprinting, in the Bohn Library (New York: Scribner & Welford), 'The Lives of the Norths,' together with their biographer's autobiography, which Dr. Jessopp himself first gave to the light in 1887. All previous editions, together with this concerning Roger North himself, had become scarce, while the historic worth and the human interest of these lives are perennial. There are three steel portraits of Francis, Dudley, and Roger North, and an index, not very full except as regards proper names; the whole in three volumes having the familiar Bohn stamp.

'Macmillan's School Atlas' considerably exceeds in bulk and importance works of the corresponding class in this country, and would have to be still larger if a special set of maps of the several States were prepared for American pupils. We should rather be disposed to emphasize another use of it, namely, as a family atlas, since it is a cheap and handy medium between our school atlases and the larger folios. It is equipped with an index, too. The physical as well as the political side of geography is well looked after. The workmanship is that of John Bartholomew & Co., less elegant in engraving and less delicate in coloring than that of the great German establishments, but sufficiently clear. The atlas is neatly bound in red cloth.

The Interior Department issues from time to time a wall-map of the United States, and such a one was prepared last year, under the auspices of the Geological Survey and the special direction of Mr. Henry Gannett, by Mr. Harry King, chief draughtsman. It has been beautifully engraved by Julius Bien & Co. of this city. The scale is 1:2,500,000, or approximately 40 miles to the inch. The topography is indicated by contour lines in red, at 100, 500, 1,000, 1,500, 2,000, 3,000, etc., feet above sea level. The 100-foot line is the most interesting of all, and, on the east coast, the loop which it makes in Florida shows strikingly how small a part of the peninsula has even this modest elevation. On the Pacific Coast the same line hugs the shore, and the higher succeed rapidly. The railroad system of the United States is delineated on this map.

A late *Athenæum* contains the notice issued by the Controller of the University Press, Oxford, respecting the terms for furnishing photographic negatives and prints from MSS., printed books, etc., in the Bodleian Library. This is a great boon to scholars, book-illustrators, and lecturers with the lantern, and the example cannot fail to be imitated in all great libraries the world over. The prices cited are remarkably low, as seventy-five cents for a 10x8 negative taken at the Library, eight cents for a silver print, and twenty for a platinotype or a carbon print, with reductions according to quantity. As the *Athenæum* remarks, "if (say) six persons of similar tastes will join to form a syndicate, they can obtain most satisfactory results."

We have received the first number of the *Pedagogical Seminary*, "an international record of educational literature, institutions, and progress," edited by Dr. G. Stanley Hall, President of Clark University, at Worcester, Mass. There will be three numbers a year. The first article, following the salutatory exposition of the objects of the new magazine, is by the editor, and treats of Educational Reforms. The next is a timely one, by W. H. Burnham, on the New German School, or the burning question of the reform of the Gymnasium. Then follow *précis* of works illustrating the higher education in France, Germany, the rest of Europe, and North America; medical education, and intermediate and elementary education. Notes conclude the number, giving summary accounts of recent publications, addresses, news-letters, etc. It cannot be doubted that the *Seminary* fills a gap.

Prof. William James vigorously takes up the cudgels for the proposed shortening of the college course in the *Harvard Monthly* for January. He argues—justly, as we believe—that a three years' course would deter from idleness and indifference (and we will add prankishness) in the first year, and would "brace up all along the line." He also touches the marrow of the question when he says: "The distinction of passmen from honormen, of 'general-culture men' from specializers, is founded in the nature of things, and *must* be provided for in our academic arrangements. Let the higher degrees serve for the latter class; let the lower degrees serve for the former." *Per contra*, the minority report of the Harvard Faculty in opposition to the change is given in the *Crimson* of January 15.

In the New York *Teacher* for December last, Prof. Hugh S. Bird criticises Mr. Worthington C. Ford's recent letter to this journal on the subject of Colonial Education in Virginia, laying especial stress on what the College of William and Mary contributed towards it.

On January 24 the Massachusetts Historical Society will celebrate its hundredth anniversary in the Arlington Street Church, Boston, with an address by Mr. T. W. Higginson. Moreover, it will make this event the occasion of issuing a volume of letters written to or by its founder, Dr. Jeremy Belknap, edited by Mr. Charles C. Smith. This collection promises to possess uncommon interest, both because of the eminence of the correspondents and the light which is shed upon the social, religious, political, and literary history of New England during the last quarter of the eighteenth century.

An archæological survey of Egypt has been undertaken by the Egypt Exploration Fund; and Mr. George Fraser, a civil engineer, and Mr. Percy E. Newberry, a specially trained student and photographer, have already begun work in the southern part of the province of Minieh, Upper Egypt. The results of each year's work will be published in volumes uniform with the annual memoirs of the Fund. A special fund has been opened for this survey, and subscriptions to it from America may be sent to the Rev. W. C. Winslow, 525 Beacon Street, Boston.

In our notice last week of Mr. Reeves's admirable work on 'The Finding of Wineland the Good,' we ought to have stated that the American publishers are Macmillan & Co.

—In the extracts from his Memoirs published in the current *Century*, Talleyrand tells of the Maine Yankee who would have liked well enough to see Gen. Washington, but whose enthusiasm was evoked by the idea of seeing "Mr. Bingham, the man who they say is so rich." "Throughout the States," comments Talleyrand (as translated in the *Century*), "I met with similar love for money, and often as coarsely expressed." From the fame of the narrator this story is likely to become a universally known illustration of the sordidness of the Yankee character; but a Boston correspondent calls our attention to the fact that so strong an inference is hardly justified. To a Maine rustic in 1794-95, when Talleyrand was in this country, William Bingham was probably the richest man in the world—indeed, so far as his immediate knowledge went, the only man of great wealth; but he was also a local celebrity, and it was less the amount of his wealth than his use of it which made him such. In 1786, the year of Shays' rebellion, it was very difficult even for a State to raise money, and in that year Massachusetts established a "land lottery," 2,720 tickets being offered for sale (at £60), each warranted to draw a prize. The larger prizes were to consist of a township six miles square, the smaller of a lot one-half a mile square; the entire territory thus disposed of being situated between the Penobscot and St. Croix Rivers, and including a part of Mt. Desert Island, as recent purchasers of villa lots in that neighborhood are aware. In payment of tickets soldiers' claims and other forms of depreciated currency were receivable, and most of them were sold, the remainder being taken by Bingham, who, after the distribution, bought up the greater part of the ticket-holders' titles. Bingham died in 1803, and at one time the Bingham heirs possessed the enormous amount of 2,350,000 acres in Maine, probably the largest estate which ever existed in the Eastern States. Bingham owned large tracts before the lottery, and in 1784 a town was named in his honor. Wealth spread over so large a territory as this might well excite the imagination even of men of wider knowledge and higher ideals than would naturally be found among a population of farmers and fishermen. Moreover, it was probably as a landowner, and not merely as a rich man, that Bingham made an impression on the Maine Yankee. The same thing holds good to-day. "In 1860," says our correspondent, "when camping out on the Union River, I heard much talk about the Binghams, but it was because they had lands. The same people never spoke of John Jacob Astor."

—The report of the proceedings of the second Congress of the Scotch-Irish Society of America is published by Robert Clarke & Co. of Cincinnati. The Congress was held last May at Pittsburgh, with much propriety, since in Western Pennsylvania above all other parts of the country the Scotch-Irish blood is predominant. It is asserted that at one time seven-eighths of the business men of that city were Scotch-Irish, and that three-fourths of the entire population are even now of that descent. This is not incredible if we accept the statement that, for several years prior to 1750, about twelve thousand of these people arrived annually in Pennsylvania. The Qua-

kers and the German immigrants had appropriated the eastern end of the State, and the new element was assigned to the pioneer work of the frontier—work for which they were peculiarly qualified by their experience in Ireland as well as by their natural vigor. From this region they spread toward the West and Southwest, occupying a large part of Ohio, filling the mountainous parts of the Southern States, and descending into the more level portions of Kentucky and Tennessee. In this whole section they have been the leading element, and have obtained corresponding honors in both Church and State. Hitherto devoted to the serious business of life, they now pause to review their acquisitions, and, making due allowance for the glorification customary under such circumstances, we must yet admit that the greatness of their work well deserves commemoration.

—Of the papers read at this Congress, which was as successful as numbers, enthusiasm, and a good deal of eloquence could make it, that by Prof. Perry of Williams College upon the Scotch-Irish in New England is altogether the most valuable. He sketches the history of the three principal colonies, which were established at Worcester, at Londonderry, and in the Kennebec country, with considerable detail and in a very interesting manner. His researches will make the labor of establishing the somewhat neglected genealogies of these people much easier, and it is to work of this kind that the members of the newly formed society will naturally devote themselves. The paper on the Preston family, by Mr. W. E. Robinson of Brooklyn, deserves notice as showing what can be done in this direction. From that upon Gov. Houston of Texas we feel impelled by recent occurrences to quote a few sentences which were uttered by that eminent man in the United States Senate many years ago:

"I care not," he said, "what dreamers, and politicians, and travellers, and writers say to the contrary, I know the Indian character, and I confidently avow that if one-third of the many millions of dollars our Government has appropriated within the last twenty-five years, for the benefit of the Indian population, had been honestly and judiciously applied, there would not have been at this time a single tribe within the limits of our States and Territories but what would have been in the complete enjoyment of all the arts and all the comforts of civilized life. But there is not a tribe but has been outraged and defrauded; and nearly all the wars we have prosecuted against the Indians have grown out of the bold fraud and the cruel injustice played off upon them by our Indian agents and their accomplices."

—Count Lyeff N. Tolstoi's country-place, Yasnaya Polyana, is situated in the district of Krapivna, Government of Tule. The chief place—the county town—is Krapivna, containing 2,730 inhabitants. On the 10th of last December, as we learn from a St. Petersburg journal, a local murder trial was to come before the session of the court held there, and the rumor spread abroad that Count Tolstoi was to appear in the character of defender of the accused. As the Count's attitude towards all courts of justice was well known—he denies their authority and pays heavy fines rather than serve as juror—there was great popular curiosity to see him on this occasion, when he was, apparently, acting against his publicly announced principles. As the Count and his daughters partly confirmed the rumor by arriving a couple of days before the trial, the court-room was packed to the very last nook on the window-sills, the Count and his daughters occupying seats in the second row. But the Count did not plead. He confined his breach of his own principles to providing an advocate for the murderers and to a diligent taking of notes during the proceedings. The case on trial was as follows: A peasant youth, aged seventeen years, remarkably strong, and consequently envied and disliked by the other lads of the village, had been invited by four of his comrades to take a walk, after a village dance last May. The next morning his body was found in a pond, showing wounds made by stones on the head and body. A noose round his neck showed that he had also been strangled, and a stone of sixty pounds weight had been tied to his body with ropes.

—The murderers confessed their crime, but maintained that it had not been committed with premeditation. This being the case, the public prosecutor confined his brief speech to the argument that the evidence of premeditation was furnished by the ropes, as people are not in the habit of walking about with ropes in their pockets. The advocate provided by Count Tolstoi made an eloquent and highly sophistical argument, warmly urging acquittal for all four. The jury, however, pronounced three of them guilty. The fourth, a special friend of the victim, had taken no active part in the murder, and he was acquitted. One of the guilty was sentenced, as a minor, to two and a half years' imprisonment. The other two are to be sent to one of the less distant tracts of Siberia. The motive for the murder seemed to be downright animal brutality, without special provocation. This case is rendered doubly interesting by the circumstance that Count Tolstoi has maintained in private conversation that, while a Russian peasant may commit murder or other crimes on the impulse of the moment, he never does so with premeditation, contrary to his own showing in his disagreeable drama, "The Power of Darkness." The inference is that he may now have become convinced that a sentiment of brotherhood exists between the criminal of all nations, and may be induced to revise his opinions.

SMITH'S NEW DICTIONARY OF CLASSICAL ANTIQUITIES.

A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities. Edited by William Smith, LL.D. Third edition, revised and enlarged. In two volumes. Vol. I. Boston: Little, Brown & Co.; London: John Murray. 1890.

THE editor of this book has been vouchsafed a happiness which it is not given to many scholars to enjoy. The first edition of the 'Dictionary of Antiquities' appeared in 1842; it was revised and enlarged in 1848, and now, after almost fifty years from its first appearance, Dr. Smith is permitted to reissue it in a shape which promises as long a life in the future as it has had in the past. In the vastness of its scope this dictionary has always stood alone in the English language, and even in a foreign tongue there has been in the present century no work, except Lübke's 'Reallexicon,' which, in a single volume, has covered the field of antiquities at once so widely and so sufficiently. Other books have treated special branches with greater particularity. In this the whole subject of antiquities is contained, private, political, legal, artistic, architectural, numismatic, religious, military, theatrical. Of course, the scholar will never be content with the mere statements of results, which, however fully recorded, are all that can be expected in a book of this general nature; he will always want to know the steps by which these results were obtained; for every doctrine set forth, he will not rest satisfied until he has seen the grounds on which it is founded. By him, the fuller and more particular handbooks, the monographs and studies upon which, indeed, the dictionary is based, will need to be consulted. Even he, however, will always begin his researches with some such work as this dictionary, and if he be English or American, this will be the book which he will use. But to the less advanced though earnest student, to the seeker for education in general, Dr. Smith has been and will be the best and almost the only guide through this great field.

It seems scarcely necessary to remark, in these columns, upon the great advance that has been made in the study of antiquities during the past forty years. Both in archæology and in literary subjects the activity has been most vigorous. Of inscriptions alone, the discovery and publication of a wealth of material has quite revolutionized several departments of knowledge. The systematic excavation and re-excavation of ancient sites, while throwing light upon all the different branches of architecture, have yielded many treasures that illustrate life in classical antiquity. Our ideas of the constitutional and legal history of Greece and Rome have been revised. The comparative method, applied not only to language, but also to culture and religion, has explained much that before seemed dark and arbitrary. As a result of all this, and with the ever-increasing special treatises and monographs, the books upon which scholars of fifty years ago used to pin their faith have become obsolete or been rewritten.

There has, therefore, been no lack of material for use in the revision of Dr. Smith's Dictionary, and, so far as we have observed, this material has generally been carefully and faithfully employed. In fact, this edition may be regarded to a great extent as a new work, and readers will not be surprised to hear that in size it far exceeds the earlier one. The present first volume contains 1,293 pages; there were but 1,053 in the former book, complete in one volume. It is true that in the first four letters of the alphabet the editor has been able to use the *Thesaurus* of Daremberg and Saglio (which, begun in 1877, has only reached the letter D); but there appears to be a corresponding growth further on. Thus, E now covers 123 pages, to 76 in the old edition; F, 77 to 48. To speak of single subjects in different branches of antiquities, we note that the article on *Domus* covers 32 pages, to 10 in the former work; *Eleusinia*, 10 to 3; *Exercitus*, 46 to 29; *Actio*, 9 to 4; *Fictile*, 14 to 3. In fact, we are told that one-third of the articles have been entirely rewritten, two-thirds greatly altered, about two hundred added, and hardly twenty reprinted as they stood before. There are also many more illustrations, this edition containing upwards of 450 new woodcuts. As in the former work, each article is signed with the initials of its writer, and a complete list of writers is given after the title-page. In the former there were eighteen, in the present list forty-four (besides those members of the old staff who still survive), all Englishmen or persons holding positions in schools or colleges in the United Kingdom.

It must be evident that, in a work of this vast extent, mistakes and imperfections will disclose themselves only gradually, with time and use. No one man lives who could pretend to criticise it at present except in general terms, with such particulars here and there as may meet his eye, or in the subjects in which he has special knowledge. That it should be without flaws were incredible. Dr. Smith himself, who might say with the sage—

γηράσκω δ' αἰεὶ πολλὰ διδασκόμενος,

would be the very last to set up the claim to perfection. We have stated that on the whole the work of its production has been faithfully performed. At the end of each article are given the sources upon which it is based, and to which scholars will turn for verification and further light. It is perhaps a result of the employment of different writers that the latest editions of standard hand-books are not always referred to. In such cases the doubt naturally arises whether the writer has given us the most approved information. Thus, the first edition of Marquardt is cited on page 4; the old edition of Schoemann on pages 10 and 41; and that of the 'Attische Process' on pages 123, 167, and 243—these all in spite of the fact that in the preface we are told that the old editions have been superseded. It is discouraging to find that the assistant editor, Mr. Wayte, is responsible for all but one of the above mentioned references. But those who are especially interested in legal antiquities need not be too greatly alarmed, for we have observed a number of references to Lipsius's edition of the 'Process,' and, further, the old paging is preserved on the margin of the new edition of that book. The legal articles, formerly written by Mr. George Long, have been either rewritten or improved, and are in general full and excellent. The word *ἀπαγωγή*, however, finds better treatment under *ἔνδειξις* than in its own place. The most obvious fault in the whole book is that the cuts are frequently very rude in their execution; the worst we have observed is that of the *danaces*, from which one could not possibly tell what this coin was like. The cuts of coins throughout the book must be a great disappointment to Dr. Percy Gardner, who wrote the *numismatica*. His name, though, is enough to show that no criticism of what is written on that subject is in place here. We may be permitted, without being invidious, to make a few special criticisms before closing our notice of this invaluable book.

Under *Cena* it is said that cases are found of Roman women reclining at table where there was conceived to be nothing bold or indelicate in their posture. But the very act of such reclining was to the Roman a most indelicate thing in a woman, and no instance of a respectable woman doing it will be found before the time of the Empire. Further, the cut produced in support of the statement is one of those funeral reliefs from which nothing can surely be determined about the actual practices of domestic life. The very nature of the scene forbids us to think that it could ever have been realized in the "good old times." Under *Chorus* there is not a hint that the writer of the article ever heard of the theory (many will now call it a doctrine) that there was no raised stage in the Greek theatre. He assumes that there was a stage, and says that the chorus "appear to have mounted it occasionally (*cf.* Soph. *O. C.* 856; Ar. *Av.* 353-400; Eur. *Helen.* 1627-40), if we are not merely to suppose that the chorus stood sufficiently close to the actors to be able to touch them." Now in not one of the passages cited is there any change of level expressed in the words of the play, and it is only by assuming that there was a stage to mount that obliges one to think that there was any mounting done at all. But more remarkable still is the notion that, if there was a stage, the actors upon it could be touched by the chorus in the orchestra, when Vitruvius, upon whom the whole theory of the Greek "stage" chiefly rests, says that it was from ten to twelve feet high! It is to be hoped that this matter will be less cavalierly dismissed under *Theatrum* in the second volume. Under *Domus* we find the old myth about the Greek house in Delos. There is no such house. Guhl and Koner, to whom reference is made in support of the statement, do indeed give a ground plan which they say is that of a house in Delos, and in their turn refer to the 'Antiquities of Ionia.' There the patient investigator will discover that the building was in Cnidos and was probably not a dwelling-house at all. Another favorite old myth crops up in the statement (on p. 687) that chimneys have been found in the ruins of ancient buildings. Where, except in baths and bakeries? We do not believe that any chimney has yet been discovered in an ancient dwelling-house, and the great mass of literary evidence is against the supposition that there were such conveniences. Nobody who knows the conservatism of the Romans will be willing to think that the existence of chimneys here and there in public buildings is sufficient evidence to prove that they were used in private houses. Under *Collegium* the *collegia opificum* are hardly mentioned, and the element of religion in all *collegia* is not brought out, nor the fact that many were little more than burial and benefit societies. Nor is it shown that the great body of *collegia* were an imitation of the important official ones, originally confined to the nobles, and that honor to the dead was frequently the object of these institutions. To conclude these observations, the article on the Eleusinian Mysteries, in the main satisfactory, might have been improved by consultation of Nebe's essay, to which no reference is made. The temple at Eleusis is too briefly described, and a plan should have been given of this structure, which was in some particulars unique. But this, perhaps, may be expected under *Templum*, for the first volume ends with *Juvenalia*.

AN EARLY AMERICAN ARTIST.

A Sketch of Chester Harding, Artist, Drawn by his own Hand. Edited by his Daughter, Margaret E. White. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1890.

CHESTER HARDING'S "Egotistography" has been long on the list of books "printed but not published." It is now, with some additions, given to the world by his daughter, and a very entertaining book it proves to be. Mr. Harding began his career at a period when art was at its lowest ebb in this country and life was at its narrowest, when the few good painters of the Revolutionary epoch were passing away, and there were few signs of a native art springing up in the place they had left vacant; and this sketch of his life affords us many a curious side-glance at the conditions of the time. He tells his story in a simple style, with a shrewdness, naïveté, and quiet humor that remind one of Franklin, though the humor would seem to be sometimes more unconscious than that of the great autobiographer.

He was born in Conway, Mass., in 1792, of a poor family who seem to have been a singular combination of shiftlessness with Yankee ingenuity, able to turn their hands to anything, yet always in debt, and always moving from place to place and trying new trades. His father "had a great inventive genius, and turned all his powers towards the discovery of perpetual motion." In this nomadic family was young Harding brought up, and it is not astonishing that he got barely enough schooling to enable him "to read the Bible." He inherited the family character, and in a few years was wood-cutter, chair-maker, soldier, drum-maker, peddler, tavern-keeper, house-painter, and, finally, sign-painter, and had lived in almost as many different places as he had trades. It is in this part of his story that one suspects some of his humor of being unconscious. When he gravely tells how he was swindled by a gambler who made him think, as usual, that he himself was doing the swindling; how he married and brought home a wife, and "had hardly reached it before he was sued for a small debt which he could not meet"; and how he left home at night to avoid his creditors, one wonders if he quite realizes the force of it all. It is only fair to say that the debts were afterwards paid in full. His military experience (in the war of 1812), from his own account, seems to have been confined to chicken-stealing and dysentery.

About 1819 or 1820 for dates are not plentiful in the book, while he was living as a sign-painter in Pittsburgh, he fell in with a "sign, ornamental, and portrait-painter" by the name of Nelson, whose productions seem to have been absolutely the first paintings he had ever seen. They filled him with admiration and delight, and he thought them "wonders of art." He determined to try if he could do the same thing, and, without any instruction whatever (for Nelson would not let him see him paint, or give him any hint as to how the thing was done), he set about it.

"I got a board, and, with such colors as I had for use in my trade, I began a portrait of my wife. I made a thing that looked like her. The moment I saw the likeness I became frantic with delight; it was like the discovery of a new sense; I could think of nothing else. From that time sign painting became odious and was much neglected."

He next painted a portrait of a journeyman baker for five dollars, and portraits of his landlord and landlady for twelve dollars each "on account." Thus began his professional career. In a short time he was "starring" the West, doing a profitable business in painting portraits, first at twenty-five and later at forty dollars a "head."

He must have had a strong natural ability for seizing a likeness: two months in the Academy at Philadelphia seems to have been all the regular study he had prior to his great success in Boston, yet his portraits seem to have given satisfaction. Some years later he was described in *Blackwood's Magazine* (August, 1824) as "ignorant of drawing." "Hence it is," continues his critic, "that his heads and bodies appear to be the work of two different persons, a master and a bungler." A good instance of this is the portrait of his wife, painted in 1821, which faces page 38, where the shoulders are all out of drawing and have nothing to do with the head. To the end he speaks of "painting heads" as his profession. He must have worked with astonishing rapidity. In one place in the book there is a record of his having painted fifteen portraits in three weeks, while he often gives the dates of beginning and finishing a portrait within two or three days of each other.

Of the early days there are one or two good stories, like that of his borrowing a dollar for the marketing, but being tempted too strongly and spending it to see his first play. "I do not remember," he says, "how we fared the next day in our marketing, *but I presume I borrowed another dollar in the morning.*" About this time also he read, or rather his wife read to him, his first novel, 'The Children of the Abbey.' He objected strongly at first, having been brought up to think "that cards and novels were the chief instruments of the devil in seducing mortals from the paths of virtue," but soon became so interested that he "kept her reading all night, and gave her no

rest until the novel was finished." "The first novel I ever read myself," he goes on, "was 'Rob Roy.' I could only read it understandingly by reading it aloud, and to this day I often find myself whispering the words in the daily newspaper." His disapproval of novels seems, however, to have been almost as persistent as his habit of reading aloud, for, as late as 1838, we find him writing to one of his children, "Novels only weaken the mind and give a distaste for useful reading."

After a year or two of portrait-painting in the West, he had laid by more than a thousand dollars and bought a carriage and horses, and with these he returned to his family, in western New York, in glory, and paid off the debts he had left behind him at the time of his moonlight flitting. He was "the wonder of the whole neighborhood," but the doubt with which the career of an artist was then looked upon is capitally shown by his account of an interview with his grandfather, who said gravely: "Chester, I want to speak to you about your present mode of life. I think it is very little better than swindling to charge $40 for one of those effigies. Now, I want you to give up this course of living and settle down on a farm and become *a respectable man.*"

He had now intended to go to Europe, but gave it up, temporarily, out of consideration for his wife and children, and instead, after short stays in other cities, went to Boston, where he met with great success, and "for six months rode triumphantly on the top wave of fortune." Boston was then, apparently, as much liable to "fads" as it is now, and what Gilbert Stuart called the "Harding fever" raged hotly. This self-made painter was the curiosity of the day, and had more work than he could do, while Stuart "was idle half the winter." To do Mr. Harding justice, he fully understood the nature of his success, and did not for a moment consider himself Stuart's equal—indeed, he afterwards called himself his pupil. He writes in his journal on the 27th of June, 1824: "There was something novel, perhaps, in my history that contributed more to my unheard-of success than any merit I possessed as a painter. The fact of a man's coming from the backwoods of America, entirely uneducated, to paint even a tolerable portrait, was enough to excite some little interest." The same reasons brought him much the same success in England, where he went in 1823, and where he was soon engaged upon portraits of royal dukes and other great men.

From this on, the book becomes less interesting. It relates the career of the ordinary successful portrait-painter, and loses the piquancy of the earlier chapters. There is, however, a naïf simplicity in the comments of his journal on a life so new to him as that of the English aristocracy and country gentry; and his criticisms on the works of art which he now saw for the first time, are sometimes amusing. It is, for instance, difficult to conceive, at this day, that any one can ever have found West's "Death on the Pale Horse" "awfully sublime"!

After three years in Europe, Harding returned to America and resumed his tours among the various cities of the Union. He was again in England in 1846. He painted nearly all the celebrities of his day, and the volume gives many interesting glimpses of Randolph, Webster, Calhoun, and other contemporary statesmen. One of the most interesting is of Chief-Justice Marshall playing at quoits, and "down on his knees, measuring the contested distance with a straw with as much earnestness as if it had been a point of law." Harding's prices seem very modest when compared with modern standards. At the time of his first great success in Boston he charged fifty dollars for a head, and after his return from London his price had only advanced to one hundred. The last portrait he painted was one of Gen. W. T. Sherman. He died on April 1, 1866.

We have little by which to judge of Mr. Harding's standing as an artist. He seems to have been an indefatigable worker and to have made steady improvement in his art. His portraits are widely scattered, and few of them seem to be accessible to New Yorkers. Judging from the few photogravures in the book, he appears to have attained to respectability, but nothing more. As a man, he must be thought to have been every way admirable and much beloved, and he so far overcame his early lack of education as to mingle, on terms of equality, with the greatest men of his time, and to make on them all the impression that he was, emphatically, a gentleman. His "Egotistography" will, we believe, always remain a work of great interest. The lack of an index is to be regretted.

RECENT PHILOSOPHY.

Introduction to Philosophy: An Inquiry after a Rational System of Scientific Principles in their Relation to Ultimate Reality. By George Trumbull Ladd, Professor of Philosophy in Yale University. Charles Scribner's Sons. 1890. 8vo, pp. 426.

Essays in Philosophy. By William Knight, Professor of Moral Philosophy and Political Economy in the University of St. Andrews. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Company. 1890. 12mo, pp. 367.

Le Libre Arbitre: Étude Philosophique. Par Ernest Naville. Paris: Fischbacher. 1890. Pp. 338.

PROFESSOR LADD shows most distinctly that it is the philosophy and example of Lotze which have moved him to mediate between science and theology. The method perhaps suits the transitional stage of thought in this country, but it can hardly serve any other purpose than to render more easy and gradual the passage to the scientific point of view; for we cannot forget that Lotze was, after all, in entire sympathy with the methods of science, and made his concessions to idealistic thought in a way that lends no clear or adequate support to popular theology, and only lingers where the last struggles are going on between the old and new phases of belief because his system was an attempt at peace-making when the claims of science could no longer be contested in the spirit of the last century. The significance of this fact requires no remarks. But it may be interesting to observe that the reason for the diminishing importance of pure metaphysics is an incident or a view in the system of Lotze which Prof. Ladd does not take into account at all, or slurs over.

He continues, therefore, to inculcate the consequences contingent upon theories of philosophy. It is true that changes in fundamental views of philosophy do affect theology and ethics, and such an influence might be deplored or prevented if philosophy were dependent upon them for its jurisdiction; but after submitting the settlement of all claims to the authority of philosophy, it is absurd to complain if the decision sets aside demands of dependencies. Theology must be either the master or servant of philosophy, if the relation of dependence between them is to be assumed at all. Besides, Prof. Ladd forgets that in making everything contingent upon the issue in philosophy, the student must suspend judgment until the primary question is settled. The "ultimate reality" for which he contends, even after it is obtained, does not close the dispute, as the very postulates of ethics and theology, in his own view of the case, are not satisfied by it.

The chapter on the relation between psychology and philosophy indicates most unmistakably the tendency of the day to distinguish very sharply between the science and the metaphysics of psychology. Every one knows what psychology has been in the past, and how rich and fruitful it has become in recent years under the inspiration and direction of strictly scientific methods. We are coming to see clearly, and Prof. Ladd admits the legitimacy of the distinction, that it is one thing to determine the relations of resemblance and dependence in mental phenomena, and quite another to determine the nature of the being, subject, cause, or ground of which they are phenomena. The consequences of this distinction have already been very great in removing all metaphysics from psychological problems, but Prof. Ladd appears entirely unconscious of the manner and extent to which this fact cuts up by the roots the "practical" importance so long claimed for psychology, as a system of real or semi-metaphysics. As to the stake which religion and theology have in the matter, we are not so sure that they have anything to do with theories of metaphysics. They are usually held most tenaciously by those who either do not know anything about philosophy, or despise it; and as soon as they are submitted to reason, allegiance begins to relax. It would seem, then, the safest thing to let philosophy alone, unless we are willing to abide by its judgment. The cultivation of the scientific spirit in psychology enables us to do this very thing, and all the world is leaving speculative questions to the few who have an interest in them for purposes not immediately connected with practical life.

We have no desire to be unjust to Prof. Ladd, and in fairness to him it should be said that his volume has great merits. It shows deep reflection, and in the chapter on "Philosophy of Religion," the longest in the book, there is much candid warning given to the religious mind about hostility to science. He boldly tells us that religion has to appear before the bar of reason and be tried there before dogmatizing about her high claims, and that "a revelation which should contradict the truths implicated in all knowledge is unthinkable." That is to say, wherever a conflict arises between philosophy and religion, the concession must be made by the latter. Hence the contradiction is clear when he quotes to condemn the scholastic maxim, "Philosophia est ancilla theologiæ," and on the next page remarks that "a true philosophy can never contravene or mar the true religion"—a statement which might be a truism if the two subjects had no more relation to each other than geology and geography. He also speaks of "the mysteries of faith" as if he had never heard of the illusions caused by confusing it with intellectual assent to propositions, and in some cases with a certitude of conviction not given by reason.

The characteristic merits and faults of the work are best seen in the chapter on the "Theory of Knowledge." We can notice only the method of treatment. This is much more adapted to those who already understand the problem than to those who are to be introduced to it. It presumes here, as almost everywhere, that the student understands Kant and German idealism, an achievement which, it

seems, most men have not yet accomplished after having gone far beyond the need of an "introduction." We have a right to expect from such a work that it should treat the subject in a way to explain the nature of the problem by the plainest analysis of its terms and conceptions, with such history of its bearings as would create an interest in pursuing its implications to the end. But there is only the most general outline. In other words, we have more of Prof. Ladd's conclusions than elementary exposition, which is not what such a volume should give if it is meant for the student, as the preface declares. Those conclusions also, unfortunately, are so abstruse that none can fully appreciate them until he has completed his studies, and his prize then would be largely the staple formulas of logic and metaphysics.

Prof. Knight's collection of essays is excellent. It is all that Prof. Ladd's volume is not. The essays are clear, exhibit good literary style, possess interest, and above all show a cultivation of social, æsthetic, and intellectual taste. The reader is made to see from the beginning to the end that his conceptions in the field of higher problems are capable of expression in concrete questions of art, society, and politics. Although the mental power desirable in the treatment of any subject is lacking, you are pleased with the free-and-easy discussion and often a human sympathy that one seeks in vain in the charnel-houses of scholastic thought. It is some index of the author's taste and tendencies that he dedicates his volume to James Russell Lowell, and the reader will not mistake the nature of the inspiration that gives rise to the life and interest of the essays. The first essay is the best illustration of this. It is entitled "Idealism and Experience." The latter term is perhaps ill-chosen, as it does not exactly express what the author intends by it, and yet it would be difficult to select any other that would be better qualified for the purpose. "Experience" suggests a theory of the origin of knowledge, and not a comprehensive philosophy, as the first of the two terms indicates. Prof. Knight means that they shall contrast with each other as "idealism" and "realism" in literature and art are contrasted. Hence he is not here employed about any deep metaphysical problems in which these terms figure very largely. The author proposes an humbler and more interesting task, which is to show us the reflex influence of certain comprehensive mental attitudes upon art, literature, life, and social institutions. Without discussing any technical questions as to the position of particular men or schools, a general knowledge of their main spirit is assumed, as polite literature has understood them, and the influence of this main idea traced where neither its origin nor its nature is suspected by the casual observer. This result of "idealism" and "empiricism" in philosophy is often beautifully illustrated by the author from both Greek and modern history. Plato is the type of "idealism," and Aristotle of "realism" or "empiricism" in Greek thought, Descartes of "idealism" and Locke of "empiricism" in modern times. A most interesting generalization is drawn from the invariable tendency to a free, lofty, and imaginative literature wherever "idealism" in philosophy prevails, and a purely calculating and utilitarian spirit wherever "realism" is the dominant influence.

The second essay, on the classification of the sciences, has less literary merit, as might be expected. In regard to that problem the author might have observed that several forms of classification are possible and legitimate according to the principle adopted. He does remark that it is more important to determine the principle of classification than the classification itself; but he should have seen that little or nothing is left to do after fixing the principle, as the sciences will fall into place of themselves, and that the difficulty lies in showing that there is only one principle upon which the result can be effected.

The essay on "Ethical Philosophy and Evolution" is the most interesting in the series. It does not always make so clear as could be wished either the distinction between the origin and the validity of moral ideas, or the limited importance attaching to questions like necessitarianism and its opposite. Prof. Knight seems to imply that determinism is a necessary corollary of evolution, an opinion with which we can hardly agree. This whole controversy needs recasting and an analysis which the author has not given and which he could not give in the limited space at his command. In regard to evolution he evidently feels the immense changes it is destined to achieve in morals, but we think he has mistaken the reason, which he rather implies than formulates. He does what he can to explain the true meaning and limitations of the doctrine, but he does not remark that it derives all its destructive power in ethics from the theological theory which it is supplanting. It was theology that risked everything on the issue of its origin.

Most readers will hurry to the essay on "Immortality." On this subject Prof. Knight is candid. He does not think immortality so assured or so defensible philosophically as it may be desirable to mankind. It is on this sensitive subject that the profoundest feelings of men are racked, and it requires much courage on the part of philosophy to speak out its mind, and much indifference to human suffering to offend the hopes by which man endeavors to reconcile himself to the inequalities of life. Prof. Knight is sympathetic with men's beliefs about the doctrine, but admits that the problem is beset with difficulties, and sums up his own feelings about it by saying that the true mental attitude is one of "tranquil hope and expectancy, tempered by cheerful acquiescence."

The longest essay in the volume is on "Personality and the Infinite." This is a crucial question for theology under monistic tendencies in philosophy. Prof. Knight deals here mostly in criticism of Matthew Arnold and David Strauss, although less for the purpose of defending any special theory than to indicate the inconsistencies of the former and the radicalism of the latter. There is a very good essay on "Eclecticism" and a very suggestive one on "Metempsychosis."

Naville's volume on the freedom of the will is one of several that have recently appeared in France on the same subject, and, like them, is a defence of that doctrine against the prevailing tendency to materialism. It is calm and philosophic; but we think both schools of thought exaggerate the importance of settling the question, and that for two reasons. First, if free will be proved, responsibility does not necessarily follow from it. Second, the proof of necessitarianism theoretically would not be followed by any material alteration in our method of rewarding men for their virtues and punishing them for their crimes. We might be a little more humanitarian in our treatment of criminals. This volume of Naville's has some new material and arguments drawn from the phenomena of hypnotism, but the problem of freedom is not analyzed as it must be before any solution of it is possible; hence the author betrays no consciousness of the limitations which can be imposed upon the usefulness of the doctrine of freedom.

RECENT MUSICAL LITERATURE.

Cherubini. By F. J. Crowest. Scribner & Welford.

Beethoven. By H. A. Rudall. Scribner & Welford.

Wagner's Life and Works. By Gustav Kobbé. G. Schirmer.

Music and Culture. By Karl Merz. Philadelphia: T. Presser.

THE excellent series of short biographies of famous composers included in the "Great Musicians" series, and formerly edited by Dr. F. Hueffer, has been increased by a 'Cherubini' and a 'Beethoven,' which bring the number up to twelve. The best of them is still the first, the editor's 'Wagner,' which is now in the third edition. By the death of Dr. Hueffer, England lost her ablest musical critic, whose last work was a meritorious translation of the Wagner-Liszt correspondence; and it was a sad coincidence that about the same time Italy lost her leading musical critic and champion of Wagner, Filippo Filippi. In fact, that Hueffer is no longer the editor of the "Great Musicians" series is painfully evident in the 'Chérubini,' by Mr. Crowest, a prolific compiler of ill-digested musical books. In the preface we suddenly come across this extraordinary sentence: "As a composer Cherubini does not rank with Bach, Mozart, Beethoven, or *the last of the Titans* of music—Mendelssohn." Now, if Dr. Hueffer had been alive, he would have said: "My dear Mr. Crowest, we really cannot allow such a remark to go to the printers in the year of grace 1890. Remember that even if England is still far from being a musical nation, English criticism has lately risen to a much higher and more enlightened level, and no longer subscribes to the insular notion that Handel and Mendelssohn are the two greatest of all composers, which has made England the laughing-stock of the musical world, and which I have tried so hard, in the columns of the *Times*, to eradicate." Very probably Dr. Hueffer would have refused altogether to have his name used as editor of such a clumsy, incoherent example of book-making as this 'Cherubini,' the author of which was evidently writing against space to make up the necessary hundred pages; for after describing Cherubini's career and activity in the opera, concert-hall, and church, he goes over the whole ground again in other words. The last chapter is devoted to stale anecdotes. There are, however, plenty of interesting points in this composer's life to enable a man of literary ability to write a readable little book; but he would be expected to take more pains to ascertain facts than does Mr. Crowest, who tells us on page 75 that to this day "Medea" is often performed in Vienna, "to the delight of the thoroughly musical public of that city," when, as a matter of fact, the last attempt to revive this work there was made about ten years ago. It was then so coldly received that only one performance was given, although Materna was in the cast.

A much better work is Mr. Rudall's 'Beethoven,' although it is simply a compilation and does not offer any new facts or critical points of view. Beethoven's studies under Haydn, his love affairs, his fondness for the country, his eccentric manners and domestic troubles, the progress and effect of his deafness, his operatic projects, the transient Rossini fever in Vienna, his way of conducting,

and all the other leading topics are briefly and clearly discussed, so that this little book may be commended to those who wish a bird's-eye view of Beethoven's life and activity and have not time for Thayer's three volumes or Mr. Grove's long and admirable article on Beethoven in his 'Dictionary of Music and Musicians.' Some æsthetic points are neatly touched upon, as on p. 131, where reference is made to "that class of critics with whom the word 'romanticism' was a term of reproach, and who forgot, like many of their successors, that the 'romanticism' of one generation is often the 'classicism' of the next."

Mr. Kobbé's 'Wagner' is not entirely a novelty, as the second volume has been in the market for several years and has passed through five editions. It contains critical and descriptive analyses of the Nibelung Trilogy, "Tristan," "Die Meister-inger," and "Parsifal," after the manner of Hans von Wolzogen's "Thematischer Leitfaden"; the leading motives in each drama being named and illustrated in musical type, so that opera-goers can memorize them and thus be enabled the more easily to follow the complicated thematic woof of Wagner's orchestral scores, and understand the subtle psychologic and dramatic relations between these typical themes. The first volume, which is new in book form, contains a biography in ninety-four pages of Wagner, based chiefly on the composer's letters to Liszt and others, and his own autobiographic sketch, the interesting points being singled out with the acuteness of an experienced journalist who knows what the general public likes to read about. Then follows an entertaining account of the "Parsifal" festival at Bayreuth in 1882, together with a reprint of an article which appeared in *Scribner's* describing the mechanism of the scenic effects in Wagner's music-dramas, with illustrations. Wagner's writings and his critics also have chapters devoted to them, and the last thirty-eight pages are occupied with a brief description of the early operas down to "Lohengrin." Although Mr. Kobbé is an enthusiastic admirer of Wagner, he is not blind to the humorous aspect of some phases of the more than thirty years' Wagner war, and his first volume will be found as entertaining as the second is useful.

'Music and Culture' is a volume of essays by the late Karl Merz, collected by his son. It includes papers on purely musical topics, such as Expression, Church Music, Hints to Pupils, Harmony, Woman in Music, Value of a Musical Education, and others of a more general æsthetic cast—on Genius, Schopenhauer's Musical Philosophy, Music of Nature, Imagination, etc. The preface tells us that Karl Merz was "far too profound not to have fully outgrown such mental perversions as religious skepticism." No doubt he was profoundly religious, and some of his essays read very much like sermons; but of profundity as a musical thinker it would not be fair to accuse him. The tone of his writings is often sophomoric and always didactic, but they lack definiteness and that epigrammatic terseness which makes a maxim in one or two lines express more than a ten-page essay. Mr. Merz was an industrious Western teacher and editor who had to adapt his mental pabulum to the comprehension of a community in a somewhat primitive stage of æsthetic development. This makes his writings seem naïve to cultivated amateurs; but to the general musico-literary appetite they afford excellent nourishment, and Mr. Merz's influence can never be otherwise than wholesome. The only error of fact we have noted is on page 165, where he states that "Schumann loved once only."

TWO SPANISH NOVELS.

Una Cristiana. Por Emilia Pardo Bazán. Madrid: La España Editorial. 1890.

La Prueba: Segunda Parte de Una Cristiana. Por Emilia Pardo Bazán. Same Publishers. 1890.

THE plodding mind of the reviewer is sometimes set wondering at the amazing fecundity, combined with such good quality, of contemporary Spanish novelists, and catches at any explanation of it not too full of self-mortification. Accordingly it is with a comfortable sense of relief that he lays down these latest volumes of Señora Bazán, saying to himself that they are but her serious essays on the education and ideals of Spanish women turned into novels. It is true that this crumb of comfort soon wastes away almost to the vanishing point, as one considers the difficulties of this kind of literary transmutation, and recalls the essays that simply would not turn into novels, desperately as their authors tried to make them. The slow-going intellect is not long in discovering, either, that it has in these books a picture of many more aspects of life than can be squeezed into an essay, and that if the two have any relation, it is the latter that is partial and derivative. So about all that is left of the first feeling of consolation for a consciousness of inferiority is the fact that the books undoubtedly were written to exemplify actual types of Spanish women.

The story is one of much originality. Salustio, a student in the School of Engineering, has his expenses paid by a middle-aged bachelor uncle, for whom he nevertheless has a pronounced dislike. Uncle Felipe one day announces his approaching marriage with a young woman of their province, and the nephew is duly invited to the wedding, spending some days before the actual ceremony at the house of the bride's father, after the manner of rural hospitality. He finds his future aunt to be a girl whose delicacy of nature and pervading charm make it hard for him to understand how she could bring herself to marry his uncle, who is a coarse piece of clay. The mystery deepens as he comes to know her better, and finally he learns the secret by means of a discreditable bit of eavesdropping. This quiet and gracious girl is acting from a high and stern sense of duty. She cannot stay longer in her father's house without acquiescing in a wicked and scandalous course of life on his part; she has no friend to go to, and determines to marry the first man that offers himself, so as to clear herself from all complicity with her father's sin.

The marriage over, uncle and aunt set up their establishment in Madrid, and the student-nephew makes his home with them. Carmen soon finds that she had not counted the cost of living as a wife with a man whom she did not love and could not honor. More than that, she finds in the nephew one whom she might have loved, one who makes it clear to her that he loves her. Her course is a troubled one, but over it all she sails by the pole-star of duty. She is a model of wifely behavior. She shines before Salustio with such purity of thought and deed, even though she has not been able to conceal from him that she has to fight against her rebellious affection for him, that his passion is kept in check, her honor is sacred to him, and he reveres as much as he loves this "Christian."

"The Trial" comes on apace. Felipe is a man wholly absorbed in grossness of one kind and another, yet Carmen feels it her duty to love him, and struggles pitiably to do that impossible thing. She comes to believe that she shall have no safeguard against the standing temptation of Salustio's presence, unless she can drive herself into loving her husband. All is in vain, however, until at last Felipe begins to lose his health, and finally it appears that he is smitten with leprosy. Then the saintly woman of the Middle Ages comes to the surface in Carmen. She is like another Santa Teresa. She is prodigal and passionate in her devotion to the victim of the loathsome disease. She is carried out of herself. Salustio perceives with horror that his hold on her is loosening, that she withstands his bolder assaults with serenity, and that she really has something very like love—she declares that it is love—for the sickening and helpless mass, her husband. The query remains whether it all could have been anything more than the fevered altruism which used to lead devout Spanish women to bestow loving epithets and actual caresses upon the most repulsive inmates of lazarettos. Anyhow, the strain is not kept up too long, for Felipe dies, and the reader is left to infer that, after a proper period of mourning, Carmen will marry a man whom she can love without putting so much religious ecstasy into the affair.

She is the central character of the story—a sort of survival of an ancient Spanish type of woman. In modern days, Señora Bazán gives us to understand, the original devoutness has degenerated into the bigoted superstition of Salustio's mother, whose idea of God, as her son told her, was that "He had nothing to do but to run about with a cudgel beating her enemies"; and the old sense of duty has to do service only in matters of dress and etiquette, as in the case of the Barrientos young ladies. These last are the representatives of "the insipid class, nervous yet flabby, whose uselessness and intolerable silliness are the combined fruit of a stupefying way of life, defective education, narrow views, and frivolity." Upon them the novelist pours out all her indignant scorn, almost typical of the present generation of Spanish girls though she admits them to be, and overrun with lovers. "Out of their four little heads all together," she makes one of her really intelligent and progressive young men say—"out of them all you could not get enough to make a brain fry." And he adds, "It's enough to give one the shivers to think that future wives and mothers are being brought up like that; that those dolls stuffed with sawdust, all but their heads, which are empty, will be in due time the basis of a home, companions of intelligent men who may have gone through bitter struggles in life, and have come out with trained minds and developed ideas! Why, the fact is, young fellow, that a man who had as much as half his wits, and who was tied to one of them, would be giving her poison in two months' time!"

We have given but hints of the range and art of Señora Bazán's latest production. Her many-sided genius cannot but win new admiration in these pictures of life in the capital and in the provinces, these sympathetic descriptions of the lives of students enmeshed in the red tape and defective methods of Spanish education, these lively accounts of small politics and smaller journalism in Spain. One of the most delicious bits is the chapter given to the family of an English Protestant missionary. Without a suspicion of caricature, with photographic realism, in fact, the goodness, the fanaticism, the blundering, the fatal lack of appreciation of the Spanish nature, and the utter hopelessness of the task of those worthy Britons, are set forth in the most illuminating and convincing manner. That chapter ought to appear in all the missionary journals; but,

alas! they will give place only to the letters of the good missionary himself, describing the impending conversion of all Spain to the faith he preaches.

Studies in Jocular Literature: A Popular Subject more Closely Considered. By W. Carew Hazlitt. [The Book-Lover's Library.] New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son. 1890.

Mr. Hazlitt discourses pleasantly in this volume upon the history of jocular stories, and rambles over the whole literary ground, from the Greek Anthology and the anecdote-collectors of the later Greeks to the early Tudor jest-books and the witticisms of Sydney Smith and Lamb. It is not a collection of good things, however, that he gives us; in fact, the reader is more often tantalized by a reference to a story than delighted by its quotation; what is cited is merely in the way of illustration, to show the course of development, to characterize the school, or to point some opinion of the author. It appears that wit is a thing in which the race has distinctly made progress, though slowly and with labor. Particularly in the last few centuries, the author thinks, there has been an intellectual gain; but he is obliged to own that many jokes still current are of remote antiquity. Of this survival of isolated bright sayings or comical incidents he gives sufficient examples, but most of the wit of the ancients is dead to us, though it is in print still. The illustrations of the acclimatization of stories are excellent, and there are interesting examples of variation in the telling even in the case of one so near us as Lamb. The literary form is said to be seldom the same as the viva-voce original, and in the department of pointed wit the author favors the view that it is not spontaneous, but calculated, and cites Chesterfield as an instance. The field is rather too large to be dealt with in so few pages, and at best the volume serves rather as a convenient and stimulating introduction to wider reading than as a substitute for it. We notice a suggestion that the 'Hundred Merry Tales' are the work of Sir Thomas More, but the author inclines to credit them to the dramatist Heywood, on the ground that there are resemblances between them and some passages in his 'Interludes'; and it is observed besides that Heywood is reported to have derived something from More. The whole of this is mere guesswork.

We recommend the volume cordially to those who take an interest in this curious branch of literature, with the warning that the principal impression made on us, and apparently on the author, is the smallness of the sum of living wit in these old books.

The Narrative of Capt. Coignet (Soldier of the Empire). 1776–1850. Translated by Mrs. M. Carey. T. Y. Crowell & Co.

Documents adding to the Napoleonic epopee must not be looked for in these annals of a soldier's career. The brave Captain Coignet was no crafty maker of posthumous memoirs. Education came to him late in life and in moderate amount. Had he known how to read and write when he joined the grand army, there is no doubt his courage and sense of duty would soon have raised him from the ranks of the anonymous. Instead, it was almost in spite of himself that he conquered the gilt epaulettes, which did not metamorphose their wearer. The Old Guard "grognard" remained unchanged, and it is precisely from the author's personality that the narrative of Capt. Coignet derives its charm. It is but a mere bird's-eye view of his campaigns that he has left us; yet this unsophisticated sketch pleases us more than a pretentious work, because we feel it to be replete with the true atmosphere of the epoch it deals with, and because the author has found the means to show us, more impressively perhaps than the trained historian would do, the causes of the greatness of that epoch. All the details—the references to the Emperor, whose profile appears here and there traced with almost artistic touches; the genial traits showing the brotherhood then existing between officers and soldiers; the careless avoidance of the dark side of war; the good-humored disposal of self—all these notes reveal forcibly the vim and enthusiasm of that generation of men, and the magnetism of the general who led them in his triumphant promenades through Europe. In the ninth and last note-book of Capt. Coignet, the curtain goes down on Waterloo. Here the author's powers of observation seem to have come to a standstill. In view of what has gone before, this is regrettable—so much more might have been chronicled by that devotee of the imperial régime during the days of the Restoration. But Capt. Coignet never pretended to be an observer where he did not play a rôle. So, like many contemporary heroes, he rested on his laurels, satisfied with his eventful career.

The illustrations of this volume, by M. Le Blaut, exemplify fairly the work of that conscientious school of artists who, in the case of historical subjects, may be trusted to produce correct composition and to avoid anachronism. Mrs. Carey's translation preserves very successfully the briskness of the narrator, but a lack of familiarity with French idioms, in frequent instances, tones down the crude *brio* of the original.

English Intercourse with Siam in the Seventeenth Century. By John Anderson, M.D. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. 1890.

Dr. Anderson's interest in the history of English intercourse with Siam was aroused during a sojourn in the country for the purpose of making a zoölogical collection for the Indian Museum in Calcutta. The immense significance in the world's history of the establishment of England's Indian empire—a significance that cannot be properly appreciated until her work there has become past history—gives the study of the origin of this empire a singular importance in the history of colonial expansion. In some degree this study deals not only indirectly but directly with the beginnings of English Indian dominion, for the province of Tenasserim in the British Burma of to-day was an important part of Siam in the seventeenth century.

The first European to visit the region was Nicolò di Conti, early in the fifteenth century. By the year 1600 Siam and Tenasserim had become familiar names to English merchants. The first trading-post was established at Patani on the east side of the Malayan peninsula. This is Dr. Anderson's point of departure. His narrative is based largely on manuscript sources in the India Office, and everywhere gives evidence of most careful and scholarly labor. The work ends with the breaking up of the trading-stations, which was a natural consequence of the Siamese revolution of 1688.

Upon their arrival at Patani, the English found the State "governed by a queen who was invariably elected from the same family, and always old and beyond child-bearing, so that there might be no inducement to marry." The reigning queen was "threescore yeeres of age, tall and full of Maiestie; in all the Indies we had seen few like her." This curious custom would perhaps seem less preposterous to subjects of the late Virgin Queen than to any other Europeans. The romantic career of the Siamese Prime Minister, Constant Phaulkon, forms an interesting background to several of Dr. Anderson's chapters. He was born in Cephalonia, but whether of Greek, Venetian, or Genoese extraction is unknown. Taken to England as a child, he early went to Siam as a cabin-boy, where he chose to remain employed as a factor. His fortune rapidly improving, he embarked upon a venture of his own, but three times suffered shipwreck. The last of these misfortunes put him in the way of helping an ambassador of the King of Siam, who had been wrecked in the same storm. The ambassador presented him to the royal Minister of Commerce, who, pleased with his bearing, made him chief merchant to the King. Upon the death of the Minister, Phaulkon, at the early age of thirty-three, was made Minister of Foreign Affairs, and put in charge of the finances. By the East India Company we find him styled "Grand Visier or Chief Minister of the King of Siam." He had been bred a Protestant, but in Siam he was converted to Catholicism by the Jesuit missionaries, and joined with them in urging the King to embrace Christianity.

The tolerant and philosophic attitude of the Buddhist ruler offers a suggestive contrast to that of the "Most Christian King," who was sending missionaries to convert him in the very year of the *dragonnades*. He expressed surprise that the French King should take "so strong an interest in an affair 'which seemed to belong to God, and which the Divine Being appears to have left entirely to our discretion'"; but he welcomed the missionaries and proposed to build them a magnificent church. The hostility with which the conservative element at court viewed the increasing influence of Christianity led to the revolution in which Phaulkon was almost the first victim. The mingled reverence and ruthlessness with which the royal family on this occasion were put out of the way is a curious illustration of the Oriental character. "These royal personages were first tied in sacks of the finest velvet, so that they might not be polluted with the touch of any vulgar hand, and then no ordinary 'instrument of mortality' compassed their deaths, as their lives were beaten out of them with great bars of the sweet-smelling eagle-wood, each sack with its mangled remains being then cast into the Menam."

In the latter years of this history, the eponymous hero and generous benefactor of Yale College plays a prominent but not very creditable part. But Elihu Yale is not the first patron saint to belie the poet's words about "the evil that men do." In one of the appendices Dr. Anderson has collected a great number of extracts from writers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries illustrating the universal popularity of mum beer, while another contains an account of the burning of a wizard at Bombay, in 1671, that is fairly gruesome in its unstudied realism.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Adams, H. History of the United States. Vols. vii, viii, ix. The Second Administration of James Madison. Charles Scribner's Sons. $6.

Bartlett, Major W. C. An Idyl of War-Times. Lew Vanderpoole Publishing Co.

Beatrice, H. R. H. The Adventures of Count George Albert of Erbach. Scribner & Welford. $2.50.

Bell, Ernest. Handbook of Athletic Sports. Scribner & Welford. $1.40.

Bierbower, Austin. Socialism of Christ. Chicago: Charles H. Sergel & Co.

Boldrewood, R. A Colonial Reformer. Macmillan & Co. $1.25.

Church, Rev. A. J. Stories from the Bible. Macmillan & Co. $1.50.

Connelly, Emma M. The Story of Kentucky. Boston: D. Lothrop Co.
Corbett, J. Sir Francis Drake. Macmillan & Co. 60 cents.
Fenn, G. M. Lady Maude's Mania. United States Book Co. 50 cents.
Foote, J. A. Private International Jurisprudence. Boston: The Boston Book Co.
Foster, Ardennes J. Broken Barriers. Belgravia Co. 50 cents.
Frink, H. A. Richard Henry Mather. Amherst, Mass.
Gibb, W. The Royal House of Stuart. Forty Plates in Colors drawn from Relics of the Stuarts. Macmillan & Co. $50.
Goodyear, C. A Message to China Decorators. Society of Decorative Art.
Halloway, Charlotte M. A Story of Five. E. P. Dutton & Co. $1.25.
Hamilton, Gail. A Washington Bible Class. D. Appleton & Co. $1.50.
Handbook of American Winter Resorts. D. Appleton & Co.
Hartland, E. S. The Science of Fairy Tales. Scribner & Welford. $1.25.
Hawthorne, Julian. Pauline. United States Book Co. 50 cents.
Hayes, M. F. Common Sense in China Painting. Westfield, N. J.: The Lakeside Press.
Hill, G. B. Worldly Wisdom of Lord Chesterfield. Oxford: The Clarendon Press; New York: Macmillan. $1.75.
Hyatt, A. Insecta. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co. $1.
Jay, W. L. Bellerue, or The Story of Rolf. E. P. Dutton & Co. $1.25.
Johnston, Prof. A. A Shorter History of the United States. Henry Holt & Co.
Ladd, G. T. Outlines of Physiological Psychology. Charles Scribner's Sons. $2.
Leyton, F. The Shadows of the Lake. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co.
Maclay, E. S. Journal of William Maclay, U. S. Senator from Pennsylvania 1789–1791. D. Appleton & Co. $2.50.
Maclean, Dr. G. E. A Chart of English Literature. Boston: Ginn & Co.
Maler, L. Wages of Sin. United States Book Co. 50 cents.
Malleson, Col. G. B. The Indian Mutiny. Scribner & Welford. $1.75.
Merriam, Dr. C. H., and Dr. L. Stejneger. North American Fauna. No. 3. Washington: Government Printing Office.
Morris, W. The Saga Library. Vol. I. London: Bernard Quaritch.
Mrs. Thrale. A Sketch of Her Life. Scribner & Welford. $2.50.
Nicolson, F. W. P. Terenti Afri Phormio. Boston: Ginn & Co.
Nield, Thomas. Oliver Cromwell: A Drama. The Argyle Press. $1.
Norris, W. E. Marcia. United States Book Co. 50 cents.
Norton, C. B. World's Fairs from London, 1851, to Chicago, 1893. Chicago: Milton Weston Co.
Ouroussov, Princess Mary. Education from the Cradle. Scribner & Welford. $1.
Payne's Business Pointers. Excelsior Publishing House. 25 cents.
Perry, A. L. Principles of Political Economy. Charles Scribner's Sons. $2.
Petit, Rev. J. L. Architectural Studies in France. Scribner & Welford. $6.
Powers, E. War and the Weather. Delavan, Wis.: E. Powers.
Rolfe, Dr. J. C. P. Terenti Afri Heavton Timorvmenos. Text, with stage directions. Boston: Ginn & Co. 30 cents.
Ross, A. Her Husband's Friend. G. W. Dillingham.

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The Veto Power,
Its Origin, Development, and Function in the Government of the United States. (1789–1889.) By EDWARD CAMPBELL MASON, A.B., Instructor in Political Economy; edited by ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of History. 8vo, pp. 232. Price, by mail, postpaid, $1.00.

In this work Mr. Mason has, in an introductory chapter, traced the origin of the veto power in English and Colonial usage. He then analyzes the four hundred and thirty-three vetoes submitted between March 4, 1789, and March 4, 1889, and discusses them by classes. The appendices contain a full list of all the vetoes, with references to the Senate and House Journals; a tabulation of bills signed and vetoed by each President; a list of Confederate vetoes, for the first time printed; a comparison of State Consitutional provisions as to the veto, and a bibliography.

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Introduction to the Study of Federal Government.
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This number is intended to be a guide to the comparative study of federal institutions, and especially illustrates the federal system of the United States. An introductory chapter discusses the theory of federal government; the history of federations, from the Greek leagues down to the overthrow of the Swiss Confederation in 1798 is then briefly taken up. The most important chapter is an account of the development of the four great federations of the United States, Switzerland, Germany, and Canada; a final chapter takes up Latin-American federations. Elaborate bibliographical notes are added. In an appendix the texts of the Constitutions of Canada, Germany, Switzerland, and the United States are shown in a classified and parallel form. There is also an appendix containing a bibliography of federal government in general.

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This set is distinctive in one respect from the sets previously issued of the writings of the "Fathers of the Republic." The editor has found it desirable to include in it, in addition to the letters, journals, and decisions of Jay himself, a selection of the more important of the letters from his correspondents, and the work makes therefore a very interesting presentation of the noteworthy events and of the questions under discussion during the revolutionary period and during the first years of the Republic. A large portion of the material included in it is also now for the first time published, and the set will therefore form a contribution of first importance for the history of the country and for that of the city and State of New York.

The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JANUARY 29, 1891.

The Week.

THE Force Bill was again shelved in the Senate on Monday, through the passage of a resolution to take up the Apportionment Bill in place of the proposed rule introducing the closure, which rule was brought forward solely and avowedly as a device to secure favorable action upon the Force Bill. Six Republican Senators voted with the Democrats, namely, Cameron of Pennsylvania, Washburn of Minnesota, Teller and Wolcott of Colorado, and Stewart and Jones of Nevada); a seventh (Ingalls of Kansas) was paired on the same side; and an eighth (Stanford of California), who was absent in this city and unpaired, announces that he would have voted with the Democrats if present. In other words, if all of the 88 Senators had been present, 45 would have voted in favor of shelving the Force Bill and 43 for continuing the fight to pass it, even at the expense of overthrowing all the rules and traditions of the Senate for a century. The result is accepted by all good judges in Washington as the final defeat of the Force Bill. The only way in which it could ever get before the Senate again would be through a change of base on the part of one of the eight Republican recalcitrants. Ingalls is the only man who can be suspected of capacity for such conduct, and it is not to be expected even of Ingalls. Moreover, there are believed to be other Republicans than the eight now openly against the Force Bill who will never lift a finger to get it before the Senate again now that it is shelved. Finally, time itself is a most effective ally of its opponents. Only twenty-nine legislative days remain before the Fifty-first Congress expires by limitation, and the growing popular demand that Senators and Representatives shall devote every hour of these few days to the hitherto neglected public business will render it constantly more easy to keep this purely partisan measure in the background. There is, consequently, good reason to believe that the danger of its ever becoming a law is now past.

The Connecticut Republicans furnish an exquisite bit of irony in sending back Senator O. H. Platt to vote for Force Bills and talk about the Mississippi Constitution and electoral irregularities at the South. In the first place, Connecticut is now herself enjoying the "irregularity" of three Governors, without any constitutional power to eliminate two of them. Moreover, in the joint legislative Assembly that reëlected Senator Platt on Wednesday week, he was supported by 141 members, representing only 73,144 votes in their towns and Senatorial districts, while he was opposed by 134 members, representing 195,840 votes. His own election thus offers Mr. Platt a capital text for explaining the practical difference between the disfranchisement of ignorant colored voters in Mississippi and the constitutional disfranchisement of intelligent white voters in Connecticut.

There can be no doubt that the anticipation of a silver crisis has already led to a shrinkage of the Treasury stock of gold to the extent of forty-three millions since July 31, 1890. There is no room to doubt that any nearer approach of the crisis will cause the depletion to go on at a more rapid rate. Nor is there much room to doubt that the present silver law will be effectual to impose the silver standard upon the country in time without the formality of free coinage. It is only a question of the income and outgo of the National Treasury. For all purposes of gold payments the expenditures for silver have exactly the same effect as the expenditures for pensions, or for battle-ships, or for river and harbor improvements. Although the silver bullion is paid for with legal-tender certificates, the Government has to take them back in payment of customs and internal revenue, and when these certificates become excessive in amount, the Treasury will be compelled to pay them in the settlement of its Clearing-house balances, and then the silver crisis will have come. But before any such eventuality shall have actually dawned, the public will have anticipated it by a run on the Treasury for gold. How much time will be required under existing laws to bring about this result, nobody can safely predict, so much depends upon the resources, present and prospective, of the Treasury. When the national-bank redemption fund was turned into the Treasury, a resource was added sufficient in amount to pay for at least a year's purchases of silver bullion. Therefore it cannot be said that the silver standard is imminent. But it is coming unless some step is taken to ward it off. The step to be taken is none other than the repeal of the present silver law, and it may be said also that it will be not more difficult in a political sense to do this than to stop the free-coinage madness. Whatever accomplishes the latter will suffice for the former also. This is made manifest by the tone of the silver newspapers, nearly all of which are disgusted with the present law, and are now for free coinage or nothing.

Those Democrats in Congress who are tempted to abandon the traditional ground of the Democratic party regarding sound money might reread with profit the excellent statement of orthodox doctrine made by the late Daniel Manning in his report as Secretary of the Treasury in 1885. In arguing against the continued coinage of silver dollars, Mr. Manning pointed out how the depreciation which must some time come would harm most of all the poor workingmen of the country. "A cheaper dollar for workingmen of the United States," he said, "means a poorer dollar. The daily wages of our workingmen and workingwomen are by far the largest, by far the most important, aggregate of wealth to be affected by the degradation of the dollar, or of any legal-tender equivalent of the dollar. All other aggregates of wealth, the accumulations of capitalists, which can only obtain profitable use by being turned over daily in the wages of workmen and the employment of the captains of their industry, all other aggregates of wealth which remain unemployed in the payment of wages of the day, the month, the year, are not to be compared in their sum to this gigantic sum. It is this gigantic sum, the wages of labor, which is assailed by every policy that would make the dollar of the fathers worth less than its worth in gold." Every word of this is as true to-day as it was in 1885, and it applies with tenfold force to the pending proposition for the free coinage of silver.

The pointed remarks of Col. Henry L. Higginson at the anti-silver meeting in Faneuil Hall ought to arrest the attention of every business man in the country. "To-day," he said, "by reason of the action of the Senate, enterprises are stopping and trade grows dull. But you cannot get confidence by merely asking for it. It comes gradually and slowly. Rich in capital as this country is, we yet need all the possible capital of Europe to develop our great resources and industries. But the present course of legislation tends to destroy the confidence that would give us this. Let us, therefore, ask Congress to pause and consider before it commits itself to this legislation, on account of the injustice that will be done to the workingman by the passage of the Silver Bill." Every man who has financial connections abroad knows that the movement of foreign capital to this country has stopped—absolutely stopped—except in cases where engagements had been made and contracts entered into before the Silver Bill was brought forward in the Senate. Some buying and selling of our stocks on the part of foreign speculators will go on from day to day in spite of everything, but investment of a permanent kind has already ceased. This means less employment for labor and less profit for business. What Mr. Higginson says about the need of foreign capital to develop our resources is true, but it is scarcely appreciated even by men ordinarily well informed. If the movement of foreign capital to the United States should continue for the next hundred years at the same rate as during the past hundred years, it is safe to say that there would still be a demand for more at remunerative rates. Even in the narrow limits of England there is still room for more capital, as is shown by the large calls made from year to year by such old established lines of railway as the London and Northwestern, the

London and Brighton, etc., whose increasing business requires increasing facilities. The demands of this country are very far from being satisfied. The South alone needs hundreds of millions of dollars *more* than the North can spare for her rapid development and enrichment. But she will not get a dollar from abroad while this nightmare of silver hangs over her.

The *Herald* on Friday had an interview with Mr. D. O. Mills, the President of the North American Commercial Company, which holds the lease of the Pribyloff Islands for seal-catching purposes. One of the statements made by Mr. Mills is extremely suggestive. He says:

"It is, perhaps, somewhat amusing to know that not more than one-quarter of the poaching is done by British subjects. The remaining three-quarters is done almost entirely by citizens of the United States. Should any serious difficulty grow out of the present contention, the British Government will be placed in the somewhat anomalous position of defending by force of arms the depredations of American poachers."

Here is a pretty state of things indeed! We have absolute control over our own "poachers," if we choose to exercise it. Yet, according to the highest testimony within reach, we allow three of our own people to go poaching for every one that goes from British Columbia. The anomalous position that the British Government would be in, of "defending by force of arms the depredations of American poachers," would be at least matched by the anomalous position that we should be in of contending against the poaching of all nations except ourselves. The "destruction of seal life" being the evil which we wish to prevent, with what face can we proceed against one British vessel while three American ships are roaming freely in the same waters on the same errand? The truth is, that Congress has never given any countenance to the pretension that its treatment of seal-catching in open waters is "poaching." It has never claimed any right to interfere with the seal-fishery, the whale-fishery, or any other fishery, beyond the three mile limit, whether the fishermen were Americans or foreigners.

There are other statements in Mr. Mills's interview that show him to be in possession of more information than has been vouchsafed to the public. For example, this:

"On the 4th of this month the Russian Government executed a lease for twenty years to a company to take seals on the Commander Islands, which are on the Siberian coast and about 1,000 miles west of the Pribyloff group. It is understood that Russia, in granting this franchise or lease, has promised protection to the company, and for this purpose it is said she contemplates strengthening her navy in her waters in the Bering Sea. Neither Canadians nor citizens of this country have ventured, except in a few cases, to attempt to kill seals in Russian waters of the Bering Sea. Whenever detected, Russia has dealt with them summarily. There is no disposition on the part of Canadian or American poachers to attempt to take seals within Russian waters, and there is no account of Canada or England protesting against Russia's seizing or punishing poachers in her waters."

What are "the Russian waters of the Bering Sea"? Do they extend more than three miles from the coast? If so, how many more? Mr. Blaine has said, in his latest communication to Lord Salisbury, that the United States has never set up a claim of *mare clausum* for Bering Sea, and that she expressly repudiates it. Has Russia set it up since we repudiated it? If not, then we ask again, what are the Russian waters of the Bering Sea? If they extend beyond three miles, do they extend thirty miles, or three hundred, or how many? And when did Russia "deal with them summarily"?

The cable summary of the proceedings in the British House of Commons on Monday says:

"With reference to the arrest in Mexico of the Captain of the English vessel *Seaforth*, the Under Foreign Secretary said that the British Consul had been instructed to watch the case on behalf of the captain and owners, adding that the usual legal remedies in the Mexican courts must be exhausted before the British Foreign Office could interfere."

How is it that the British men-of-war submit to this? Where were the "guns" of the cruisers to take the British captain out of the hands of his despicable captors, and make the Mexicans "stand round"? Some wretched British commander has been guilty of "timidity," of unwillingness to take "responsibility," and yet his Navy Department does not stir him up. And this is the "British Lion," forsooth! British jack-rabbit, rather, say we.

Mr. Josiah Quincy of Boston gave some figures concerning the expenses of the Massachusetts Ballot Act in the recent election, during his address before the Commonwealth Club on Monday evening, which were very striking. One of the stock arguments of the opponents of ballot reform has been that the system is enormously expensive, and to sustain this argument the expense of the first election under the system is always cited. Mr. Quincy showed that the total expense of the recent election in Massachusetts, the second under the new law, was $18,000, about half of which was for printing and distributing the ballots. Under the old system the ballots alone would have cost, he said, $40,000, to say nothing of the expense to each party of hiring its distributors. Best of all, the party distributor has been eliminated, and with him all the "watchers" and "heelers" about the polls.

The question of whether or not Gov. Hill should continue to hold the Governorship after his term as Senator begins on March 4, is exciting much attention from the press of this State. The newspapers most friendly to the Governor are divided on the subject, some saying that he cannot in decency hold both offices at the same time, and must therefore resign the Governorship; others ridiculing the idea, and declaring that the State cannot afford to spare him as Governor till he is called upon to take his seat in the Senate, which in all probability will not be till next December. There is no constitutional or other legal objection to the Governor's holding both offices at the same time, and drawing both salaries, but precedent in similar cases is all against his doing so, and any other man than David Bennett Hill would be expected to follow precedent without discussion. Why he should be averse to giving up the Governorship on March 4 is not difficult to understand. If he resigns by that date, he can exercise little or no control over the bills of the present Legislature, for few of them will be ready for his signature before that time. It is notorious that a very large part of his political power in the State is due to the absolute control which he has exercised over legislation, every member of whatever party dreading to oppose the Governor's desires, lest his local bills suffer in consequence when they come before him for approval. To demand that the Governor leave office in March is to demand that he give up a year's revenue from this important source of political strength, and thus hasten his lapse into political obscurity.

The State Board of Mediation and Arbitration has made a special report on the strike which took place on the New York Central Railroad last August. After reciting the facts, the Board renews in more definite form the recommendations made in three previous annual reports, that the relations of railway companies with their employees, considering their peculiar duties to the public, ought to be regulated in a quasi-military fashion, so that the service may not be suddenly and wantonly interrupted. These recommendations are summarized under the following heads:

(1.) The service rendered by railroad corporations created by the State is a public service.

(2.) Entrance into such service should be by enlistment for a definite period, upon satisfactory examination as to mental and physical qualifications, with oath of fidelity to the people and to the corporation.

(3.) Resignation or dismissal from such service to be permitted for cause, to be stated in writing and filed with some designated authority, and to take effect after the lapse of a reasonable and fixed period.

(4.) Wages to be established at the time of entry, and changed only by mutual agreement, or decision by arbitration of a board chosen by the company and employees, or by a State board, or through the action of both, the latter serving as an appellate body. Other differences that may arise to be settled in like manner.

(5.) Promotions to be made upon a system that may be devised and agreeable to both parties.

(6.) Any combination of two or more persons to embarrass or prevent the operation of a railroad in the service of the people, a misdemeanor; and any obstruction of or violence towards a railroad serving the people, endangering the safety of life and property, a felony with punishment of adequate severity.

(7.) Establishment of a beneficiary fund for the relief of employees disabled by sickness or accident, and for the relief of their families in case of death, as is done upon the lines of a number of railroad corporations in other States.

These recommendations may have the appearance of severity to both employer and employee, but they are essentially just, and are becoming more and more urgently necessary for the protection of public interests. We are convinced that, as time goes on, public opinion will move in the direction of a semi-military organization of the rail-

way service, in the interest of *all* the parties concerned. It need never be feared, in a democratic society like ours, that the terms of enlistment will bear hardly upon the employee.

The Scotch railroad strike is apparently over, after having inflicted enormous loss on both the men and the railroad companies. It has had the good effect, however, of causing a movement in Parliament towards legal reform in the railroad service, which will doubtless before long end in some sort of legislation on the subject in the direction suggested by our State Board of Arbitration. That is to say, it is now proposed, in order to prevent a recurrence of these sudden interruptions of the great lines of public communication—interruptions almost as serious as those caused by actual war—that the companies should *enlist*, and not simply hire, their men, under rules and regulations prescribed by the State for a fixed term, as in the army, and that strikes during this term should be punishable as mutiny. In fact, under the existing conditions of transportation in modern commercial nations, a railroad or telegraph force which can stop work at pleasure is as great an anomaly and inconvenience as an army would be which could disband at pleasure while in active service. Making the men sign individual agreements to give notice before leaving the service does no good, because the Scotch companies tried this, but found that it did not prevent the sudden desertion of their train hands and switchmen. Of course, no such service would be provided for the railroads without imposing rigid restrictions on the companies in the matter of hours and wages and conditions of dismissal, but these restrictions would give them a picked body of men, like the police and fire departments, and give the stockholders and the public peace of mind. When we made this suggestion apropos of the telegraphers' strike seven years ago, many people were shocked by it, but time has demonstrated the absolute necessity of the reorganization of the great transportation and communication service of every great nation on a semi-military basis. Our railroad strikes in this country have one aggravation unknown in Europe, in the necessity under which they nearly always place the companies of hiring an armed force to protect their property and the lives and limbs of the employees who remain faithful to them as long as the strike lasts.

The sudden dissolution of the Austrian Reichsrath, which anticipated the expiration of the six-year term of its members only by a few months, is an unmistakable admission on the part of Count Taaffe of the complete failure of the "reconciliation" between Germans and Czechs effected by him less than a year ago. Ever since the consummation of that rather ridiculous love-feast, the radical Young Czechs, under the leadership of Gregr, who had been excluded from the reconciliation conferences, have waged a bitter warfare against the Conservative Old Czechs, whose leader, Dr. Rieger, signed the agreement with the Liberal Germans conceding the equality of the German and Czech languages in the administrative matters of Bohemia. The rapid disintegration of the Old Czech party now going on, and the boundless demands of the Young Czechs, have deprived Count Taaffe of all his supporters in the Czech camp. The programme of the Young Czechs is simply complete autonomy of the lands of the Crown of St. Wenceslas, and Taaffe is hardly prepared to transform the Austro-Hungarian dualism into a federalism. Neither can he sanction the position of Herr Rieger, who, in order to save even the shadow of his former influence over his countrymen, contends that the compact entered into between him and Taaffe was merely of a private nature, and hence revocable, and who now insists, agreement or no agreement, that the Czech is the only proper Government language for Bohemia. That the Liberal Germans are not without hope of profiting by the quarrel between Old and Young Czechs and Count Taaffe's embarrassment, is evident from the altered tone of the *Neue Freie Presse*, which has of late treated the Minister with a consideration never before shown him during the ten years of his premiership. It is not impossible, unless the Government is hopelessly beaten in the impending elections, that the Liberal Germans may range themselves in the next Reichsrath on the side of the Poles, Slovens, and other Slavs, who, with the now estranged Czechs and the Feudalists and Clericals, have hitherto constituted Taaffe's working majority. The cable confusingly speaks of Taaffe's having "abandoned dependence on Bohemian and Slav members," and of an ultra-Liberal Government manifesto making a "large bid for the support of the Young Czechs"; but he would be a rash prophet who, in the present condition of Austrian affairs, should deny the possibility of Taaffe's resorting to the most contradictory measures in order to retain the reins of Government.

German Liberalism is deriving a good deal of comfort from the recent resignations of the two principal members of the Evangelical High Consistory, Herren Kögel and Hegel, who, shortly before the close of the last year, shared the fate of the notorious Stöcker. Rightly or wrongly, these dismissals are interpreted as involving a complete change in the ecclesiastical atmosphere of the Berlin Court, and as heralding the dawn of a more liberal era. The Court-Preacher Kögel was, intellectually and morally, a man of much stronger fibre than Stöcker, but he was an equally pronounced enemy of rationalism and an even more persistent and implacable antagonist of Bismarck. For sixteen years he wielded a power often superior to that of the Minister of Public Worship; but after having time and again triumphed over Herr Falk, in the face of whose opposition he became Superintendent-General and arbiter of the fate of theological candidates for public appointment, he was finally beaten in his encounter with Herr von Gossler over the Harnack affair. It will be remembered that when, about four years ago, the theological faculty of the University of Berlin extended a call to Prof. Adolph Harnack of Marburg, one of the most learned and liberal theologians of Germany, the High Consistory, through Dr. Kögel, protested against his confirmation as that of an "infidel." Minister Gossler's demand for specific charges was met by Kögel's demand for sufficient time for a thorough study of Harnack's writings, and thus the matter was delayed until the illness of the then Crown Prince Frederick William and the subsequent death of the Emperor William pushed it into the background. It was not until after the accession of the present Emperor that Herr Kögel felt emboldened to come forward with a formal protest of the Consistory against the appointment of Prof. Harnack. This step, however, irritated Herr von Gossler to such a degree that he tendered his resignation in case Herr Kögel's opinion prevailed over that of the University of Berlin, and Bismarck, then still at the height of his power, instructed the other Ministers to act in this matter as one man. This settled the dispute, and from that time Kögel's political influence was a thing of the past, although, owing to his undeniable rhetorical powers, his popularity as a preacher remained undiminished. The retirement of Herr Hegel, the President of the High Consistory, although probably the logical result of the dismissal of Stöcker and Kögel, was to be expected before long in the natural order of things, as he is in his seventy-seventh year. He is the son of the philosopher, and was all his life, politically and ecclesiastically, a reactionary of the deepest dye. He prosecuted in his ecclesiastical capacity the preachers Lisco and Sydow, who in their public utterances had been guilty of somewhat liberal sentiments, and he was generally considered to have inspired the Ultramontane measures introduced in the Prussian Diet by such members as Von Hammerstein and Kleist-Retzow.

The rejoicings of the Liberal press of Germany over the downfall of this ecclesiastical triumvirate are somewhat tempered by the reflections to which the recent retirement of three of the most prominent military writers of Germany, Gens. Verdy du Vernois and Boguslawski and Col. von Widdern, has given rise. The *Hamburger Nachrichten* deplores this stifling of the literary activity of the best military minds, and points to the beneficent results achieved nowadays in France by the opposite policy. But it may be remarked that it is not the first time in Prussian history that royal disfavor has followed the public expression of military opinion. The virtual banishment of Gen. von Goltz, who in 1883 entered the service of Turkey, and the court-martialling in 1848 of Lieutenant—subsequently Swiss Colonel—Rüstow, one of the ablest and most prolific military writers of this century, are notable instances in point.

THE REITER FOG.

A NEWSPAPER correspondent has sought to obtain from the Secretary of the Navy a statement of the rule of law, municipal or international, which he has used in disposing of Commander Reiter's case. There was nothing impertinent in the inquiry. Commander Reiter's case is not a case simply of naval administration or discipline. It is a case which evolves new instructions to American naval commanders in foreign ports, and as such is a question of law and politics of the highest public interest, inasmuch as it might at any time plunge the country in foreign complications of a very serious character. Secretary Tracy has, therefore, no right to be reticent about it. We do not demand that he shall explain his position in the newspapers: he has a right to refuse to do this. But having failed to explain in the proper place—that is, his two letters to Commander Reiter, one of which he allowed to get into the newspapers before Commander Reiter received it—he was bound to take the earliest opportunity of explaining it *somewhere* in such manner as he deemed appropriate. It will be the duty of Congress, whenever this hurly-burly is over, to extract it from him by way of legislative inquiry.

The correspondent, having failed with Secretary Tracy himself, went to an authority which for all practical purposes "is equally high in naval matters," and got his account of the Secretary's position. This gentleman put in the forefront of the charge against Commander Reiter his having gone ashore to consult the Minister, Mr. Mizner, instead of acting on his own responsibility, and makes a great deal of the point. We judge from an evidently inspired article in the *Tribune* that Reiter's "timidity" about assuming responsibility, as illustrated by his consulting the American Minister (an able lawyer, by the way, and a man of high character), is the particular cloud under which both the Navy and State Departments propose to take refuge. But nobody cares anything about Reiter's character as a man of resolution. What the public wants to know, and has a right to know, is, what was the omission in the harbor of San José on the 28th of August, of which his alleged timidity led him to be guilty, and for which he has now been so severely punished? Even Secretary Tracy, in his angriest mood as "ruler of the Queen's Navee," would not dismiss an officer from his ship, with a severe reprimand, for simply going ashore, when in a puzzling situation, to see what the American Minister thought about it. Commander Reiter has been punished for having, after taking the Minister's advice, allowed the Guatemalan authorities to do something in their own harbor which he ought to have resisted by force. What was that thing? Whatever it was, would it have been lawful for him to resist it? These are the questions which the Secretary of the Navy is bound to answer somewhere somehow.

The correspondent pressed the equivalent authority on this point as follows:

"But had not the local powers a right to treat a merchant vessel entering their waters voluntarily, as the *Acapulco* did, as within the jurisdiction of their laws?"

This goes to the heart of the matter, as we shall presently show. Here is the answer he got:

"Not to the extent of taking forcible possession of the body of a passenger. Whatever they may have claimed as their right, it was no part of our business to recognize it. As long as Gen. Barrundia was a passenger on an American ship, it was our duty to see that he should be free to go and come as he chose."

That this is an extraordinary answer to come from the Navy Department of a great Power, any intelligent reader may see at a glance. It disposes of the question of law very much as Paddy Divver might dispose of it. "Whatever they may have claimed as their right, it was no part of our business to recognize it." That is, an American naval officer was not, in a foreign port, to consult his authorities to find out what his attitude towards the local authorities ought to be as decided by civilized usage, but "to use his guns without appeal." Now, let us see what these authorities are. Mr. Alexander Porter Morse has collected some of them in an article published in the *Albany Law Journal* apropos of this very Barrundia affair. Said Secretary Everett, February 17, 1853, "Merchant vessels in port are subject to the police law of the port." Said Secretary Marcy, August 31, 1855:

"If the United States claim jurisdiction over all offences committed on board of foreign private vessels in their harbors or waters, they cannot with consistency assert the right to have their citizens exempt from the jurisdiction of the local authorities when they commit similar offences in foreign ports."

Said Secretary Marcy again, April 19, 1856:

"This Government does not apply the doctrine of extra-territoriality to its private or merchant ships in foreign ports, except in cases where it has been conceded by treaty or established usage, and it does not pretend that it has been so conceded in criminal cases to American merchant vessels in British ports."

Said Secretary Frelinghuysen, November 13, 1883:

"I find no difficulty in agreeing with your statement that, by the general principles of international law, private or merchant vessels entering the ports of another nation than their own are subject to local jurisdiction; and I also recognize at once the convenience and desirability of the rule you suggest as that adopted by France, and followed by some other nations, that local courts should decline to take jurisdiction of cases involving acts of mere interior discipline of the vessel."

Said Secretary Bayard, apropos of the Gomez case—one exactly like Barrundia's—March 12, 1885:

"It may be safely affirmed that when a merchant vessel of one country visits the ports of another for the purposes of trade, it owes temporary allegiance and is amenable to the jurisdiction of that country, and is subject to the laws which govern the ports it visits so long as it remains, unless it is otherwise provided by treaty. Any exemption or immunity from local jurisdiction must be derived from the consent of that country. No such exemption is made in the treaty of commerce and navigation concluded between this country and Nicaragua on the 21st day of June, 1867."

Finally, what was Commander Reiter taught by the 'Naval Encyclopædia,' a textbook in which the article on International Law was written by Mr. Soley, the present Assistant Secretary of the Navy—a very competent person—in the following passage? The writer, after discussing the immunity of public ships from such jurisdiction, proceeds:

"To private or merchant vessels no such immunity is granted. They have no exemption from the jurisdiction of the State in which they are, except by express convention. Police officers may go on board such vessels, their officers or seamen may be arrested on board, writs may be served, and crimes occurring on board by whomsoever committed are triable in the local courts."

There is a swarm of judicial opinions and opinions of book-writers of like tenor and effect. We shall not claim here that they absolutely settle the Barrundia case, but we do say that it is a monstrous and unprecedented thing that the head of the navy of a great maritime Power should give the commander of a public ship to understand that he may ignore them, and that it is "no part of his business" to regard the rights of the local authorities in foreign countries, and should punish and denounce an officer for even hesitating to use force in resisting a local warrant.

THE POPULATION OF NEW HAMPSHIRE.

CENSUS BULLETIN No. 21 gives the population of New Hampshire by counties and minor civil divisions. An analysis of the figures proves that while the population of the State as a whole has, during the last decade, increased from 346,991 to 376,530, or at the rate of 8.51 per cent., three-fifths of all the towns in the State have now less population than they had ten years ago. The following table shows, moreover, that the majority of the towns in each of eleven out of the twelve counties in the State have fewer inhabitants than they had in 1880. The exception is the County of Coos, which includes the thinly settled northern extremity of the State.

The table is as follows:

Counties.	Total number of towns, etc.	Number of towns, etc., showing increase of population.	Number of towns, etc., showing decrease of population.	Number of towns, etc., no change in population.	Number of towns, etc., for which no comparison can be made.
Belknap.....	11	3	8		
Carroll.....	18	7	11		
Cheshire.....	23	10	13		
Coos.....	35	17	8	2	8
Grafton.....	39	11	28		
Hillsborough..	31	11	20		
Merrimack....	27	8	19		
Rockingham..	37	15	22		
Strafford.....	13	6	7		
Sullivan.....	15	3	12		
Total	249	91	148	2	8

A still further analysis of the census returns demonstrates that the decrease has been almost wholly in the smaller and agricultural towns. In 1880 there were twenty-eight cities and towns each of which contained more than 2,000 inhabitants. Of these, twenty-seven show an increase, and only one (the town of Hanover, in Grafton County, which in 1880 had a population of 2,147), a decrease. Of the towns with a population

of from 1,500 to 2,000, nearly as many show a decrease as an increase, and the increase of these towns in the aggregate is but 4 per cent. The majority of the towns with a population of between 1,000 and 1,500 have lost population, and the decrease in the aggregate population of these towns in the decade has been over 4 per cent. The decrease has been the greatest in the towns with the smallest population, the towns with less than 1,000 inhabitants each having suffered a loss of 10 per cent. since 1880.

The following table illustrates very clearly how the larger places are growing and the smaller ones losing population:

Towns & cities classified according to population in 1890. Population	No. of such towns.	Population. 1890.	Population. 1880.	Gain or loss.	Percentage.
Over 20,000.....	1	44,126	32,630	+11,496	+35.23
10,000 to 20,000	3	49,105	38,927	+10,178	+26.15
4,000 to 10,000	8	50,953	43,172	+7,781	+18.02
2,000 to 4,000	23	63,271	52,609	+10,662	+20.26
1,500 to 2,000	20	34,184	32,867	+1,317	+4.01
1,000 to 1,500	49	59,168	61,734	—2,566	—4.16
Under 1,000....	145	75,723	85,052	—9,329	—10.97
Total.....	249	376,530	346,991	+29,539	+8.51

+ Increase. —Decrease.

The cities having over 10,000 inhabitants each in 1890 have increased almost a third during the decade, and those between 2,000 and 1,000 nearly a fifth, while the towns with a population in 1890 of between 1,000 and 2,000 have suffered a slight decrease, and those with less than 1,000 inhabitants each have lost nearly one-ninth of their population. This increase in the larger and decrease in the smaller places has been going on for the last forty years, as the following table will show:

Date of census.	Population. Of 35 towns having upwards of 2,000 inhabitants each in 1890.	Population. Of 69 towns having between 1,000 to 2,000 inhabitants each in 1890.	Population. Of 145 towns having less than 1,000 inhabitants each in 1890.	Percentage of total population. In towns over 2,000.	Percentage of total population. In towns between 1,000 and 2,000.	Percentage of total population. In towns under 1,000.
1890..	207,455	93,352	75,723	55.10	24.79	20.11
1880..	167,338	94,601	85,052	48.23	27.26	24.51
1870..	137,440	92,314	88,555	43.18	29.00	27.82
1860..	126,235	97,815	102,020	38.71	30.00	31.29
1850..	113,506	97,628	106,842	35.69	30.71	33.60

Since 1850 the population of the larger places has nearly doubled. That of the towns with from 1,000 to 2,000 inhabitants in 1890 has slightly fallen off, while that of the smaller towns has decreased almost one-third in the aggregate. The falling off in particular towns has, of course, oftentimes been much greater. In 1850 the thirty-five larger towns contained but a trifle more than a third of the entire population of the State; they now have considerably more than one-half. Forty years ago the smaller towns had a third of the population, and now but a fifth.

THE HARTLEPOOL ELECTION.

English politics has, during the past seven years, produced a great many surprises, and the result of the Hartlepool election is probably one of the greatest. The borough is an important one, and was long held by the Liberals. It was won by them at the general election in 1885, by 3,669 to 2,629. It was, however, lost by the Gladstonians at the general election in the following year, the Liberal Unionists carrying it by 3,381 to 2,469 over the Home-Rulers. This year, although the Liberal Unionists' candidate, Mr. Gray, was considered exceptionally formidable, being exceedingly popular and the largest employer of labor in the borough, the Home-Ruler has carried it by 4 603 against 4,305, the vote being the fullest on record. The Gladstonians have been looking forward to this election, the first since the Parnellite catastrophe, with the deepest apprehension. It was to be the first indication of the effect produced on the English voters by the Irish divisions and the revelation of Parnell's turpitude, and the result was expected by the Unionist press with unconcealed glee. They had no more doubt about it than they had about the Kilkenny election, when Lord Salisbury advised "them to put their money on Parnell." The Home-Rulers were to be routed once more. Gladstone was to be repudiated, fall sick, and then, after a short period of decay, to die, and the reunited Liberal party was to lay the Irish question aside, hand the Irish over to Mr. Balfour, and occupy itself exclusively with English reforms. The Unionist depression is now doubtless correspondingly great. The two leading organs, the *Times* and the *Standard*, acknowledge that the situation is serious.

The Gladstonian victory is probably due to two causes. One is the personal popularity of Gladstone, which has, according to the best accounts, been increased by the Parnellite trouble. Popular sympathy for the "Grand Old Man" has been intensified by Parnell's brutal insults, and by the mortification and disappointment which the revelation of Parnell's baseness has caused him, and by the dignity with which he has borne all. Moreover, the mass of the English voters are not blinded, as the upper classes are, by personal hatred of Gladstone. There has been nothing more discreditable in English history to the mind and manners of the English gentry than the silly stories which they circulate about Gladstone's personal character, and which a considerable number of them, doubtless, believe. They, in truth, make out Gladstone to be a far worse man in all respects than Parnell, forgetting the awful disgrace which this, if true, would reflect on English morals, and forgetting, too, how far below the Irish Parnellites this would place one-half of the British people. The middle and laboring classes are not the victims of this amazing fatuity. They have too much "horse sense" to suppose that a man could reach Gladstone's age in a blaze of publicity such as has probably never surrounded any Englishman, without ever having had any more serious charge made against him than that of having changed his mind suddenly, or contradicted himself on public matters, at various intervals in the course of fifty years of public life. They note, too, that the loudest of his accusers on these points have been the most notorious political weathercocks and turncoats in England.

The second reason is probably still more powerful, namely, the popular perception that though Parliament might lay aside Home Rule, it could not lay aside the Irish question. Home Rule is simply one proposed mode of solving the Irish difficulty. It may be a bad mode, but resolving not to try it would not dispose of the Irish trouble any more than dismissing a particular doctor would cure a man of a chronic disease. No party can come into power in England without having to make the state of Ireland its first concern. The Irish have, and are likely to have, eighty-six votes in the House of Commons. These votes cannot be treated as a "neglectable quantity." British business cannot be transacted in Parliament without either getting rid of them by the disfranchisement of the Irish voters, and the government of Ireland as a Crown colony, or by the adoption of rules of procedure which would seriously impede legislation and humiliate the House of Commons in the eyes of the country. The notion that either of these expedients could be adopted in the present temper of the English people, without just as much turmoil and as much preoccupation of the popular mind as the Home-Rule expedient causes, seems almost childish. The Irish question would still remain, and would have to be fought over until it was settled, if Gladstone were to die to-morrow. It is only in part an economical question; it is in the main, like similar questions everywhere, a sentimental question. No people on whom the feeling of nationality and the desire for self-government have once taken hold, has ever been bought off by the offer of material comfort. Scores of conquerors have tried it in vain in times when it was easy to get rid of malcontents by killing them. It has less chance of success now than ever, and the offer of it, as now made to the Irish by Lord Salisbury, Balfour, and Mr. Chamberlain, accompanied with jeers and insults, is probably the most unpalatable and futile form it has ever taken.

The result of the election in Hartlepool seems to be put in some danger by the allegation that Furness, the successful candidate, who is, like his opponent, a large employer of labor, promised to employ none but members of the trades-unions, which the Conservative lawyers are disposed to consider a violation of the Corrupt Practices Act—that is, as something in the nature of a bribe. The defeat has been so mortifying and unexpected to the Tories that they will doubtless petition against Furness's return if they have a leg to stand on. But, luckily, election petitions

are tried in England by the courts of law, just like the title to property or to any other office; so that there is no danger of foul play. If Furness be unseated on this ground, it will, however, hardly help the Conservatives much in Hartlepool. The general election cannot be far off, and, when it comes, Furness will not need to make any express promise to get the support of the workingmen, who will probably consider him a martyr. One of the curious features in the working of the Conservative mind at present is that they feel consoled if they can show that a Home Ruler owed his election, not to Home Rule, but to something else, as if it was of any practical importance how a Home-Ruler gets into the House of Commons, as long as he gets there and supports Home Rule.

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF HYPNOTIC SUBJECTS.

THE Gouffé murder trial, which has just taken place at Paris, is an event of more than passing importance, as being probably the first case in which hypnotic suggestion has been set up as a defence by a person charged with crime. The practice in French courts is so different from our own, and the reports of newspaper correspondents are so exclusively confined to irrelevant matters, that it is by no means easy to ascertain precisely what questions were determined; but, so far as we can judge, they appear to have been the following: The first was a particular proposition: Did the woman Bompard commit the act with which she was charged while under the influence of hypnotic suggestion? The second question was general: If the commission of a crime is suggested to a person in the hypnotic state, may the will be so affected as to make the person committing the crime, after such suggestion, irresponsible? Although the negative answer, which seems to have been found by the jury to the first question, made the second inquiry unnecessary, the decision, as we understand it, involved the negation of both propositions.

While such a conclusion, if satisfactorily reached, would be highly reassuring, we are unable to attach much weight to the decision in this case. The evidence may have been sufficient to justify a finding that the woman Bompard did not commit the crime after hypnotic suggestion, although it does not seem that that issue was properly presented. It appeared that when a girl she had been seduced by a man who had hypnotized her, that she had been repeatedly hypnotized, and that she could be easily thrown into the somnambulistic trance. But, as the trial was conducted, this evidence could hardly have been considered by the jury. The Government refused to allow M. Liégeois of Nancy, one of the greatest authorities on hypnotism, to see the prisoner, for the reason that the Procureur-Général declined to admit that the opinion of three physicians should be "controlled" by a professor of law. The prison-physician who had attended the woman for eleven months, and had made use of his position to hypnotize her repeatedly, when called for the defence refused to testify, pleading, after having been released by the prisoner, his professional privilege. He declared that he considered that his patient had no right to relieve him of his obligation to secrecy—a proposition which seems to have been accepted as law by the court.

This contribution to jurisprudence was added to by the Procureur-Général, who laid it down that the prison-doctor could not testify, because he had made his experiments in his private capacity, which he had no business to do, and for the further reason that he had probably been imposed upon by his patient. The prisoner's counsel attempted to reply to this, but was suppressed by the court. Some of the audience murmured and were expelled. And so the trial proceeded in the melodramatic manner thought by the French to be favorable to the promotion of justice, but which seems, judging from these incidents, to be about as well calculated for the scientific ascertainment of truth as that followed in Wonderland in the celebrated case of the Knave of Hearts.

It was asserted by M. Liégeois that if the woman were hypnotized and asked about the crime, she would give an accurate account of the manner in which it was perpetrated. This experiment was proposed by the defence, but rejected by the Government upon the ground that the prisoner was a liar and had a turn for acting. It seems to have been thought that her mendacity would prevail even in the hypnotic state, and that shamming could not be detected. Certainly it is much to be regretted that the experiment was not tried, as its importance for both scientific and legal purposes is obvious. It suggests new possibilities in the way of detection of crime, which might go far to neutralize the temptation of the facilities supposed to be afforded by hypnotism for its commission.

As to the question of the responsibility of hypnotics, the conclusions reached by a jury under such conditions as we have described seem to us to have no value. The *Spectator*, it is true, claims to have followed all the experiments, and considers that the Procureur-Général, M. Quesnay de Beaurepaire, has rendered it clear that in the artificial sleep "the will was always sufficiently strong to frustrate malevolent counsels." In support of this proposition he alleged the authority of Dr. Charcot of the Salpêtrière. But we fail to be impressed with the reasoning by which the Procureur disposed of the testimony of Dr. Liégeois, reasoning which the *Spectator* finds so conclusive. "The Nancy School," said this functionary, "declared that to hypnotize a person, neither sleep nor the imposition of hands was necessary; a mere glance thrown from one end of a railway carriage to another was quite sufficient. . . . The consequences of that doctrine would be that there would no longer be any morality or any conscience. Man would not be distinguishable from the brute creation; he would disappear in the anarchy of unpunished crimes. That was why it was impossible to mention the Nancy School without a smile, and that smile was the most eloquent of answers." It is scarcely necessary to say that a question of fact is not to be disposed of by observations upon the alarming consequences that may be expected from its establishment, or by the most eloquent of smiles.

As opposed to this conclusion, we may cite several eminent authorities. Prof. James, in his recent work on psychology, states that subjects in the hypnotic condition "will receive and execute suggestions of crime, and act out a theft, forgery, arson, or murder." It is true that this is not always the case, but it is the case in the deeper conditions. "The background thoughts still exist, and have the power of *comment* on the suggestions, but no power to inhibit their motor and associative effects." Post-hypnotic or deferred suggestions "succeed with a certain number of patients, even when the execution is named for a remote period." During the interval preceding their execution the patient may be absolutely ignorant that they have been deposited in his mind. The moment the suggested performance is over, the patient may forget it and deny all knowledge of it.

Still more to the point are the statements of MM. Binet and Féré. If arms are given to the subject,

> "he may be induced to commit any crime which is prompted by the experimenter. We could cite several acts, to say the least unseemly, committed by hysterical patients, which were crimes in miniature, and instigated by one who was really guilty, and who remained unknown. At the Salpêtrière a paper-knife has often been placed in the hands of an hypnotic subject, who is told that it is a dagger, with which she is ordered to murder one of the persons present. On awaking, the patient hovers round her victim and suddenly strikes him with such violence that I think it well to refrain from such experiments. . . . It was suggested to a subject that she should poison X—— with a glass of pure water which was said to contain poison. The suggestion did not indicate in what way the crime was to be committed. The subject offered the glass to X——, and invited him to drink by saying, 'Is it not a hot day?' (It was in summer). . . .
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> "These facts show that the hypnotic subject may become the instrument of a terrible crime, the more terrible since, immediately after the act is accomplished, all may be forgotten—the crime, the impulse, and its instigator. Some of the more dangerous characteristics of these suggested acts should be noted. These impulses may give rise to crimes or offences of which the nature is infinitely varied, but which retain the almost constant character of a conscious, irresistible impulse; that is, although the subject is quite himself, and conscious of his identity, he cannot resist the force which impels him to perform an act which he would, under other circumstances, condemn. Hurried on by this irresistible force, the subject feels none of the doubts and hesitations of a criminal who acts spontaneously; he behaves with a tranquillity and security which would in such a case insure the success of his crime. Some of our subjects are aware of the power of suggestion, and, when absolutely resolved to commit an act for which they fear that their courage or audacity may fail when the moment arrives, they take the precaution of receiving the suggestion from their companions.
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> "The danger of these criminal suggestions is increased by the fact that, at the will of the experimenter, the act may be accomplished several hours, and even several days, after the date of suggestion. Facts of this kind, which were first reported by Richet, are not exceptional, and have been repeatedly observed by us."

It is obvious that the principles involved in this case deserve careful study, and we trust that students both of psychology and of jurisprudence will procure the fullest

possible reports and subject them to the severest scrutiny. It seems quite probable that legislation may become necessary to regulate the exercise of a power which may be seriously abused by unscrupulous persons, and we are perhaps already in position to lay down the lines which such legislation should follow. The exercise of the power should certainly be forbidden to all except properly qualified and duly licensed persons, and even then it may probably be wise to restrict its use to cases where benefit may reasonably be expected to follow to the individual patient. The devotee of science is under too great temptation to make use of a peculiarly helpless class of human beings as the subject of experiment, to be allowed absolute license. The inmates of hospitals are human beings, and are entitled to protection against practices which, however ultimately beneficial to mankind, are sometimes immediately degrading and prejudicial to themselves. The consent of the patients is obviously, under the circumstances in which they are placed, immaterial. It admits of no doubt to one who reads the reports of the experiments made in foreign hospitals, that the treatment to which patients are frequently subjected would, if known, excite the indignant protests of their relatives and friends.

ENGLISH VIEWS OF THE COPYRIGHT ACT.

LONDON, January 5, 1891.

I HAVE taken pains to ascertain the feelings of authors and book-manufacturers as to the proposed American Copyright Act, and have read the numerous daily and weekly comments in the public prints. At this distance it looks very much as if the House of Representatives, chagrined at the censure which the recent elections have put upon it, had turned about since last winter, when it rejected the act, and, because of its element of protection, had committed itself to the measure out of spite, and to show that the McKinley spirit is not yet dead. A nearer acquaintance with the political complexion of the favorers of the act might disprove this remote commentary. English authors seem not to be discontented, and, except so far as their interests are linked with those of the publishers, have no particular occasion to be; and it seems to be the general opinion that a few, William Black, for instance, among them, will profit largely. Some put his prospective profits at five thousand dollars a year, though others think such a sum a great exaggeration. Some authors, like Herbert Spencer, who have been in the habit of sending over on their own account duplicate plates of their books, see little to be gained by themselves, and are content with securing the start in publication; and indeed that advantage is sufficient for books not profitable to reprint against such odds.

There is, however, no such degree of contentment among the manufacturers of books, and some of the leading houses share a feeling of resentment mixed with sentiments of self-interest. In small conferences and larger councils, there seems to be a determination to seek a remedy in Parliament, and I should judge it certain that the next session would see a bill introduced retaliatory in spirit if not in form. This last condition will be in some sense avoided by making adhesion to the Convention of Berne necessary to the securing of copyright in any country. A muttering that showed the nature of the opposition has deterred them from attempting a directly retaliatory bill, as was first talked of, and it is to be disguised in this form, while still in effect of a retaliatory nature. It is apparently hoped that this semi-concealment is to satisfy enough of the uncompromising free-traders to make them aid in carrying the measure. There are among its aggrieved promoters varying degrees of confidence in success, but all recognize the fact that, disguise the measure as you will, its aim is unmistakably a protection for those who subsist on the manufacture of books.

Taking people not having a personal interest in the matter, as I hear the talk at the clubs, and as I draw out views from such members of Parliament as I have met, the opinion is all but universal that the measure will not succeed. The argument among such indifferent persons is that, call it what you will, it is a protective measure, and England is too far committed to free trade ever to break its record for a single interest, which is sure to be followed by the claims of innumerable other interests if a beginning is made. To this plea an answer is given that literary property is on a different footing from other property, and it can be hedged about consistently with barriers unsuited to other property. It remains to be seen if this argument will be of any avail. I suspect that it will not.

Most unbiassed people think that the loss to British printers under the operation of such an act as is proposed in America, is nothing like so great as those now in a disturbed condition of mind represent that it will be, and that the number of British authors to be tempted to print their books in America is not great, and hardly sufficient to disturb seriously the conditions of the publishing business. There can be little doubt that the disturbance in this direction will not much affect well-established houses.

People here, in talking of this matter, sooner or later say that any copyright reciprocity, pure and simple, must in any case help the American more than the British author, because of the number of British books to be copyrighted in America being greater than those of American books to derive advantages from a British copyright. We can only meet this assertion by saying that our fecundity is on the increase, and there may yet be, before very long, an absolute equality in such reciprocity. This is very readily conceded.

The scholarship of America is by no means so dependent on British books as this statement implies. It means rather that the great mass of general readers and ordinary book-buyers are served by the British author; and publishers and dealers here recognize the fact that America is a larger market for books than England, but they are not quite so ready to acknowledge that there is more reading in America than in England, proportionately at least. They point to such establishments as Mudie's, to the clubs which are everywhere, and to the rapid increase of public libraries, and the joining of reading facilities to the innumerable charitable and other organizations, which are at every turn.

There is little doubt that the scholars of America look rather to Germany than to England for their sustenance. The experience of our largest university library is the best test on this question. I write of Harvard as best known to me. There are in Cambridge, Mass., not far from two hundred and fifty special scholars, engaged in instruction and in the pay of the University. There must be at least as many more students, more or less connected with the University, who are equally specialized in their scholastic aims. These are the men who prompt the purchases of that library, and, to answer their wants, more books have been bought for several years past in German than in English or French. For the second place, it is sometimes English and sometimes French. It is not difficult to discover the cause of this. The Germans are the greatest monographists now writing, and the greatest need to specialized scholarship is the monograph. The difference in the helps to literary and scientific attainments between the English and German productions is considerably greater than the mere excess of German books bought by the leading university library over the English, inasmuch as the proportion of monographs in the German accessions is much larger than in the English. The same reasons hold good when we seek to find why it is that large numbers of Americans seek the German universities, and why so few go to Oxford and Cambridge. There is a far greater variety, as well as a greater minuteness of research, in the methods of Berlin and Leipzig than in the English universities. This is recognized here, and people understand the preferences which the Americans have for the Continental schools, the advantages of which are, further, much more easily availed of by a specializing foreigner than the instruction is in England.

The British educational inquirer is somewhat inclined to flout at German erudition as unproductive of a high state of literature, and there is truth in it, and one does not look in America on classical education running into philology to the neglect of the literary side without some misgiving, as to the over-close dependence which we have on German methods. That a reaction will in time follow I have no doubt, and we shall return to the classics as to books to be read, rather than as fields of philological problems to be discussed, and we shall so return all the better prepared for their enjoyment by reason of the phase of German study which now so much dominates in the classical curriculum of our colleges. We must not forget that it is only within a comparatively few years that American scholarship in the classics could compete with European. As long as study must be had of manuscripts, America had no chance; but now that nearly every manuscript of importance has been edited, or at least its readings collated, and the results printed, the American scholar has as good an apparatus as the European. There is nothing, I find, that has made English classical scholars so sensible of this as the works of Prof. Goodwin, solved with such facilities as time has given to us, for he is acknowledged on all hands here in England as second to no one in his department.

I have referred to the increase of public libraries in England. Nothing is more noticeable in the drift of opinion regarding such institutions than that London, in its immensity, has been the last to feel the general impulse; and in no part of the island is the spirit which prompts and supports municipal free libraries more active at the present time than here. Not long since, Sir John Lubbock—and no more active-minded and laborious Englishman exists—set forth in an address at the opening of one of these libraries the extent of the cost of maintaining such institutions, as compared with the cost of suppressing the crime from which, he contends, the libraries divert the lower classes; and there seems little disposition to question his arguments. With all this, one looks on with amazement at the stubborn, old-fashioned ways in which these libraries spring

into existence, each parish working out its problem in its own manner, regardless of experience to be afforded by others, and mulishly valuing what they deem to be their own right to do everything just as they please higher than any wisdom which can be acquired as a gift. I had supposed, with our New England habits of local independence inherited from a struggle which separated us from England, that the method of a more rational and thrifty way of maintaining such libraries encountered more opposition with us than in the older countries from which we sprang; but it seems to be the opinion of experts in library matters here, that nothing can surpass the crass obstinacy of parish committees to have their own way at any cost of money and of failure. Except for the proverbial slowness in reform in England, one would say that the example across the Channel, in the opportune and beneficent workings of that large circle of provincial libraries regulated by the Société Franklin in Paris, would have some effect in England; but I cannot find that even the best informed supporters of the English library system have ever made a study of the organization in France. In this method, as in living and in much else, the French have taken the lead in showing us how a given sum of money can be made to go furthest.

Last winter I tried to impress upon a committee of the Massachusetts Legislature, who called me before it, the value of this French system, and that the project then before them of beginning a system of State aid to small local libraries could with great advantage be accompanied by measures looking to bring all libraries of their creation into a circle of dependent libraries, alike in the main features to the several hundred now regulated by this Paris society. The plan involved a central bureau in Boston, in whose constitution there must be confidence, which should select and furnish all books, furniture, printing, and supplies, using what money the local libraries could raise, and supplementing it by such other funds as the State or subscriptions might afford. The advantages would be more discrimination arising from larger experience, greater discounts from more extensive operations; and often a single outlay would be made to suffice for many libraries, as for instance in a combined catalogue, which could be made to answer for all the libraries.

There is no greater apparent waste of money in libraries than that spent both on cataloguing and on the printing of catalogues, and yet no library can fulfil its proper functions without a catalogue, and many libraries must have a printed one. It is often urged that there should be a community of endeavor in this respect among libraries. Among large libraries this is impossible, inasmuch as so small a portion of their accessions are in common. If one doubts this, look at the printed lists of their yearly accessions published by such contiguous libraries as the Boston Public Library, the Boston Athenæum, and the library of Harvard University. One will be surprised at the comparatively few titles common to the three lists. But as respects the ordinary free town library no such difficulty exists. A library of 5,000 to 10,000 volumes is in no wise hurt if it is made the duplicate of a hundred others. There will be the same standard English books and the same selection of current publications. To serve a circle of such libraries with the same cataloguing, printing, and supplies of all sorts, with the advantage of a single supervising mind, means a diminution of expense for each library of at least one-half, or, in other words, a doubling of facilities for the same money.

Unfortunately it involves a sacrifice of local independence, which communities at present do not think preserved at too great cost when the expense is doubled. To make the needed economic changes, the village lawyer, doctor, and minister who make the committee to select books, must give up their function, the schoolmaster must forego a pittance of addition to his income for the cataloguing of the books, the carpenter must consent that a distant mechanic shall make the cases, and the country printer must find other profit than in printing its blanks and catalogues. The interests of these people, added to the general belief in what is called local independence, have thus far, in America as in England, militated against the first principles of thrifty management for such libraries. The coöperation which has come about in trade and in such institutions as the Army and Navy stores of London, shows what the future will develop in this other field; and when we in America find our population sufficiently congested, and the getting the utmost out of money a necessity, we shall then wonder why France has so long seen and acted upon what we have so long stubbornly refused to recognize. JUSTIN WINSOR.

THE OUTLOOK IN IRELAND.

LONDON, January 17, 1891.

THE comments of the *Nation* upon the Kilkenny election were singularly perspicacious, recognizing it as the first Irish election whose result would seriously influence the fortunes of the country. Indeed, we may say that now, for the first time in Irish history, the Irish people have their fate practically in their own hands. If they pronounce unequivocally against Mr. Parnell, the self-government of Ireland cannot be much longer delayed. If their decision be doubtful or largely in his favor, a dreary time of hope deferred opens out before us.

At the present writing, affairs do not look particularly encouraging. I lately spent a month in Dublin, where feeling is strong in favor of Mr. Parnell. I was assured by a lady who had seen some of the chief Dublin gatherings of recent years, that the Rotunda welcome meeting surpassed all others in sustained enthusiasm. Literally for twelve minutes Mr. Parnell was kept bowing on the platform before being permitted to speak. That he should be so regarded by the masses is not very wonderful, but what is truly so is the firm hold he retains on the hearts and minds of the refined and educated. The Protestant Home-Rule Association, constituted essentially of educated and thoughtful men, after a fortnight for reflection, and after a fair and well-sustained debate, pronounced in the proportion of nine to five in his favor. So with most of my Nationalist relatives and friends, male and female. They say: "We have no right to be too hard on Mr. Parnell." "We have not yet heard his side of the story." "He is the only man qualified to lead us." "Mr. Gladstone is not to be trusted, nor is the English Liberal party." Among less intelligent, but excellent people, one hears: "It is most likely he is not guilty at all; it may be a conspiracy of the Government." The extent to which refined and cultivated women, both in Ireland and here, have espoused his cause, is a problem. He has been welcomed in respectable Dublin and Cork homes as he was never before welcomed. "Oh, I am with you, but my wife here is for Parnell," said a Catholic friend whom I met out walking with his wife. Some quite historic names among London women are on his side. Also he has the adherence, more or less, of a large class of well-known men, such as O'Neill Daunt, John O'Leary, Barry O'Brien, and others, who had hitherto held back from too much identifying themselves with the Parnell movement. That they should now clasp hands with the "Hillside men" is remarkable. It may be partly explained by their never having been really converted to the British alliance. These men, as well as the women referred to, can perhaps take a more personal and unpractical view of the situation than those burdened by the responsibility of public matters.

I had occasion to visit in the country an old friend, who had for nearly twenty-nine years formed a part of my own household. Her family, occupying a mud-built cabin in the County Kildare, are respectable tenants, sustaining themselves honestly by hard labor, assisted by her savings. They expressed themselves almost fiercely, as far as courtesy to me permitted, in favor of Parnell, dwelling especially on our "ingratitude" to him. I could see that my defection was a grief to them. The gentleman farmer, the landlord under whom they lived, shared their views. Sitting in his comfortable dining-room, he exclaimed: "The big landlords would have sold the eyes out of our heads, and this man saved us, and now you turn against him." His wife expressed herself even more strongly. The openness with which all these people, Catholics, reprobated the action of their priests, was very striking, and shows how the Irish people, except in ecclesiastical matters, have emancipated themselves from clerical control. On the other hand, a young curate, with whom I conversed on the subject out of doors, spoke under his breath so as not to be overheard in adjacent cabins. I was disappointed that some tenant farmers, asked to meet me at the house of the parish priest, were disinclined to express their real sentiments in his presence. The talk was sustained almost entirely by him, the landlord aforesaid, and myself. The inevitably demoralizing effect on the community of a condonation of Mr. Parnell's doings was emphasized to me the other day by hearing the comment of a Catholic servant girl thereupon: "After all, he is only in the fashion; sure, it's what the aristocracy do."

Against these my experiences in Dublin and the near country may be set the highly satisfactory result of the Kilkenny election. There is hope that while the towns and the portions of the country (such as Kildare) in sympathy with the towns may side with Parnell, the country districts generally are sound. Cork city, and certainly its Nationalist daily papers, are decidedly with us. The Wexford *People*, one of the most influential papers in the southeast of Ireland, also stands firm. The principal Waterford newspaper supports Parnell. The vehement and constant advocacy of the *Freeman's Journal* is one of the strongest factors on his side. To be without a central leading organ to express their views is a difficult and humiliating position for the majority of the Irish Parliamentary party, who believe they represent an overwhelming preponderance of the public opinion of the country. The *Insuppressible*, a cleavage in our interest of *United Ireland* seized by Parnell, is a poor stopgap. Funds are being raised for the establishment of a first-class Dublin daily organ; but every one knowing what that involves will understand that it could not be started at once.

Looking at affairs altogether, and even considering the Kilkenny election (an election conducted on the whole in a manner so creditable to our people, and which did not prevent the Judge of Assize there being since

presented with a pair of white gloves), we fear the situation has not improved within the past month. Mr. Parnell has shown steady and persistent energy and determination, combined with the skill of a Mephistopheles, in confusing the issue and beguiling even the best. No such energy has been manifested by his opponents. Relying on their majority in committee-room No. 15, they can display no such front as his. The strong personality of Parnell is much in his favor. Even the English Liberal papers notice his speeches more than those of the anti-Parnellite members. Mr. Healy is the life and soul of the opposition; but his effectiveness has been sadly marred by ill-considered abuse of those from whom he differs, and public statements which cannot always be substantiated. The personal accusations on both sides have been shocking, calling in question chiefly motives as against the Opposition, and character as against the Parnellites. I had an opportunity of investigating some of these latter accusations, and found them as baseless as are the aspersions cast on the motives of Mr. McCarthy and his friends. The very designation Parnellite has in itself a prestige not associated with that of McCarthyite. The *Pall Mall* term "Patriots" assumes too much, and does not find general acceptance. The wild utterances indulged in by Mr. Parnell before and during the Kilkenny election were entirely unlike his old self. This was especially impressed on me lately in looking over a scarce book prepared for the Commission—Mr. Parnell's 'Speeches, Letters, and Public Utterances out of Parliament from 1879 to 1888.' He has now reverted to his former and more really telling style.

The return of Mr. Harrington, his vigorous resumption of the management of the National League in his leader's interest, and personal advocacy of his cause over Ireland, immensely increase Mr. Parnell's chances of success. Worse than all are the return of Mr. O'Brien, the Boulogne conferences, the opening he has left for the supposition that he has been captured by Mr. Parnell, and the consequent numbness among the Opposition over the cause of Ireland, while Mr. Parnell has felt encouraged to pursue his course with unabated energy. And now it is supposed we are to await John Dillon's return before knowing our position. Dillon and O'Brien have hitherto acted in unison. If Parnell's benumbing spell should be thrown over Dillon as it seems to have been over O'Brien, the Irish cause would apparently be ruined, for the present at least. Without Parnell, reunion would be possible; with him, now or in future, impossible. There appears little prospect of his retirement in the hints that reach us of an understanding between him and O'Brien, only awaiting Dillon's return to take form. If the expenses, recriminations, and violence attendant on the Kilkenny election be any augury of what would occur in contests between Parnell and the country party over Ireland in a general election, many of the present National members would decline to stand, and the personnel of the party would be greatly changed.

Meanwhile, Ireland, for the hundredth time in her history, is to all appearances on the dissecting table. Unless union and the consequent American and Australian help be secured, it is doubtful whether the tenants' combination can be sustained for many days or weeks. And again over wide districts famine stares us in the face. We cannot question the motives of the Lord Lieutenant and Chief Secretary in appealing for aid, nor the wisdom under the circumstances of the means by which they propose to investigate and alleviate distress. Combined with grants for public works and railways, never was there a more energetic effort to combat distress in Ireland. But what a mortification to Irishmen, to have the management of their own affairs withheld from them, and then to have their miseries—the outcome, they believe, of misgovernment and that deprivation of rights—exposed to the world's inspection and commiseration. And what a commentary it all is on the attitude hitherto maintained by Mr. Balfour and his adherents towards the coerced, evicted, and harried Irish cottiers. Having with consummate ability beaten down and wearied out resistance, having swept some into prison, and the strongest opponents, O'Brien and Dillon, into exile (Parnell meanwhile playing his game), Balfour now believes himself master of the situation, and, as a beneficent deliverer, appeals for charity (which flows in abundantly from his friends), opens soup kitchens and public works in the west, and a depot for old clothes in Dublin Castle. If through all this the National cause survive, its vitality will indeed be proved. Apart from the treachery of Mr. Parnell, the home-rule cause has comparatively less force in Ireland than it had a few years ago when practically it had the field to itself. The "labor" question is now, under the ægis of Mr. Davitt and his *Labor World*, beginning to claim a large share of the attention of the operatives in the towns, and other tests than those of nationality and land reform are increasingly being applied to those willing to represent the people on local boards and in Parliament. The immediate appreciation that took place in many Irish securities after the proceedings in the divorce court, cannot be otherwise accounted for than as arising from the increased confidence of the capitalist classes in the commercial prosperity of the country consequent on the lessened chance of establishing a government in consonance with the wishes of the masses of the population. D. B.

DECORATION DAY IN JAPAN.

SENDAI, Japan, December 2, 1890.

As it is a popular notion that in many habits and customs the Japanese are directly opposite to the people of the West, it is interesting to observe how they keep green and fresh the memory of those who died in battle for their country. Up to the seventeenth century, when the Tokugawa Shoguns assumed control, Japan was a vast battle-field. The powerful families were at continual war with each other, and private feuds raged incessantly. There is a tendency at present among some to underestimate the beneficent work of the Shogunate, but, whatever else may be said for this dynasty, it put a stop to the terrible bloodshed, and gave the country profound peace for more than two centuries. Up to the events leading to the restoration in 1868, a maimed man was a rare sight.

To place the Emperor (Mikado), however, in the position of real as well as nominal head—a position which he occupied in primitive ages—it was necessary to use force, and again Japanese fought their brothers. In the contest that followed, many thousands were killed in the struggle from the Hokkaido (Yezo) to the southern end of Hondo, the main island. Later, when the reaction against the progressive notions broke out in Kiushiu, the most southern of the four main islands, again the country suffered the loss of some of the most loyal. To extinguish this last expiring blaze of feudalism cost several thousand lives. But since this rebellion in 1876–'77 there has been no serious conflict either without or within. As under the Tokugawas, tranquillity and quiet are spread over the land. Nevertheless the feeling of patriotism may be all the stronger. The devotion and loyalty of Japanese retainers to their lord have become well known. Now the country stands in the stead of the daimio, and martial patriotism treasures the past.

The celebration in honor of the gallant dead occurs at different dates in different parts of the empire. Here in Sendai it falls on November 23. The occasion is, of course, not observed with equal ceremony in all places. But in this city it is the chief of the eleven national holidays of the year, owing probably to the fact that there is a garrison of some five or six thousand soldiers here. These are very active in preparing for the event.

Sendai is a city of some seventy-five thousand inhabitants, but only a few hundred soldiers are buried here. As a fact, not one of the bodies rests here, but only the ashes, or some of the hair cut from the top of the head. Many of these remains of the dead rest in a solemn grove of dark, towering cedars, near a large and imposing temple, at the top of a high hill overlooking the town. It is almost inaccessibly situated across a rapid stream without a bridge. In the dim solitude of these tall trees there is the calmness and stillness of the heart of a primitive forest, though the centre of a large city is within ten minutes' walk. Other of the dead are in cemeteries around the city.

Several days before the date of this festival, committees are appointed to secure subscriptions from the merchants, business-men, and citizens generally. Usually this is managed by the union of all those along a certain street or in a certain quarter for a definite purpose. This year some combined to employ the band and others to provide the dancers, jugglers, and actors. The military element looked after the temporary temple and the horse races. The railroads, two in number, also contributed towards the expenses, and also got their share of the gains by cheapening the rates.

The occasion was utilized in a legitimate way by merchants and business-men to "turn an honest penny," and it is generally seized by the public as a time of universal holiday joyousness. There is no regular day of rest here as in the West, and these festivals are the only periods of cessation from toil on the part of the masses. What with the visitors brought by the railroads from points near by, farmers from the surrounding country, and the laborers taking a day of rest, the streets were thronged with an enormous crowd.

Before every house and over every shop waved a national flag, an emblem of simple but appropriate design—a solid red circle in a white field. It symbolizes the sun rising from the bosom of the Pacific, and typifies Japan's position as having an unobstructed view of the coming orb of day. With the wonderful appreciation of nature and fine taste which these people have, flowers and plants and evergreens were used in profusion for decorative purposes. Rare and valuable old screens were drawn from their hiding-places and stood in the front part of the shops, that all might see and admire. This disposition of these treasures cannot be appreciated without understanding that the first floor of all Japanese houses is less than two feet from the ground, and that the entire front wall consists of sliding doors which are removed during the day, thus giving one from the street a full view of everything within. It must also be remembered that the depth of the majority of the shops is less than twenty feet from the edge of the street. The streets are also very narrow,

the entire width from house to house not being much greater than double a single sidewalk in New York. Of course, there is no sidewalk or separate way for foot-passengers here; carriages, pedestrians, and animals all being mixed together in one roadway.

Along these narrow ways for two days a closely packed stream of people pressed and swayed, but all the time with the utmost good humor and light-heartedness. The costumes of the elders were dark and unvaried, but, with the children in their best robes, colors ran riot, and brightness and gorgeousness poured ceaselessly by. Every child was out to see the sights, no one being kept at home to "mind the baby." The smallest infant was strapped to the back of its elder brother or sister, and, safe on this perch, could roll its head from side to side, and peep over the shoulders in front and laugh and crow at the crowd around. The Japanese mother is very practical, and cares nothing for appearances if only the children are not lost in this multitude Those next above the youngest, that can just walk, are tied around the waist with a long sash or cord, and are led all through the pressing numbers.

Especially around the *dashi* ("floats," or triumphal cars) do the children swarm. These *dashi* are very curious structures of a slender and perilous height. They are slightly made of bamboo and small timbers and light canvas. Their foundation is a very elaborate framework rendered very heavy by the intricacy and number of the pieces and joints. Above this the top towers some thirty or more feet, resting on small airy supports. The entire length is some fifteen feet, while the width is seven or eight. It was built to contain a representation of the ancient Court of the Emperor. Several figures of life size, either carved or made of plaster, and dressed in the old style, were standing on it. As befitted such an occasion, Japanese history had been drawn upon, and the scene was intended to appeal to the sentiments of courage and patriotism.

In one of the *dashi* was a hero of a thousand years ago, a member of the powerful Minamoto family, receiving the commission from his emperor to exterminate a nest of devils. They were known as *Oni*, their home was hell, and their work the torturing of men after death. In another *dashi* a real historical incident was illustrated. About a thousand years ago, all this northern part of Japan was subdued by a brave warrior named Ahe. So extensive was his dominion that he defied the Emperor. The *dashi* shows a vassal, Yoshiiyé, receiving instructions to reduce this defiant subject in the north. As may be inferred from the use of this incident at this ceremony, the faithful lieutenant is entirely successful.

These ponderous floats are slowly borne on the shoulders of thirty or forty men from point to point along the main streets. The bearers are dressed in coarse yellow garments fantastically ornamented with some Chinese characters. Amid the excitement of the multitude and the loud shouts of the bearers, this creaking, swaying mass is carried a few feet and deposited for a breathing spell. In this laborious manner it is transported up and down the street during the day. Another point of attraction for the crowd is a movable platform for the girl dancers. These are naturally decked out in all magnificence, and perform whenever the car is not in motion. It is hardly dancing as we understand that exercise, but is more accurately described as posturing.

But it is on the outskirts of the city that the central feature of this ceremony is witnessed. Here is placed the garrison, on the site of the dismantled old castle of feudal times. In front is a wide, gently sloping plain. On this space were the race-course, platforms for dancers and for jugglers, booths, stalls, shows, exhibitions, statues of heroic size showing the triumph of bravery in the face of danger and death, monumental mounds, triumphal arches, and the sacred temple specially built for this occasion. There is no long procession and strewing of flowers on the graves. The remains of the soldiers are laid away in an inconvenient spot, but the celebration in memory of them can be observed in spirit anywhere; so the most convenient place for the assembling of the people and for the military is chosen near the barracks.

At one end of this open ground a temple is lightly erected, and tastefully hung with numerous flags and hundreds of lanterns, and prettily decorated with flowers and plants. At the further end is a small shrine of clean white and unpainted wood, with the altar and two or three steps leading up to it. In front a broad walk with a row of lamps on either side leads down towards the entrance to the barracks. At the temple is a magnificent high evergreen arch; at the end near the garrison gate is an evergreen *torii* (gateway).

In accordance with what seems to be a generally observed custom here of beginning everything as early as possible, the formal ceremony for the valiant men in their graves was to come off almost at sunrise. The exercises were very simple, solemn, and impressive. Before sunrise, military officers and civil officials began to assemble at the temple. When a sufficient number had gathered inside, a Shinto priest opened the ceremonies with the reading of a eulogy, at the signal given by the firing of a gun in the garrison. This occupied only a few minutes, and at the close of his address he laid some offerings of fruit and flowers on the altar. Then, one by one, the guests, in the order of their rank, went forward and paid their respects to the spirits of their comrades by bowing before the shrine. There was also some music by a military brass band. All who wished were at liberty to make offerings, and, after the general public was admitted, numerous gifts, chiefly of fish, fruit, game, and meat, were piled on and about the altar. An especially popular present was *mochi*, or rice cake, a peculiar kind of blue and white cake generally used on festival days. Although the crowds were afterwards allowed to walk in, the utmost decorum and quiet prevailed. There was no railing or barrier of any kind to keep out the inquisitive from handling the offerings and intruding upon the shrine, yet not even the children transgressed the sanctity of the forbidden limits. As if in full keeping with the *spiritual* character of the entire celebration, only a small cord laid on the ground to mark the limits for visitors, was needed to hold the sightseers in check. Not a single policeman was required to guard this holy place. In general the crowd for the two days was a marvel of order and quiet—no drinking, no boisterousness, no rowdyism.

C. Meriwether.

Correspondence.

THE SILVER BILL AND THE FARM MORTGAGE.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: The western boundary of St. Croix County, Wis., is but twenty miles from St. Paul, Minn. A local money-lender, representing New England savings banks, estimates the mortgaged acres at from 35 to 40 per cent. of the whole county. A local banker, representing private individuals in the East, thinks nearly half the farms of the county are mortgaged. Both agree that all the loans of which they have any knowledge are not payable in gold, but in "lawful money of the United States." I am familiar with the condition of the farmers in the famous Fox River dairy district of northern Illinois—a region where mortgages are not unknown—and never knew of a loan payable in gold there. These local instances lead me to think that Mr. Smith, in No. 1333, makes too high an estimate in saying that 75 per cent. of the mortgage indebtedness of the country is payable in gold. The gold-paying clause is more common in urban than in farm loans, and in the latter class more common in the new States west of the Mississippi than east of it, for in these the large loaning companies operate but little.

I wish, also, to demur to the manner in which the same correspondent refers to all men, and especially the mortgaged farmers, who favor the free coinage of silver, as knowingly and wilfully aiming to perpetrate a fraud. It is an easy thing to say "honest" granger, but that it is just I doubt. No one can live among farmers and see them battle, as most farmers have for the last decade, with the tremendous odds of lower and lower prices for all they had to sell, of failing crops, and, as a consequence, declining values of real estate, without knowing that, as the world goes, farmers are honest men. Their very existence, everything that they hold dear—the comforts of the family, home, all that appeals to man, even a city man—appeals to them to save, if they possibly can, the homestead, on which, perhaps, the best energies of their strongest manhood have been expended. They love the farm. It is a part of their very selves.

It is cold comfort to be told, as Senator Spooner (and this county is his home) told the Senate last winter, that he believed a mortgage was a "good thing" and a "sign of prosperity." The mortgage of prosperity does exist truly enough. It was in prosperity that many a farm mortgage was born. They can now be found on lots in every growing, booming city in the country, from Chicago down to the small capital that springs up where two railways cross. But it is the mortgage of adversity, I am forced to believe, that has been assumed or renewed by farmers so generally during the last ten years. Hoping against hope, every springtime they have planted, every autumn they have harvested, and again it has been good crops and no prices, or fair prices and no crops. Harassed on their downward way by tariffs that have risen

> . . . . "on stepping-stones
> Of their dead selves to higher things,"

they go on until they waken some morning to the fact that the interest alone on their mortgages exceeds the rental of equally good farms. They cannot sell their land for the indebtedness against it. Hopelessly bankrupt, they appeal to the holders of the loans for a scaling down of the indebtedness, for a lowering of the interest, and are met with insistence on the last penny named in the bond, or—the land.

It is a suffering, and, as they believe, a wronged people, who are crying for Government intervention, Governmental control of the railways, warehouses for crops, abolition of national banks, and the free coinage of silver. That they are mistaken and wrongly

advised, such books as Wells's 'Recent Economic Changes' and such articles as those of C. Wood Davis in recent issues of the *Forum* help us to understand. That they are dishonest and hope to pay their indebtedness in cheap money, cannot be seriously entertained. Rather is it their belief that the low prices of farm products result from a contracted currency which supposititious "gold-bug millionaires" of the East control for their own good pleasure, and that more currency will somehow restore the high prices of former years, and in that way enable them to pay justly and honestly all they owe.

It should not be forgotten that the decline in land values has wrought throughout the agricultural realm as much suffering as the present severe weather in Europe, only it is not so sure of relief. And it has been brought about by agencies that could no more be foreseen and prepared against than could the semi-naked citizen of Naples foresee and prepare against his unexpected visitation of snow. Conceive the wild uproar that would be raised if real-estate values in New York should decline year after year 10, 15, 25, 50 per cent. The people who are complaining now would make ten New Yorks, and their voice is but a gentle murmur compared to the Niagara that would burst forth from our city friends were they but called upon to endure a similar experience. —Respectfully, THEODORE JESSUP.

BALDWIN, WIS., January 23, 1891.

THE SILVER BILL AND THE PENSIONERS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In the discussion of the silver question and of the interests which may be affected by the substitution of silver for gold as the standard of value, no reference has been made to the scaling of pensions which must result from the threatened legislation and the consequent payment in depreciated coin. To readers of the *Nation*, this proposition requires no demonstration, but the thought may be new to many, that an organized body of voters exists—one especially powerful in Western States—which may be relied upon to resist the proposed change in value to the uttermost.

The pensioners of the nation form the largest "creditor class" that was ever legislated against, and, known as the Grand Army of the Republic, it inspires immense respect where Wall Street opinion would not have much influence. No body of men is so much interested. They have passed the years when a new income can be secured to replace one lost or reduced, and they have relied upon the nation's keeping its promises to pay in spirit as well as in letter. Having supposed their comfort assured in old age and decrepitude, they will not see this security removed without most vigorous resistance, and the politician who advocates the reduction of pensions by giving seventy-five cents where a dollar was promised, will shortly require a pension himself, unless he be the owner of a silver mine.

Assuming the President's veto of the bill which passed the Senate, all believers in honest payment of debts and in sound finance ought to unite in measures designed to enlighten the great body of voters who now receive pensions, or who seek them under existing laws, as to the effect upon them of the threatened free coinage of silver. W. B. T.

CINCINNATI.

MORAL EFFECTS OF A HIGH TARIFF.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: One of the moral effects of a high tariff is well illustrated by two incidents given me by good authority.

(1.) A certain manufacturer placed on the market a high grade of covered buttons, which sold at a less cost than many firms would make them for for the wholesale trade. Careful search discovered that the foreign agent of the manufacturer purchased silks, velvets, etc., on which was a high duty, and, by cutting the bolts of cloth through with a chisel, passed the goods through the custom-house as damaged. The material was of as much practical use as if intact. (2.) On fine gun-barrels (brought chiefly from Germany) was a considerable duty. By leaving the exterior but partly finished they were imported as iron *tubes*, bearing no duty.—Respectfully,

A. C. N.

WORCESTER, January 20, 1891.

FROM AN OLD FUR-TRADER.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The late William Sturgis of Boston, who spent some years of his early life on the northwest coast of America, as a successful fur-trader with the Indians, said in later life: "I may well be grateful that no blood of the red man ever stained my hands; that no shades of murdered or slaughtered Indians disturb my repose. And the reflection that neither myself nor any one under my command ever did or suffered violence or outrage during years of intercourse with those reputed the most savage tribes, gives me a satisfaction in exchange for which wealth and honors would be as dust in the balance."

I send you this quotation with the hope that some of the men who are now responsible for our Indian affairs may read it, and at least wish that they could say as much. E. W. H.

CAMBRIDGE, January 25, 1891.

WASHINGTON'S PIETY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The enclosed abstract from an old book in my possession may have interest for the readers of Mr. Moncure D. Conway's letter in the *Nation* of December 11, 1890. Other parts of the book indicate the author's personal dislike to Gen. Washington, and want of respect for the religious observances of that day. He seems to tell the truth as he understood it, but may not have comprehended all he saw and heard, as was the case with the French gentleman he describes who was invited to five o'clock tea at Bath, where the guests sat around the room in a stiff circle, holding their tea-cups in their left hand and eating hot buttered waffles and chipped smoked venison with the fingers of their right, from plates in their laps. Waiters handed about tea and coffee, and the French gentleman, unaware that the position of the teaspoon in the empty cup returned to the waiter indicated whether or not it was to be replenished, politely drank fourteen cups of tea, and then in despair pocketed the cup and saucer, until the general rising of the company enabled him to rid himself of them.

The book is not altogether pleasant reading for patriotic Virginians, but, judged by recollections going back forty years, and a personal knowledge of the section described, tells, in the main, the truth, as far as I have read it. Very truly yours, P. L.

CUMBERLAND, MD., January 20, 1891.

"Nous étions chez Md. Throkmorthon, parente du général Washington. Cette bonne Américaine, par un désintéressement peu ordinaire aux personnes qui tiennent des pensions, fit assez mal ses affaires. Son cousin, du haut de la grandeur où la partialité et quelques services l'ont placé, semble ne pas appercevoir ceux de ces parents que la médiocrité entoure. Je lui demandai si son illustre allié était autant pénétré de l'importance des formes religieuses qu'il semble l'être par l'exactitude scrupuleuse qu'il met à les observer. Elle me dit qu'elle le croyait de bonne foi, qu'à la mort du père de Washington, qui était déïste, le fils devint très religieux. Ce grand homme fait ses prières avec la régularité d'un moine, et va tous les dimanches à l'église édifier ses concitoyens par son recueillement et sa ferveur angélique. Chez un peuple dévot, cette conduite n'a pas besoin de commentaire." (*Voyage dans l'intérieur des États-Unis, à Bath, Winchester, dans la Vallée de Shenandoha, etc., pendant l'été de 1791, par Ferdinand M. Bayard.* Paris, 1797. P. 85).

DISPOSITION OF THE RECEIPTS OF THE PASSION PLAY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: During the past season there were in circulation many unfavorable reports in regard to the Oberammergau Passion Play. The press, both in this country and in England, abounded in statements like the following: That the play had degenerated into a money-making affair, had fallen into the hands of the Jews, who had advanced the necessary funds for its production and would appropriate the greater portion of the profits, while the villagers themselves, no longer actuated by the pious motives of their ancestors, were now seeking rather to enrich themselves than to carry out in a religious spirit the vow of 1633. The ecclesiastical authorities, it was said, now regarded the performance with coldness, if not with absolute disfavor, and were certain to prevent its continuance ten years hence.

It was the privilege of the writer to see the "Passion Play" for the first time in 1860, and he has ever since followed it with unabated interest. Although well aware of the utter falsity of the above statements, he has preferred not to contradict them publicly until the official account of the receipts and expenses should have been published. This has now been done, and it has occurred to him that the great number of his fellow-countrymen who attended the wonderful performances of 1890, might be interested in their material results.

The following statement is signed and published by the Bürgermeister of Oberammergau, who will be remembered as the *Caiaphas* of the play. It should be stated that the reckoning is in German marks.

RECEIPTS.

1. Received from tickets of admission	665,719.50
2. Received from the sale of photographs	27,000.00
3. Received from other sources	2,004.57
	694,724.07

EXPENDITURES.

1. Interest on acquired funds	$6,527.60
2. Building expenses, including material	199,668.85
3. Paid those assisting in the play	242,830.00
4. Distributed to 238 householders, 180 M each	42,840.00
5. Distributed to 29 families, 100 M each	2,900.00
6. Applied to communal purposes, as follows: For building a new hospital; sewers; water supply; roads; protection of the river banks; fire engines; relief of soldiers, of the poor, etc.	99,397.00
7. Reserved for other communal purposes, as follows: Towards a fund for the hospital; for the purchase of articles necessary for the church; for the poor fund; for the increase of teachers' salaries; protection of the river banks; public lands; technical education; extension of the system of canals, etc.	100,000.00
Reserve	560.61
	694,724.07

From the above it will be seen that about $61,000 American money was the sum divided among those taking part in the production of the play, the amount being slightly less than half the net receipts. Those thus paid were 747 in number, and they assisted at 40 or more representations, each of which occupied an entire day. Mayer, the leading character, received $500; the manager, music-director, lead-

er of the chorus, and chief cashier, $325 each; while the actors were allotted sums varying from $225 to $37.50 apiece, the 269 children being divided into two classes, and paid, respectively, $20 and $10. The greater portion of what remained was divided between public charities and village improvements.

This disposes of the question of personal profit. The writer may add that he found in 1890 the same play and a people similar to the one he remembered in 1860, all actuated by the single desire of fulfilling the vow of the fathers and serving the cause of religion. The Church authorities have never ceased to extend to the Passion Play their entire approval, and Joseph Mayer stated that the question of its continuance had never been raised.

H. D.

Boston, January, 1891.

A FORGOTTEN NEW ENGLANDER?

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Can any of your readers tell me anything of one N. Orchard, alleged to have been a New England preacher in the seventeenth century? He well deserves remembering. In 1676 there was "printed for the author" at London an anonymous book bearing this title: 'The Doctrine of Devils, proved to be the grand Apostacy of these later Times. An Essay tending to rectifie those Undue Notions and Apprehensions Men have about Dæmons and Evil Spirits.' It was a passionate attack upon the belief in witchcraft, which it declared "a bloody, barbarous, cruel, and murtherous opinion, an opinion that butchers up men and women without fear or witt [*sic*], sense or reason, care or conscience, by droves." The book attracted notice, and the defenders of the superstition, as Glanvil, gave space to its refutation; but they knew nothing of its authorship, and English bibliographers, down to Halkett and Laing and the British Museum catalogue, seem ever since to have shared their ignorance. In 1687 the Huguenot pastor Benjamin Daillon, then a refugee on English soil, translated it into French (at least, one of the four papers making up the volume published for him that year in Amsterdam bears precisely this title), but, so far as I can learn, without naming its author. In 1691, however, there appeared at Amsterdam a Dutch version, on whose title-page there were added to the translated English title these words: "In 't Engelsch geschreeven door N. Orchard, Predikant in Nieuw-Engeland. En volgens de Copy gedrukt tot Londen in 't Jaar 1676 vertaald door Wm. Sewel."

It was in that very year, and in that city, that there saw the light the epoch-making work of Balthasar Bekker—that 'Betoverde Weereld' which dealt a death-blow to the whole ecclesiastical theory of the devil. Orchard had anticipated many of Bekker's conclusions, and in the war of pamphlets which followed he came in for his full share of attack; but his Dutch adversaries, though they never questioned Sewel's ascription of the book to him, seem, like his English ones, to have known nothing more of him than the title-page told them. His Dutch translator, indeed, tells us nothing further, either of the author or of himself. The only addition which I can find him anywhere else to have made to his English original is a brief note, signed by him, to a passage of Orchard's preface, defending the Quakers against an aspersion of that author. But this is quite enough for William Sewel's identification: he was clearly the eminent Quaker historian so named—who was, as is well known, a resident of Amsterdam, and translated more than one English book into Dutch. And it is not less clear that Orchard was not of that faith.

But who was he? I find naught of him in Savage. The "N." may mean only that Sewel did not know his forename; and Orchard may be a variant for Archard or Archer; but this does not help. In his book itself not a word, either in preface or in text, suggests a New England authorship. Nay, there are many passages—as where he tells us how "in the last troubles we had informations (that went all the Kingdom over) from diurnals and other more credible testimonies, that our Northern zealots of Scotland butchered up many hundreds (I am ashamed to write the exact number because it is so monstrous) in a very short time more than there had been of all other sorts of criminals in fifty years before, upon the conceit of this guilt"—that could hardly have been written otherwhere than in England. But Sewel's phrase might still be true, if Orchard emigrated to New England later than the publication of his book. If at any time during the decade or two before the Salem panic there dwelt on this side the Atlantic so fiery a foe of the witch-persecution, it is well worth the knowing; for it adds one more fact to the evidence from which men will one day learn how, in our eagerness to clear our fathers by making their age their accomplice, we have done sore injustice to a multitude of thoughtful and kindly men who everywhere, and from first to last, stood against their bigotry.

Geo. L. Burr.

The President White Library,
Cornell University, January 16, 1891.

Notes.

Henry Holt & Co. will soon issue a series of brief burlesque ghost-stories, called 'Told after Supper,' by Jerome K. Jerome. The volume will be humorously illustrated.

Mr. Theodore Roosevelt's 'New York,' in Prof. Freeman's "Historic Towns" series, will be published at once by Longmans, Green & Co.

The second volume of the American translation of Sybel's 'History of the Founding of the German Empire,' which brings the narrative down to 1863, is announced as nearly ready by T. Y. Crowell & Co.

Macmillan & Co. promise shortly the 'Life of the Right Honorable Arthur McMurrough Kavanagh,' a country gentleman, landlord, M. P., and sportsman, born without arms or legs.

'Days of My Years,' reminiscences by the Rev. Joseph Cross, D.D., who tells of the early days of Methodism, and of the late war; and 'Thoughts on Life, Death, and Immortality,' selected from the unpublished writings of the late Bishop of Michigan, Dr. Harris, are in the press of Thomas Whittaker.

Benj. R. Tucker, Boston, is about to bring out a translation, direct from the author's manuscript, of Count Tolstoi's 'Church and State,' an assault on both from the Christian standpoint.

D. Lothrop Co. have in preparation a new four-volume edition of the 'Arabian Nights,' with an elaborate introduction by the Rev. W. E. Griffis.

The Shakspere Society of New York invites subscriptions to a four-text edition of "Hamlet," consisting of the three versions of 1603, 1604, 1623, reproduced with absolute fidelity, and a translation of a German version performed in Dresden in 1626, "which throws a curious historical light upon the actual stage reading of the tragedy as presented by the London actors." The edition will be confined to 150 copies, and will be *de luxe*. The clerk of the Publication Committee is Mr. L. L. Lawrence, 21 Park Row, New York.

There is little to remark on the sixth volume of the new edition of 'Chambers's Encyclopædia' (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co.). It ranges from Humber to Malta, two termini suggestive of the British dominions, which are, in fact, illustrated copiously in the articles India, Ireland, and London. On the other hand, of the dozen maps, eight are of States of the American Union. Something, nevertheless, might be said of disproportions and omissions in the American department, and as an example we will cite the article devoted to the publisher, Frank Leslie, while the pioneer abolitionist, Benjamin Lundy, is overlooked. "Jerrymander" is inserted without mention of the true spelling, though with a reference to Gerry in a previous volume; but there the reader is not warned that the G is hard. Italy is one of the longer articles, and there are two maps of the peninsula, ancient and modern.

"Treasure-house of Tales" is the comprehensive title devised for four attractive-looking volumes which come to us in a box from J. B. Lippincott Co. The edition is of English make and origin, and the connection between the several authors is their English nationality and contemporaneousness in time. The time was that of the Annual, to patient grubbing in which we owe a considerable part of the present collection. Each volume has an etched portrait frontispiece which is hardly to be called an embellishment; and each is introduced with a biographical, or, as in the case of Mary Shelley, a critical sketch. Thus, the prefatory memoir to the 'Tales of Leigh Hunt now First Collected,' is by Prof. William Knight of St. Andrews. There are twenty-eight of these short stories. Mr. J. Logie Robertson is sponsor for 'The Tales of Douglas Jerrold, now First Collected'—eighteen in number—and for the twenty 'Tales and Sketches by Benjamin Disraeli'; Dr. Richard Garnett for the 'Tales and Stories by Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley, now First Collected'—seventeen all told. It is obvious that we have here a large variety of easy fiction for leisure moments, and altogether a very instructive phase of a notable epoch in English literature. On both accounts the series of reprints is to be commended.

Swan Sonnenschein & Co. publish in their Social Science Series 'Luxury,' by Émile de Laveleye. In spite of most expansive "leading," they are not able to fill out the required number of pages without adding another essay by the same writer upon "Law and Morals in Political Economy," to which no allusion is made on the title-page. Readers who may think this measure generous will, we fear, be disappointed, for nothing could be thinner than Prof. Laveleye's thought, and he scarcely condescends to serious argument. His style, however, is so graceful as to make reading effortless, and those who care to learn the author's opinions and prejudices may find some entertainment in these pages. There is a pleasant classical flavor about them, and the sentiments expressed are elevated and serene. The chapters upon political economy are made up chiefly of platitudes, but they are agreeably expressed.

Everything comes to him who waits—for low-priced classics as for other things; and no more striking exemplification of the proverb has occurred of late than the Messrs. Harper's six-volume popular edition of Boswell's Johnson, edited by Dr. George Birkbeck Hill. It is

a little less than four years ago that we sought at some length to do justice to this admirable performance, and we need not repeat ourselves. The present reissue is fit to adorn any library, public or private, and its price puts it within the reach of almost everybody.

In like manner, if not in like degree, the two volumes of the Marchioness of Dufferin's 'Our Viceregal Life in India,' which came under our notice a year ago, have been compressed typographically into one, for a "new and cheaper edition," which is supplied to the American market by Scribner & Welford. A graphic view of the India of to-day is thus made popular in price as it is sure to be in the appreciation of readers. Had an index been added, it would have been much more valuable.

Another bargain is the new and inexpensive issue, in a single volume, of the 'Biglow Papers' (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.). It is the good wine that needs no bush.

That invaluable annual, 'The Year's Art,' edited by Mr. Marcus B. Huish, and published in London by J. S. Virtue & Co., makes a prompt appearance for 1891. It is the repository of compact information concerning organizations and institutions of art, chiefly for Great Britain and her colonies, but with a section reserved for the United States. It takes note of the leading exhibitions, of which it gives small select pictorial memoranda after the fashion of illustrated catalogues. Its directory of artists is indispensable. Along with this the annual now gives from year to year portraits of members of one or other society. In the present volume we have those of the Associates of the Royal Society of Painters in Water Colors, including Walter Crane and Du Maurier among the best known names, together with four ladies, Mrs. Allingham, Miss Edith Martineau, Miss Clara Montalba, and Miss M. Harrison.

Scribner & Welford send us the sixth issue for the current year of 'Hazell's Annual,' which truly purports to be "a cyclopædic record of men and topics of the day," and what the Germans call a "Conversations-Lexikon." As will be inferred, unlike the almanacs, such as Whitaker's, its arrangement is alphabetical, which does not, however, interfere with the fullest interpolations, tabular and other, as one may see under the headings Commons, Peerage, Foreign Navies, Diplomatic, Privy Council, Ministries, etc. But the minor topics and the biographies of "men of the day" are the great features. Take, for example, the entry McKinley Tariff Act, '90, which refers to the articles United States, United States Political Parties, and Trade, and then quotes the comments of Gladstone, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, and Lord Salisbury on the act and its effect, with ex-President Cleveland's condemnation of it; indicates the confusion it has caused in foreign trade and manufacture, and the enhancement of prices in this country, notices the defeat of McKinley for reëlection, etc. Beecher Stowe, Kipling, Positivism, Portuguese Political Parties, Early Closing Association, Country Holidays Fund, Obstruction (Parliamentary), Parnell, Harrison, Photography, Turf (The), World's Fair "(see Chicago Exhibition, and United States)," Missionary Societies, Nicaragua Ship Canal, Noms de Plume, are other samples of the range of this work; nor must we omit the very copious Obituary (Dec. '89 to Nov. '90), though it is classified and therefore put under several alphabets, or the "Occurrences during printing," which take in Koch's lymph, the O'Shea divorce case, or, finally, the valuable "Reference index to previous editions."

MM. G. Charpentier & Cie., Paris, are publishing a series of novels by eminent authors, intended primarily for the youth of both sexes, but worthy the attention of older readers. The first of the series is 'L'Abbé Roitelet,' by Ferdinand Fabre, a little literary gem, containing admirable descriptions of peaceful clerical life in the Cévennes. Calmette's 'Sœur Aînée' is the simple but dramatically told story of an elder sister's loving devotion; though the elder sister is in reality a cousin. Theuriet's 'Le Bracelet de Turquoise' is a brightly related episode in the life of a newly married couple, the flightiness of one leading the other into crime. The line between the *livre pour la jeunesse* and the regular French novel is rather lost sight of in this book. The fourth volume of the series is a romantic story, the scene of which is laid in Mexico, familiar ground to the readers of Lucien Biart, whose 'Le Bizco' is not greatly different from his other works. Outside of this Charpentier series is Jean de la Brète's 'Mon Oncle et mon Cu é,' one of the sprightliest, wittiest, and most enjoyable books published of late, abounding in Musset-like touches, and certain to interest old and young alike, though not particularly intended for the latter.

With its fifty-fourth volume the London *Publishers' Circular* is transformed into a weekly from a fortnightly, broadens from octavo to quarto, and gains such an appearance of alertness and promptitude as should come from turning over a new leaf. The editorial article referring to this change tells of the reorganization of the firm of Sampson Low, Marston & Co. by the withdrawal of Messrs. Searle and Rivington, leaving Mr. Edward Marston at the head of the new direction. The number before us, No. 1280, is largely occupied with the Copyright Bill now pending in the Senate, and with the conflicting views of British authors and publishers regarding its probable effects. In the opinion of the *Circular*, it "will stimulate authors of reputation to greater effort than ever," and will also spur "the youthful or unknown aspirant to put forth his latent powers."

The London *Bookseller* for January 9 gives the full text of our Copyright Bill, and notifies its readers that "as American books are, in the near future, likely to become of increased importance to the trade," it will in future give its American list in a separate division, with the American prices appended.

Our readers ought not to be kept in ignorance of a brilliant gem, well-nigh a "perfect chrysolite," of old-fashioned criticism, contributed by Mr. George Saintsbury to the London *Academy* of January 10: "The scene of 'Doctor Cameron' is American; and, from the use of the perfectly idiotic term 'blonde,' for a man, we presume the authorship is American also." "Perfectly idiotic," to characterize supposed Americanity, is good. Interestingly, moreover, does the tone of Mr. Saintsbury's inference exemplify, *pace* the shade of Darwin, the sporadic survival of the unfittest. As to *blonde*, who is to say that, as it is already largely Americanized, it may not, eventually, likewise be thoroughly Anglicized, as of all genders? Its precise analogue would be found in *naïve*, or, as it is now often written, *naive*. Even according to so late and so high an authority as Dr. Murray, it is only "commonly" that *blond* occurs, except where a fair woman is intended; and his article on the word is headed "Blond, blonde, *a.* and *sb.*"

The January *Portfolio* (Macmillan) starts the year well with a photogravure after the Velasquez newly acquired by the National Gallery. It is a full-length portrait of an obviously fighting character, Admiral Don Adrian Pulido-Pareja. The chief article of the number is the first of a series by the editor, Mr. Hamerton, on the present state of the fine arts in France. He remarks that the political overthrow of 1870 had less effect on the *matter* of art than any preceding revolution, and that French productivity in art is by its very excess measurably independent of the Government's attitude as a patron or the reverse. What the Republic has done has been mainly to give security to art. Mr. Hamerton also discusses suggestively the question whether sculpture is not peculiarly entitled to fostering by Government, as being handicapped in the struggle for existence by the insufficiency (in the nature of the art) of private support. This paper and those which are to follow, it is intimated, are supplementary to the writer's works on 'Contemporary French Painters,' and 'Painting in France after the Decline of Classicism,' published more than twenty years ago.

The most interesting part of Mr. E. A. Maund's account of Mashona Land in South Africa, published in the January Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society, is that relating to the ruins of Zimbabye and the surrounding country. They are built of granite "hewn into small blocks, somewhat bigger than a brick, and put together without mortar," a herring-bone course generally forming the ornamentation. In their neighborhood are always to be found gold workings, and some of them enclose circular roasting-floors. He suggests that they may be of Phœnician origin, but, in the discussion which followed the reading of the paper before the Society, Mr. J. Theodore Bent stated that he believed them to be Persian of the time of Kosroes II., A. D. 590-628, the conqueror of Egypt. In support of this theory he referred to the recent discovery of some very interesting ruins near Zanzibar which had been proved to be distinctly of Persian origin. This latter gentleman, well known for his explorations in Asia Minor and Persia, is about to go to South Africa with a view to the careful examination of these ruins. In this he will be actively aided by the British South African Company and the Royal Geographical Society, and his expedition will be well equipped for geographical as well as archæological survey.

A speech of Prince Nicholas of Montenegro to some of his soldiers, reported in the *Gazette* of Cettigne, seems to indicate the opening of a new era of prosperity for that country. After reproaching them for their exclusive devotion to warlike pursuits, he directs that "every Montenegrin soldier who lives where vines can be grown shall plant this year 200 vines. Commanders of brigades shall plant twenty, commanders of battalions ten, officers of lower rank five, and non-commissioned officers one olive tree apiece, and whoever shall voluntarily plant 2,000 vines this year shall be exempt from taxes for ten years." The *Gazette* believes that these commands will be obeyed by the army, and that 4,000,000 vines and 20,000 olive trees will be planted next spring.

"Hedda Gabler," Henrik Ibsen's latest play, is to be produced shortly at the Royal Theatre in Munich and at the Lessing Theatre in Berlin. The Director of the Dagmar Theatre, the first of the Copenhagen private houses, has made a proposal for producing the piece, but Ibsen is said to be waiting for a similar offer on the part of the Royal Theatre, where "The Lady from the Sea" was brought out. The book does not seem to have met with general favor in Denmark, where an Ibsen reaction has begun to set in. Some of the Danish re-

viewers even go so far as to laugh occasionally at the northern sphinx, and to accuse him of something very like posing.

—The February *Atlantic* uses for its leading article "Some Unpublished Letters of Charles and Mary Lamb," edited by Mr. W. C. Hazlitt. The main point of the editor is to declare that the Lamb letters have not been printed with that accuracy and faithfulness which he deems essential, nor so completely as may hereafter be possible; he desires an edition which shall be founded (so far as is practicable) upon a comparison of the texts with the manuscripts still existing, and which shall not be characterized by suppression or modification of the writer's phrases. This, coming on the heels of Ainger's recent edition, is very discouraging. As to the new letters in the present series, they are exceedingly trivial in interest, and it would be a generous scale indeed that should include them in any collection. At the present pace, the correspondence of any author who survives a decent number of years seems likely to exceed his published works, however voluminous; and we cannot think that literature will gain by approximating the model of its memoirs to that of a *Congressional Globe*. Schopenhauer succeeds Hegel as the philosophical topic, and Mr. Percival Lowell goes on to Noto by an easy canter, both mental and physical, and writes of trifling things with a charming *esprit*, being always facile, entertaining, and ingenious, and occasionally varying the ordinary text of travel with the moods of a sentimental journey, in no unpleasing way. Politics past and present provides three articles: an excellent portrait of Rutledge, a striking example of how the Civil-Service Commission brought up the quota of the Southern States, and a vigorous review of the French spoliation claims by Dr. Everett. A paper on the future of our public parks, by Alpheus Hyatt, dwells mainly on the utility of scientific collections to be made in them for popular instruction, and goes so far as to suggest that these should be so complete as to allow of loans of specimens for the use of schools and private students. The author deprecates the value of books in comparison with living examples—in zoölogy, for example—and would have a kind of live library of animals and insects to be used after the analogy of free libraries of books.

— *Harper's* reproduces for its frontispiece Sargent's portrait of Booth in a very unsatisfactory way, and one turns to Mr. Aldrich's accompanying lines for the true picture of the man. The number is liberal in travel articles, and gives Finland, the Strait of Magellan, and the desert of the Pacific Slope, all with plentiful illustration and a sufficient text. The other articles that catch the eye are the series of drawings by Thackeray out of an album, and the somewhat misleading title, "The Faith of President Lincoln." The latter article is mainly an account of why and how Chase resigned the Secretaryship of the Treasury and Fessenden received it, and of Lincoln's determination to make Chase Chief Justice, if the opportunity came to him, at the very time when he was making the change in the Treasury. Miss Hutchinson's extracts from the gossipy letters and characterizations of Willis, fifty years ago, are more entertaining than such papers are apt to be.

—*Scribner's* continues the subject of Japan in Sir Edwin Arnold's already sufficiently characterized papers, and of Africa in an historical review of explorations on that continent. Another paper on Neapolitan art introduces the works and career of Michetti, and is wound up with some brief notes upon Gemito. Mr. R. H. Stoddard tells of his autographs, with somewhat belated criticism of Addison, Dickens, and the rest of those represented. The most interesting piece in the reproduced autographs is a poem by Addison, hitherto unpublished, and now unfortunately dragged to light: it is an operatic song, utterly withered now, if a thing originally so artificial can be said to wither. The leading paper, on "Mount Washington in Winter," is the most readable part of the number, and gives occasion for some very striking cuts of mountain scenery in the arctic season.

—The Grolier Club of New York has already helped to raise the standard of book-making in this country, and its exhibitions are a constant incentive to further improvement. It has printed a catalogue of an exhibition of "Recent Book-Bindings, 1860-1890," held at its handsome club-house in the last week of December and the first few days of January. This catalogue, printed with dignified simplicity, as becomes the publications of a book-lover, has a brief introduction (by Mr. William Matthews, we understand), and it contains nearly 300 titles. The collection was one of extraordinary richness, containing as it did some of the best work of the late Trautz-Bauzonnet, of Mr. William Matthews, and of Mr. Cobden-Sanderson—the strongest names of the contemporary binders of France, America, and England. In its way and of its kind, nothing could be better than Mr. Matthews's 'Colin Clout' (No. 254), with its grasses and shepherd's pipes; or than M. Capé's 'Dialogue' (No. 238), with its adroit and satisfactory interlacing of two shades of red morocco; or than M. Petit's 'Rubáiyát' (No. 182), with the elegant simplicity of its Aldine pattern; or than Mr. Cobden-Sanderson's 'Aucassin et Nicolète' (No. 104), a triumph of formal decoration at its richest. Beautiful also, and more curious, were certain volumes bound for Mr. S. P. Avery; here we had books dealing with the minor arts, and each decorated with a specimen of the art it treats of—enamel, faïence, cloisonné, glass, etc. Certain other of the bindings exhibited by Mr. Avery were well worthy to drive the poor brethren of book-lovers to envy, hatred, and malice.

—To the January number of the *English Illustrated Magazine*, Mr. Cobden-Sanderson contributes a paper on the art of book-binding as he understands it and as he practises it; and the essay is well worth reading, for itself and for the light it sheds on the specimens of the art exhibited at the Grolier Club. Mr. Cobden-Sanderson's views are a little Ruskinish, which is against them; and his designs are akin to Mr. William Morris's and Mr. Walter Crane's, which is not against them, perhaps. But he has no difficulty in "making hay" of the views of Mr. Wheatley and other inartistic British writers who have discussed glibly the principles of the art, only to reveal their lamentable ignorance. Among the nine or ten half-tone illustrations which accompany Mr. Cobden-Sanderson's article is one of the lovely little 'Aucassin et Nicolète' shown at the exhibition of the Grolier Club. Another is a 'Story of Sigurd,' *simplex munditiis*. The best of these designs, as here reproduced, show Mr. Cobden-Sanderson's earnest striving to develop the art of book-decoration, and to take it out of the rut of slavish imitation of the departed masters.

—Mr. William E. Simonds of Connecticut, to whose intelligent activity the success of the International Copyright Bill in the House of Representatives must be partly ascribed, is circulating in pamphlet form his speech delivered on December 3, 1890. Mr. Simonds, we are glad to see, forcibly insists upon the enactment of the measure which he advocates because it is right, but he starts off by showing the material advantages involved in it, more particularly to American printers. He quotes the testimony of Mr. J. L. Kennedy, on behalf of the International Typographical Union, before the House Judiciary Committee, to the effect that if the bill becomes a law, "the literary and book-publishing centre of the English world will move westward from London and take up its abode in the city of New York." As regards book-printing, this really seems to be the belief of the English publishers, to judge from a recent editorial in the London *Bookseller*. This possible result is, of course, highly gratifying to Mr. Kennedy, who points out further good things in the bill as follows: "The American author who goes abroad in search of a cheaper publishing market, sending his shell-plates over here to be mounted and to have his press-work done, or else sending the printed sheets home to be bound here, thus evading the heavier duty on bound books, will also be *compelled* [the italics are ours] to patronize home industry for his mechanical work. In short, it is not difficult for printers to see that such a law will confer inestimable benefits upon their own and allied trades." We should suppose not. The difficult thing to understand is, why, when the authors of the American Copyright League had consented to give up the privilege of printing their books abroad, the printers were so slow to see an advantage so obvious.

—Mr. Simonds believes in the author's natural right to protection for his productions, and says: "Either we must deny that the result of the foreign author's labor is his property, or else we must face the shame of confessing that we take his property simply because he is a foreigner and not strong enough to keep it away from us by superior physical force. . . . The author's title to his property is the very best; it is rooted in the creation of the article, and the world concedes that no better title can be imagined than that which arises from the making of the thing." To show the status of the United States, as compared with other nations, Mr. Simonds gives a table of the terms of protection accorded by the present copyright statutes of various countries. To this list should be added the following countries, all of them having passed copyright laws: Chili, Greece, Hawaiian Islands, Hungary, Luxembourg, Monaco, and Portugal. The terms of protection, also, for a few countries are not correctly stated, and should be corrected as follows: Bolivia, not only author's life, but fifty years beyond; Denmark, not fifty years, but author's life and fifty years; Hayti, not "author's life, widow's life, children's lives, and twenty years," but author's life, life of his widow, and to children, if any, for twenty years longer, but if no children, then to heirs or assigns for ten years; Holland, during life of author, if he survives the term of fifty years; France, author's life and fifty years, not thirty; Peru, author's life and twenty years, not fifty; Sweden, not author's life and ten years, but author's life and fifty years.

SIR WALTER SCOTT'S JOURNAL.

The Journal of Sir Walter Scott, from the original manuscript at Abbotsford. 2 vols. Edinburgh: David Douglas; New York: Harper & Bros. 1890.

WHO can reproduce the subtle charm and

pathos of Scott's Journal? The one English critic whose genius could find some happy word or sentence which was at once the explanation and the revelation of an author's true character is gone. Matthew Arnold has left no successor. Mr. Swinburne, when not carried away by the redundant flow of his own words, might, it is true, give us a criticism of Scott as brilliant and as truthful as his analysis of the poetry of Coleridge or of Arnold. Mr. Swinburne, however, has not, as far as we have observed, published anything on the last, and in one sense the most interesting, of Scott's works, and it may well be doubted whether there be any other living English critic who can utter the final word concerning the most delightful, if also the saddest, chapter of autobiography which for many a year has been added to the literature of England. Meanwhile, ordinary reviewers, not gifted with the insight of genius, must necessarily content themselves with that unsatisfactory form of criticism which consists in analyzing, as far as may be, the qualities of a literary work, without attempting to penetrate to the one predominant characteristic which, when discovered, gives unity to the apparently contradictory features either of a book or of a character.

In few literary products is this appearance of contradiction more clearly marked than in Scott's Journal. It is monotonous, yet it is full of interest; it contains no new information, yet it adds immensely to our knowledge of the man who was, not only in Scotland, but throughout the English-speaking world, the literary monarch of his day. The diary is in one sense very modern, for it appeals to that sympathy with individual feeling, to that intense desire to enter into the character and thoughts of striking personalities, which is a leading feature of our time; it is in another sense thoroughly old-world in tone and coloring, for to the discriminating reader every line of it discovers the untold change of thought, of opinion, and still more of feeling, which divides the present generation from the age of Scott, of Moore, and of Sydney Smith. It is little more than sixty years ago since Scott began his diary and wrote the greater part of it, but it is far more than sixty years—it is nearer a century—since the character of Scott and his contemporaries was formed. A small part of the Journal was penned in 1832, the substance of it was set down between 1825 and 1830; but its tone and sentiment are the echo, not of 1830, but of 1800, or it may be of 1790. In it the thoughts which filled the minds of the men who made the opening of this century glorious to England, are repeated by the greatest writer of that day to the generation who will see the nineteenth century to its close.

The monotony of Scott's Journal must, to any candid critic, seem indisputable:

"Wrote my task, then walked from one till half-past four. Dogs took a hare. They always catch one on Sunday—a Puritan w'd say the devil was in them. I think I shall get more done this evening. I w'd fain conclude the volume at the Treaty of Tilsit, which will make it a pretty long one, by the by. . . . Then I will try something of my *Canongate*. They talk about the pitcher going to the well; but if it goes not to the well, how shall we get water? It will bring home none when it stands on the shelf, I trow. In literature, as in love, courage is half the battle.

"'The public, born to be controlled,
Stoops to the forward and the bold.'"

This, with slight curtailment, is the diary for October 1, 1826. It is a favorable specimen of the summaries of work and the notes of daily trivialities which fill up the mass of the Journal.

"Wrote my task"; "wrote five pages before dinner"; "wrought hard"; "I find the difference on 2,000 additional copies will be £3,000 instead of £1,000 in favour of the author. . . . Such another year of labor and success would do much to make me a free man of the forest"; "corrected proof-sheets in the morning for Dr. Lardner, then I had the duty of the court to perform"; "finished correcting proof for Tales, 3d Series. The court was over soon. I was much exhausted on the return home, quite sleepy and past work."

These expressions are picked up almost haphazard from different parts of the book. Take the Journal where you will, you will find sentences like them. They are, to a reader of an understanding mind, filled with pathos. But they are monotonous to a degree approaching dulness. Yet the book is full of intense interest.

Two circumstances relieve it from anything like dreariness. It is, it is true, in parts a mere memorandum of work done, but it is also, especially in its earlier portions, a picture gallery of characters. One can hardly fail to see that Scott intended that ultimately, though no doubt after his death, the Journal should be published, and he aimed at making it a series of sketches. Some of these pictures taken from life are as good as anything in his novels. Mrs. Coutts and her kindliness, friendliness, and vulgarity; Mackenzie, who lived to the world as the 'Man of Sentiment,' whom men supposed to be "a retired, modest, somewhat affected man, with a white handkerchief and a sigh ready for every sentiment," but was in fact "as alert as a contracting tailor's needle in every sort of business—a politician and a sportsman—shoots and fishes in a sort even to this day and is the life of the company with anecdote and fun"; Lord Minto and the curious legends of which he became the subject; Glengarry, who "is a kind of Quixote in our age, having retained in their full strength the whole feelings of clanship and chieftainship elsewhere so long abandoned," and "seems to have lived a century too late to exist in a state of complete law and order, like a Glengarry of old whose will was law to his sept"—and a dozen more of men, some unknown, some (such as Wordsworth or Pitt) whose names will never be forgotten, are brought before our eyes by vigorous sketches which, though sometimes mere outlines, are sometimes studied pictures drawn by the greatest novelist of his age. Among the most elaborate of these portraits stands one which well deserves attention, both because of its completeness and because it gives us the traits of a man whose character had a great deal to do with Scott's pecuniary calamities. Constable, writes Scott—

"was a prince of booksellers; his views sharp, powerful, and liberal; too sanguine, however, and, like many bold and successful schemers, never knowing when to stand or stop, and not always calculating his means to his objects with mercantile accuracy. He was very vain, for which he had some reason, having raised himself to great commercial eminence, as he might also have attained great wealth with good management. He knew, I think, more of the business of a bookseller in planning and executing popular works than any man of his time. In books themselves he had much bibliographical information, but none whatever that could be termed literary. He knew the rare volumes of his library not only by the eye, but by the touch, when blindfolded. . . . Constable was a violent-tempered man with those whom he dared use freedom with. He was easily overawed by people of consequence, but, as usual, took it out of those whom poverty made subservient to him. Yet he was generous and far from bad-hearted. In person good-looking, but very corpulent latterly; a large feeder and deep drinker, till his health became weak."

If variety is given to the Journal by portraits of Scott's contemporaries, its vital interest is derived from another source: it is the truest portrait of Scott himself. From this point of view the very monotony of the book, the way in which it repeats again and again certain traits of the author, becomes its real charm. In Scott's nature were blended two features which, according to ordinary experience, are rarely found in the same character. Romance and imagination were in his case connected with great powers of action, with businesslike energy, and, to speak quite honestly of a man great enough to bear the most honest criticism, with prosaic and businesslike aspirations. He was a man of action, whose energy and imagination found, from the stress of circumstances, their chief sphere in literature. But he could hardly be called in the strict sense of the word a man of letters. His ambition and his weaknesses were not literary; he seems to have been absolutely free from the vanity or irritability often connected with a poetic temperament. He seems, further, where uninfluenced by romance, to have been little touched by higher aspirations which are at any rate supposed to be cherished by poets. Sense and imagination seem in him to have been almost equally balanced. The strength, indeed, and the solidity which marked one side of his character conceal, it may be suspected, from modern readers the strong element of romance, or even of dreaminess, which not only made Scott a poet, but, odd as the assertion may sound, moulded the course of his life.

Whoever wishes to realize what Scott was in youth should try, if possible, to see a picture of him in his earlier days possessed by Mr. John Murray, the London publisher. It contains traits of dreaminess hardly to be found in the better-known portraits taken of Scott in later life. But to an intelligent reader the Journal will supply the place of any portrait. The five years passed first in the dreams of love, and then in the sorrow of a hopeless lover, count naturally for very little in the pages of Lockhart's Life; but the letter from Lady Jane Stewart and his intercourse with his aged friend after the receipt of that letter till the day of her death, as well as the reference to his visit to St. Andrews, tell plainly enough how deep had been the impression made by Scott's first love, both on his heart and on his imagination. Never was a man less given to overestimate his own imaginative powers; he had none of the weaknesses which make some writers delight to dwell on their own dreaminess. Yet he himself knew that he was at bottom a dreamer:

"I do not compare myself in point of imagination with Wordsworth—far from it; for his is naturally exquisite and highly cultivated by constant exercise. But I can see as many castles in the clouds as any man, as many genii in the curling smoke of a steam-engine, as perfect a Persepolis in the embers of a sea-coal fire. My life has been spent in such day-dreams. But I cry no roast-meat. There are times a man should remember what Rousseau used to say: '*Tais-toi, Jean-Jacques, car on ne t'entend pas!*'"

But, side by side with this most genuine and undoubted imaginative and romantic cast of mind, ran a vein of the most energetic turn not only for action but for business. To realize this side of Scott's nature, a reader should peruse the dull but instructive memorials of Archibald Constable. They prove that, long before the period of Scott's ruin, his literary powers had been turned by him to the purposes of trade. His writings were the huge, the inordinate contribution to the stock in trade of the firm or firms whereof he was virtually a member. A good deal is said both by

Scott and by Scott's critics about his desire to found a family and a family estate. This told for much, but it is difficult not to think that a real liking for the activity and the chances of business told for a good deal also. It is impossible to believe that he was a man really fond of money—his lavish liberality to others negatives this idea; but he was, it may be suspected, fond of money-making. He liked the activity of life; he worked best, as he believed, under pressure. He risked or sacrificed the attainment of literary perfection for the sake both of gaining the emoluments of literary success and of carrying out bold schemes of literary adventure. In this blending of imagination with habits of business he exhibits a curious affinity with one of the severest among his critics. Macvey Napier's letters contain a statement by Macaulay of his reasons for not reviewing Lockhart's 'Life of Scott.' They amount to this: that the review ought to be written by an ardent admirer, but that Macaulay, while admiring Scott's genius, and fully appreciating the strength of Scott's character, and especially his freedom from literary vanity, condemns strongly the weaker side of the poet's character, and especially his sacrifice of literature to his desire for gain.

The letter is, like most of Macaulay's criticism, a very vigorous statement of a one-sided view. It is true as far as it goes, but does not contain the whole truth. Perhaps the severity of the criticism was due in part to an indistinct consciousness of the likeness between the historian and the poet. In Macaulay's genius, as in that of Scott, there was, as any one will see who sympathetically reads Trevelyan's Life of his uncle, a strain of ardent romance. Each writer displayed that kind of historical imagination which consists in seeing, and making his readers see, the pomp and pageant of history. Each was a man the ardor of whose fancy never carried him far away from the ground of solid good sense; each blended literary power with keen interest in the affairs and especially the politics of the world. But the contrast between them lay in this: Macaulay, who actually took part in politics, was primarily and essentially a man of letters. Love of literature, and the ambition for literary fame, were the intellectual passions of his life. Scott, who never, except as an outsider, took a part in the game of politics, was at bottom a man of action. Both men had a keen appreciation of the solid advantages of a prosperous existence. This to a certain class of minds will always deprive both Scott and Macaulay of that admiration which is due to men who dream of, even when they do not always pursue, a high ideal. Both of them possessed this great quality, that they lived more nearly than most men up to their ideal. The apparent happiness of Macaulay's lot masks a certain latent heroism which never had opportunity for its full display. The calamities, on the other hand, which darkened Scott's later years, showed his full greatness to the world. The tragedy which destroyed his happiness as justly insured his fame.

All the world knows, in a general way, that Scott's strength, his mental powers, and at last his life, perished in the effort—in the main a successful effort—to pay the debts which he had incurred as a partner of Ballantyne's and also of Constable's. But the full heroism of the struggle can only be appreciated by those who carefully study the Journal. Scott could have saved himself from the labor, which was too great even for his gigantic powers of work, by becoming bankrupt. Many men would have thought that the sacrifice of the wealth which he possessed when speculation, for which he was only partly responsible, brought him to ruin, would have satisfied the claims of justice as fully as they in fact would have satisfied the demands of the law. His strong good sense freed him from any morbid fear of the mere name of bankruptcy. He says, in so many words, that he was afflicted by not being able to pay his creditors, that he recked little being called a bankrupt. He judged his position with characteristic coolness; he knew that a temporary sacrifice of wealth would have ended in securing to him ease and riches; but this course was forbidden to him by an almost stoical sense of duty.

"I could not," he says, "had I taken it, have slept as I now can under the comfortable impression of receiving the thanks of my creditors and the conscious feeling of discharging my duty like a man of honour and honesty. I see before me a long, tedious, and dark path, but it leads to true fame and stainless reputation. If I die in the harrows, as is very likely, I shall die with honour; if I achieve my task, I shall have the thanks of all concerned and the approbation of my own conscience."

This is the language of a man who never uttered a word of cant, entered in his private diary for his own eyes. The fate he foresaw overtook him. He did in substance achieve his task, but he died "in the harrows." He triumphed over difficulties which would have daunted any man of inferior powers; he fell before disease brought on by his own superhuman labors. In this point of view the monotonous records of his task-work, such as have been already cited, have immense significance. They are the memorials of constant, unremitting, and disinterested labor. No doubt Scott's literary reputation suffered as much as did his health by his absolute devotion to the one duty of paying his just debts. Task-work rarely partakes of inspiration, and the Journal itself shows, page by page, the gradual decline of its author's powers. As we approach the end, the vigor, the originality, and the variety which mark the earlier pages vanish. The one thing which does not disappear is Scott's determination to perform his appointed work.

Yet it would be an error to suppose that his genius did not show its force even in his later years. Much of the work which he produced between 1825 and 1828 would have gained high repute for any other man. 'Woodstock,' 'The Tales of a Grandfather,' 'The Life of Napoleon,' were all brought forth in these years. The latter has not held its own as a final estimate of the French Emperor. No work produced in 1827 could have contained the last word, or anything like the last word, on the character of Napoleon, and no book written under the conditions under which Scott produced the 'Life of Napoleon' could have become a classic. One volume was written in six weeks, but no man then living could have produced off-hand, under the circumstances under which Scott worked, so effective a piece of historical biography as Scott's 'Napoleon.' 'The Tales of a Grandfather' is not, and does not pretend to be, a work of erudition, but it is even now a model of the manner in which history may be written for children.

One other fact, which is not sufficiently noticed, adds a peculiar glory to Scott's labors. Misfortune neither crushed his independence nor soured his heart. Modern Liberals will not greatly sympathize with the political efforts of Malachi Malagrowther; but every man of spirit will admire the courage which made Scott, on behalf of what he deemed the cause of Scotland, beard the Tory Government from whom he might naturally look for patronage. The whole history of his generosity to Gillies shows how little his own mishaps deadened his zeal in helping others. But the most pathetic sign of his greatness, no less than of his kindliness, is to be found in his constant effort not to darken the lives of his children and of his friends by his own sadness. Scott says of himself that he was a stoic. The expression seems rather a strange one as applied to a man who enjoyed as intensely as he did the good and pleasant things of life. But Scott was right. The foundation of his character was stoicism of the noblest kind—the stoicism of a man who determined to bear all things bravely, and above all things took heed that his own suffering should not mar others' happiness.

CARLIER'S AMERICAN REPUBLIC.

La République Américaine: États-Unis. Par Auguste Carlier. Paris: Guillaumin et Cie., 1890. 4 vols., 8vo, pp. xvi., 588, 619, 597, 632.

M. AUGUSTE CARLIER, who died last March at the age of eighty-seven, was a French lawyer, but had retired from the practice of his profession at the age of forty-three with a competence, and had subsequently spent several years in travel in the various countries of Europe, studying their manners and customs, but more especially their political institutions. In 1855 he came to this country, remaining here more than two years, part of which he devoted to visiting all accessible sections of the Union, but also residing during considerable intervals in Washington, Boston, New York, and Philadelphia. In the last-named city he was elected a member of the American Philosophical Society. During his stay here he became intimately acquainted with many of our leading men, such as Thomas Benton, Judah P. Benjamin, Edward Everett, George Ticknor, Henry C. Carey, Josiah Quincy, Longfellow, and Sumner. It will thus be seen that he had opportunities of becoming familiar with the varied points of view from which Americans regard their own country. He took copious notes of everything he saw and heard and of his conversation with Americans, and after his return to France he continued his studies of our institutions by a diligent perusal of the principal printed sources of information, including not only such works as Bancroft, Hildreth, Story, but also public documents, reviews, and newspapers. Becoming convinced that Tocqueville had generalized on an insufficient basis of facts, and that consequently many of the conclusions drawn in 'Democracy in America' were unreliable and in need of rectification, he resolved on writing an exhaustive work on every aspect of American society, but subsequently thought it better to attack so vast a subject in sections.

The first fruit of his labors was a small volume on 'Marriage in the United States,' which appeared in 1860, and a translation of which, by Dr. B. Joy Jeffries, was published in Boston in 1867. While not free from such odd errors as foreigners are likely to fall into in judging so delicate a subject, it struck the right note in calling attention to the grave defects in our divorce laws, which were afterwards submitted to so searching a criticism by Dr. Woolsey. The other works of M. Carlier were: 'Slavery in its Relations to the American Union' (1862); 'A History of the American People and their Relations with the Indians to 1776,' 2 vols. (1864); 'The Acclimation of Races in America' (1868), and, finally, the book now before us, which occupied the last twenty years of his life, and is, no doubt, with its 2,452 pages, the most voluminous work that any foreigner has ever produced on our country—excepting, of course, Von Holst's 'Consti-

tutional History,' which belongs in another category.

The first book, filling 427 pages of volume i., is a history of the formation of the English colonies in America, and mainly an abridgment of the author's previous history in two volumes. In making this abridgment M. Carlier keeps his eyes constantly fixed on the constitutional development, on the growth of political institutions, on the modifications slowly undergone in the colonies by the common law of England, on the growth of town government, and other cognate topics. The second book, which occupies the remainder of the first volume, is a history of the War of Independence and of the Confederation, also keeping the political element chiefly in view, and showing how the necessity of a firmer union made itself felt by men of all parties. The second volume opens with book third, describing the labors of the Convention and the Constitution which they produced. The method pursued is somewhat peculiar. The Constitution is presented, not merely as it left the hands of the Convention, but as it is in force now, after having undergone various modifications. Thus, a special section of one of the chapters gives an account of the law of 1886 changing the succession to the Presidency in case of the incapacitation of both the President and the Vice-President. There is also a history of the Electoral Commission of 1876. As the following book gives a separate account of amendments to the Constitution, it would seem as if any but American readers must find some difficulty in getting an entirely clear idea of the subject. Book 4 treats of the organization of the Government and the amendments to the Constitution; like some of the preceding divisions, it is partly historical, partly expository. The thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth amendments are each made the subject of a separate chapter. The ministerial departments of the Government, that is, the Department of State, the War Department, and so on, are next taken up and described, one at a time. There is also a chapter on the civil service.

Book 5 treats of the human races in the United States—that is, the white, the red, the black, and the yellow, as the author classifies them. The naturalization laws are also considered. The sixth book is a history of the District of Columbia and an account of its peculiar form of government. This anomaly, which we accept as a matter of course, would naturally excite the curiosity of a foreigner. Of the sixty millions of our people, the inhabitants of Washington alone never vote and have no voice whatever in the government of the country or even in their own local affairs. So complete an atrophy of home rule and so perfect a specimen of paternal government it would be hard to match anywhere in Europe outside of Russia. The seventh book treats of the Territories, giving a general account of their history and legal status, as well as a separate history of each Territory and a geographical and statistical description. The eighth book, containing 150 pages, and completing volume ii., is called "The National Domain," and treats of the public lands, the Homestead and Preëmption Laws, the Yellowstone Park, Bounty Land Warrants, the cessions of land to colleges and to the Pacific railroads, and the Inter-State Commerce Act, although the last-named subject is not logically related to the matter in hand. With an equal disregard of strict logical consistency, we have here a history and description of the several Pacific railroads. An appendix contains a translation of the Constitution.

Volume iii. begins with Book 9, treating of the Army, the Navy, and the Militia, in 120 pages. It contains a varied mass of information on such topics as the condition and pay of officers and privates, the articles of war, courts-martial, the judge-advocate, the academies at West Point and Annapolis, the marines, the organization of the militia, etc. Book 10 (200 pages) treats of the State governments, and Book 11 (112 pages) of local government, describing the Borough, Village, Town, Township, City, and the organization of municipal corporations, and devoting separate chapters to the municipal institutions of New England, of New York, of Illinois, to the city of New York, to county government. Book 12 is on religious institutions from a legal point of view, embracing such topics as the marriage and divorce laws, the exemption of churches from taxation, etc. Book 13, completing Volume iii., describes our system of public instruction, from the common schools up to the universities and including the public libraries.

Vol. iv. opens with Book 14, which gives, in 239 pages, a detailed account of the judiciary system of the Union and of the States, including the jurisdiction of the various courts, the manner of appointment and election of judges, the function of marshals and other court officers, the jury system, the character of the legal profession, the method of impeachment, etc. The remainder of the volume, comprising 407 pages, is an elaborate history of the treatment of the Indians from the Revolution to 1888; the period before the Revolution having been covered by the previous history of the author, already mentioned. It is not merely a history, for it also describes the mode of life of various tribes of Indians, as well as the efforts made for their education, giving an account of the Hampton and Carlisle schools and other minor establishments.

Naturally, the first question that suggests itself in regard to this work is as to its relation to the classical treatises of Tocqueville and Bryce. M. Carlier himself challenges comparison with Tocqueville by frequent corrections of statements made by the latter in conflict with facts as ascertained by the later author. Undoubtedly M. Carlier has collected a far greater mass of material than Tocqueville, and even greater than Bryce; but he is not their equal in insight or in philosophical breadth of view. Although half a century has passed since Tocqueville wrote, and many startling changes have taken place in the interval, Tocqueville seized the salient points of our institutions and national character with the intuition of genius which can do wonders with the scantiest materials, and which the widest range of information cannot wholly replace. Mr. Bryce, by virtue of his practical knowledge of English politics, of his previous studies, of the natural bent of his mind, possessed qualifications for his task which we could hardly expect to find united in another writer, and least of all in a Frenchman. But while it is no disparagement to M. Carlier to pronounce him inferior to the two eminent writers with whom he competes, and while he has left untouched some very interesting subjects which they have treated in so masterly a manner—as, for instance, the influence of our institutions on our intellectual and literary development—it must be said, in his favor, that he includes a number of topics which they have not touched upon, and which add greatly to the value of his book. The chapter on the District of Columbia has already been referred to. What is perhaps the most useful part of the book for American readers is the long account of the Indians with which the work closes, and which contains information collected from a variety of sources and nowhere else brought together in so compact and convenient a form. Altogether we have here an encyclopædia of facts concerning our country, which only needs an index to make it a valuable work of reference. In the main it is an exception to the proverbial inaccuracy of French writers when treating of English or American affairs. It is true the author sometimes falls into an odd blunder, as when he speaks, on more than one occasion, of offices being held "till good behavior," or when he says that the University of the City of New York is maintained at the public expense. A more serious fault is that the book is not up to the same date in all its parts, and various portions of it seem to have been finished at various times. Thus, although in regard to the admission of new States and other facts M. Carlier comes down to 1889, he does not seem to know that the Commissioner of Agriculture has been raised to be a Cabinet Minister, or that the city of New York is no longer governed under the Act of 1882, which required the Mayor's nominations to office to be confirmed by the Aldermen. But in a work of such magnitude a few small errors are to be expected, and hardly detract from its undoubted merits. European readers who study this book together with that of Mr. Bryce will know more about us and our belongings than many an educated American knows about his own country or any other.

TUTTLE'S FREDERIC THE GREAT.

History of Prussia under Frederic the Great. By Herbert Tuttle, Professor in Cornell University. Two volumes: 1740–1745, and 1745–1756. [Cited in Index as History of Prussia, vols. ii. and iii.] Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

In a volume published several years ago, Prof. Tuttle sketched the beginnings of the Prussian State, and described the development of the monarchy under the first two Kings. In his two later volumes he covers only one-third of the reign of Frederic II., the narrative closing with the outbreak of the Seven Years' War.

It is clearly the plan of the author to write institutional history; and although the personality of Frederic the Great has modified the execution of the design, and made portions of these later volumes almost purely biographical, the original purpose has not been sacrificed. It is the entire life of the State that is depicted. Diplomacy and war do not so fill the field of view as to obscure the methods of internal administration or the social and economic development of the people. But while the plan is admirable, the execution leaves something to be desired. The author, who was a journalist before he became an historian, obviously wishes to give his readers résumés, characterizations, rather than undigested masses of facts. But there is more than one method of digesting facts. Prof. Tuttle's may be described as judicial: he sums up and charges. He is not content simply to describe an institution—he is irresistibly moved to pass judgment upon it; and his chief desire seems to be the communication to the reader of his own opinion. When, for example, he tells us how justice was administered, the revenue collected, agriculture fostered or burdened, trade promoted or handicapped, we gain but a general and hazy idea of the facts, a mere inkling of the purpose of the legislator, but a very distinct im-

pression of the author's approval or disapproval of the measures in question. He has obviously studied the evidence in each case, but it is the judgment that we get, and not the record upon which the judgment is based. As to the value of the judgment, this seems to us to be partially vitiated by a too modern point of view. The problems presented in welding a heterogeneous population into political unity are not sufficiently distinguished from those which arise in administering a State already formed, with the consciousness of unity imbedded in the minds of its inhabitants.

It is in much the same spirit that the author approaches Frederic the Great. The policy and morality of each act are weighed ; the genius and the character of Frederic are constantly criticised. The historian is always on the bench ; the King is always at the bar—if not in the dock. The judgment itself is frequently able and suggestive. Prof. Tuttle's estimate of Frederic's genius is saner and truer than Carlyle's. There is, in the second of these volumes (the third of the entire history), a striking analysis of the King's strength and weakness as a soldier, a diplomatist, and an administrator. Starting with the indisputable proposition that Frederic's tactics were far superior to his strategy, the author points out that the same merits and defects which characterized Frederic's generalship appear in his conduct of foreign affairs and of internal government. He had more insight than foresight. In the moment of action, and all the more if the moment were one of peril, he was singularly fertile in expedients and quick to choose the most hopeful. But he lacked the patience, perhaps the ability, to calculate beforehand, in a protracted military or diplomatic campaign or in a wide-reaching movement of internal reform, the course of action which would secure the most lasting advantages with the least risk. It was not a far-sighted diplomacy which left Prussia exposed to a coalition between France, Russia, and Austria. It was not the highest statesmanship which made the officials of Government automata. But, after all these allowances, with what indomitable courage, inexhaustible resource, and elasticity under defeat were the perils of the Seven Years' War surmounted ; and how extraordinary were the results accomplished by the governmental machine that Frederic had perfected! It is the most striking portion of this brilliant career that the author has yet to describe, and the picture which he now presents to us is necessarily an imperfect one. If he carries the history on through the Seven Years' War, it is not probable that he will see cause to retract or modify any of his judgments; and yet the impression left upon the minds of his readers will not be the same when Frederic's whole career is considered, in place of a part.

In estimating Frederic's moral character, the author condemns without qualification and with no recognition of "mitigating circumstances." Some writers would be disarmed by Frederic's own frankness. The King who wrote to his Minister, just before the unprovoked invasion of Silesia, that it was time to work up the question of Prussia's legal claims, "*for* the troops have received their orders"; who explained to Voltaire that "ambition, interest, the desire to make people talk," determined his action; who said to Montalembert, after the partition of Poland, "Of course Catherine and I are two brigands, but I should like to know how Maria Theresa has arranged the matter with her confessor"—the King who thus confessed judgment on the score of morality does not seem to need further censure. To many besides the author, it is true, such utterances mean only that Frederic added cynicism to unscrupulousness. But if cynicism is preferable to hypocrisy, Frederic stands morally above most of his contemporaries and many statesmen of the present century.

It does not seem to occur to Prof. Tuttle that Frederic's cynical avowals may be viewed, on the one hand, as the reaction of a thoroughly genuine nature against cant, and on the other as a demurrer against the applicability of private morals to international affairs. The doctrine of the *grande morale* is indeed repudiated by most moralists, and is certainly a dangerous one. The rules of this system—if there be any—have not been worked out with the relative precision which characterizes ordinary or "little" morals. But most statesmen have recognized the difficulty of squaring political action with ordinary standards. Cavour recognized it when he said : "If we had done for ourselves what we have done for Italy, we should be great scoundrels." The standard to which Cavour here refers his conduct, and by which he impliedly justifies it, is the interest of the State. The interest of the State was the avowed standard of Frederic's actions, and no one has ever more thoroughly fitted his deeds to his creed. He was not merely the first, but the most faithful, of its servants. He considered himself the trustee of its interests. In his personal affairs, he might, if he chose, be generous ; as head of the State he had no right, he declared, to sacrifice its interests to generous impulses or to moral scruples. We may well hesitate to accept such a rule of political action ; but before criticising the statesman who accepts it and acts upon it, we should try to understand it, as it seems to us Prof. Tuttle does not. For a single example, take his discussion of Frederic's withdrawal from the Franco-Bavarian alliance in 1742. Prof. Tuttle writes :

"A favorite figure by which he [Frederic] described his policy was taken from a shipwreck at sea, where each person saves himself as best he can. That kind of selfishness often characterizes, it is true enough, the conduct of passengers on a shipwrecked vessel. Is it not also true that the world generally reserves the title of hero, not for the man who in the hour of danger seizes the first boat and escapes, but for the faithful captain who remains at his post until all the others are saved, and is the last to leave the sinking ship?" (Vol. ii., pp. 188, 189.)

Is it not also true that the writer of these lines has wholly failed to distinguish between the sacrifice to duty of one's self, and the sacrifice to a generous impulse of interests not one's own, but held in trust? In his picture of the heroic figure on the ship's bridge, he forgets that the question was not of Frederic's escape from personal peril, but of the safety of the Prussian State. He confuses what it is Frederic's great merit to have distinguished, the interests of the head of the State and the interests of the State itself. Of the heroism of self-sacrifice for the State Frederic repeatedly showed himself capable; most strikingly, perhaps, when he directed his ministers, in case of his capture by the enemy, to disregard him entirely and act only in the interests of Prussia. Had the King adapted his conduct to the historian's standard, it is safe to say that Prussia would not to-day be a State of the first rank, nor at the head of united Germany. It is not improbable that it would have ceased to exist.

In his preface to the first of these volumes, Prof. Tuttle apologizes for treating the subject after Carlyle. The apology is unnecessary. In the first place, much of the material now accessible to the historian of this period was inaccessible to Carlyle; and this newly published material Prof. Tuttle has evidently studied and used. In the second place, Carlyle wrote less as an historian than as an advocate. Our author, although he strives to be judicial, is something of an advocate too; but he is less of one than was Carlyle, and he is retained by his sympathies for the other side. He is *advocatus diaboli*, and objects, with much force, to the canonization of Frederic as a "Protestant hero." His book, accordingly, will furnish a very useful corrective to Carlyle's—if the same public will read it. It is an easier book to read, because it is more simply written; but it is also an easier book to lay down unfinished. As literature, the two books are not in the same class. As a history (which, according to Prof. Seeley, should have no literary quality at all) Prof. Tuttle's book is the better. There is not only room for both these books, but for a third, in which Frederic shall neither be assailed nor defended, neither condemned nor canonized, but simply explained.

The book is carefully written, and, in the main, carefully printed. A reference to the "Prussian rifles" (vol. ii., p. 158) seems anachronistic. There are some misprints, especially in foot notes (see vol. ii., pp. 38, 63, and 64), but we have found only one that is misleading. In vol. iii., p. 85, it is stated that Frederic William I. left the regular army "at some eight thousand." The author undoubtedly wrote "eighty thousand." The volumes are admirably indexed.

The First Crossing of Greenland. By Fridtjof Nansen. Longmans, Green & Co. 1890. 2 vols., 8vo, xxii, 510, and x, 509 pp.

THE author of these two portly volumes, a native of Norway, and a scientific student in the University of Kristiania, began his arctic experiences in his twenty-first year, accompanying the sealer *Viking* in 1882 to the region between Spitzbergen, Jan-Mayen, and Greenland. When fast in the ice off the Greenland coast, the idea occurred to him that it might be practicable to land and cross the inland ice. On his return to Norway he was appointed Curator of the Bergen Museum, where he remained engaged in zoölogical studies until 1888, receiving his doctor's degree in 1887. In 1889 he married a sister of Prof. G. O. Sars of the University of Kristiania, and at the present time is engaged in preparations for an arctic expedition planned for 1892.

The idea of exploring the frozen interior of Greenland was broached publicly by Dr. Nansen in 1887, when he made an unsuccessful appeal to the Norwegian Storthing, through the mediation of the University, for a grant of some $1,400 in aid of such a journey. A liberal Danish gentleman, Mr. Augustin Gamél, the patron of the *Dijmphna* expedition of 1883, generously offered to provide the necessary funds. This offer was gratefully accepted by Nansen, and the preliminaries were entered upon at once.

An important element in the plan consisted in the use of *ski* (pronounced "she"), or the flat wooden snow-shoe in use in so many northern countries. Nansen himself is an expert in their use, and, to carry out his ideas, it was necessary that the remaining members of the party should be well skilled in the management of these, to Americans, rather unfamiliar articles. With their aid, under favorable conditions of weather and snow-surface, long distances can be accomplished in a remarkably short space of time. In 1884, during some experiments conducted by Baron Nordenskiöld in Lapland, a Lapp thirty-seven years of age in

21 hours and 22 minutes made a run of 220 kilometres, or more than 136½ miles. Ordinarily, with good conditions prevailing, a practised man should cover forty or fifty miles a day. In America the conditions do not seem to be generally as favorable for the use of ski as in Northern Europe, and the long practice necessary to become expert, or even to be moderately comfortable while using these shoes, militates against their introduction. The long, narrow Indian snow-shoe of the Hudson Bay and Alaskan region is much better suited to the loose, dry snow ordinarily prevailing, and, so far, there are no signs that they will be superseded. So important for the success of his plan was the use of ski that Nansen incorporates in his book a chapter entirely devoted to them, their names, geographical distribution, and classification.

The party consisted of Dr. Nansen, assisted by Otto Sverdrup, Lieut. Oluf Christian Dietrichson, and Kristian Kristiansen Trana, besides two Lapps, Balto and Ravna. They left Kristiania in May, 1888, for Iceland, via Leith, having made arrangements with the owners of the sealer *Jason* to be called for at Isafiörd early in June. The *Jason* was to do its best to put them ashore on the east coast of Greenland, after which their fate depended upon themselves. Their outfit was, of course, carefully considered, and consisted chiefly of light hand-sledges, tent and bedding, a spirit lamp and cooker, condensed rations, and boats for the Greenland landing.

On the 17th of July the party left the *Jason* off Sermilik Fiörd, about latitude 65° 30′, and succeeded in getting within less than ten miles of the coast. But the fates were against them, and it could not be attained. A drift of ten days in the floe ice carried them southward some 230 nautical miles, when they were enabled to penetrate the broken floe and work with oars and sails, under cover of the shore, in the painful endeavor to recover the lost ground. Their journey was enlivened by an encounter with the East Greenlanders and a short stay at one of their encampments. On the 10th of August a definitive landing was made in latitude 64° 23′, at a small bay defended by bare rocky points and islets, known as Umivik. At nine in the evening of August 15, all arrangements having been completed, the party set forth.

For a week they struggled over the crevassed surface and steep ascent of the seaward face of the inland ice. After that, crevasses were heard of no more, the surface becoming prairie-like; sometimes, owing to the fine powdery snow, very hard going for both sledges and ski. Some Indian snow-shoes proved their worth at such times. The general direction taken was a little southward of west; the greatest height attained on the ice was 8,922 feet; the temperature at night was unprecedentedly low, reaching —50° F. at times. During the day it would be about zero Fahrenheit, or even higher. The distance over the ice from coast to coast on the line traversed is about 9°, or about two hundred and seventy-five statute miles. The land of the west coast was seen on the 19th of September, on which day, aided by a strong breeze and improvised sails, the travellers covered about forty miles of the descent. But it was not until the 24th that they were free from the dangerous margin of the inland ice and actually stood upon bare ground beyond it. The point reached was the head of Ameralikfiörd in latitude 64° 13′. Here a boat was constructed of canvas somewhat resembling a coracle, in which Nansen and Sverdrup happily reached Godthaab, where they were warmly welcomed. A messenger was despatched to the last ship of the season, which was at the cryolite mine of Ivigtut, on the point of departure for Europe. It was too late; the captain did not feel authorized to return to Godthaab, but was able to carry back to civilization the news of their success and safety. The winter in Greenland and the scientific results afford material for several chapters.

The book is pleasingly written and well translated. The attempt was a bold one, and the success complete and well deserved. It is but just to say, however, that the scientific results, though valuable, are chiefly confirmatory of what had previously been believed, on circumstantial evidence, by most students of arctic matters. It is now settled that the interior of Greenland, south of latitude 70° N., is covered with a low, nearly smooth dome of ice and snow, from which no peaks project, which is free from crevasses, and which yet, from the character of its surface, is not easy to travel over. The very low night temperatures and the wide range between night and day temperatures form the most striking feature of the meteorology.

By way of criticism, it is obvious that Dr. Nansen is diffuse. This diffuseness is aggravated by the publishers, who have double-leaded the text, and we have two uncomfortably heavy and unwieldy volumes, containing matter which had better have been compressed into a single volume of half the size of either. The book is well illustrated and printed; the binding is flimsy and in bad taste; the index is satisfactory.

Memoirs of the Military Career of John Shipp. London: T. Fisher Unwin; New York: Macmillan & Co. 1890.

THIS is a reprint of the edition of 1843, and is the third volume of the "Adventure Series." The drag-net of the editors of this collection will doubtless bring back to the light of day many long-forgotten tales of hair-breadth 'scapes by land and sea, but it is doubtful if they will come across such another combination of humor, pathos, and extraordinary vicissitudes as that which fascinates the reader of these memoirs. That a man should have twice won a commission from the ranks by the time he was thirty, without any of the advantages of education, and by sheer force of merit, is a unique performance in the annals of the British Army, and bespeaks the possession of unusual capacity; but none of his military achievements seem more admirable than is this modest account of them.

John Shipp was born in 1784, and, having early lost his parents, passed a miserable boyhood in the service of a brutal farmer. So wretched was his existence that he hailed with delight the chance of enlisting—at the tender age of thirteen years—in one of the "experimental regiments" formed for the training of boys in that warlike epoch. His uniform was so much too big for him that if his martial ardor had not been of lasting quality, it would surely have been quenched by ridicule. But he bore without flinching the jeers of his companions, as he did also the dressing of his hair in the military fashion of the time, which drew the skin of the face so tight that the unfortunate private could not possibly shut his eyes! In the year 1803 Shipp's regiment was ordered to India, and he gives a vivid account of life on a troop-ship, on board of which several infectious diseases were raging at the same time. After a stay of some months at the Cape, where his military career was nearly ended by a love affair, he again embarked in a small *American* vessel for Calcutta, and, after a voyage of five months, rendered perilous by the tendency of the vessel to take in water as her captain did grog—in excessive quantities—he gazed upon the "beautiful fortifications of Fort William and the city of palaces beyond with astonishment and delight." He was soon marched up the country to take part in the siege of Bhurtpore, and it was here that he first showed the remarkable courage and devotion to duty that gave assurance of his success as a soldier. He led three forlorn hopes in desperate and unavailing assaults on the fortress, and, though badly wounded in several places, was soon in fighting trim again.

He thus describes the sensations with which he entered on these terrible encounters:

"In these moments there is an indescribable elation of spirit; the soul rises above its wonted serenity into a kind of frenzied apathy to the scene before you—a heroism bordering on ferocity; the nerves become tight and contracted; the eye full and open, moving quickly in its socket with almost maniac wildness; the head is in constant motion; the nostril extended wide, and the mouth apparently gasping."

It would be interesting to know how far this expert testimony is borne out by the recollections of others who have passed through similar ordeals. In one point we feel certain that Shipp's opinion would meet with general acceptance among soldiers, namely, that liquor will not inspire courage on such occasions, or, as he puts it: "If a man have not natural courage, he may rest assured that liquor will deaden and destroy the little he may possess."

Promoted to a lieutenancy in 1805 for brilliant services in the field, Shipp returned to England in 1807, and, becoming involved in debts, obtained leave to sell his commission. With the proceeds he paid all he owed, and, six months later, having failed to find any employment, he reënlisted as a private in a cavalry regiment. In 1809 he again set sail for India, and the fact that it took the regiment eleven months to reach Meerut marks the remoteness of the India of those days—an all-important element in the problem of its government. After some years of faithful service, he was again promoted from the ranks and given a commission in the Eighty-seventh or Royal Irish Regiment. It was of this regiment that some general officer, during the Peninsular War, remarked to the Duke of Wellington that they marched very unsteadily. "Yes," said the Duke, "but they fight like devils!" And this was still one of their characteristics while Shipp was with them in the second campaign of the Goorkha war, and in the Mahratta war of 1817–18. He says that the men showed a promptness to obey and a willingness to act which he had rarely met with, but he was uncertain whether this was due to the rigid discipline of the corps or was characteristic of the Irish as a nation.

With this regiment Shipp did gallant service for some years until in 1823 he entered into a turf speculation in partnership with one of his superior officers. As might have been expected, this arrangement resulted in quarrels and intemperate correspondence, and in the end a court-martial deprived Shipp of his commission. Misfortunes never come single, and when the letter from England confirming the findings of the court was delivered to him, he was mourning the recent loss of his wife and trying to console his two motherless babes: "And when my eager eyes met the words *dismissed the service*, I could not repress the tear of anguish, nor refrain from indulging in the most unavailing grief." Surely a most pathetic ending of a brilliant career! After his return to England he wrote these memoirs and

several military romances in order to eke out a trifling pension granted him by the East India Company, and finally became superintendent of the night watch in Liverpool, where he died in 1834.

Considering Shipp's lack of education, the story of his life is remarkably well told. His language is occasionally involved and high-flown, but he shows considerable descriptive power, and his natural shrewdness is constantly apparent. He points out that while the native troops under English officers are in many ways excellent soldiers, too great care cannot be taken to avoid interfering with the prejudices of their several castes, and with prophetic insight he predicts as probable the neglect of this precaution which actually caused the mutiny of 1857. Elsewhere he raises the question of the morality of sharp-shooting from behind cover, which, in his opinion, "treads close on the heels of cowardice if it does not come under the designation of actual murder." The tendency of modern strategy is decidedly in the direction of availing of natural cover or of providing artificial cover to offset the development of arms of precision, so that the conditions are much changed since Shipp's time; but it would be difficult in any case to establish a *moral* superiority in favor of any particular method of destroying an enemy based upon the risk run by the destroyer.

The Royal House of Stuart, illustrated by a series of Forty Plates in Colors drawn from Relics of the Stuarts by William Gibb, with an Introduction by John Skelton, C.B., LL.D., and Descriptive Notes by W. H. St. John Hope, M.A. Macmillan & Co. 1890. Folio, pp. xiv., 40.

THIS very handsome book is indirectly a memorial of the recent Stuart exhibition, just as we have to expect a similar book of Guelph antiquities, say eighteen months hence, as a sequel to the exhibition lately described in these columns. There is, however, very little mention of the immediate occasion for the present publication. It stands by itself, text and illustrations. The text consists chiefly of Mr. Skelton's introduction, which is a very interesting sketch of Scottish regal history from the accession of Robert the Bruce, or even an earlier time. The author is one who has tried his hand already at historical writing, and has endeavored especially to throw light on the disputed questions of Scottish chronicle. In these pages of general disquisition he has sought to avoid too plain an expression even of his very visible opinions. He shows an extreme desire to be fair, to be unprejudiced, to state or assert nothing that he has not an opportunity to prove. Thus, in the case of Mary Stuart, he gives his opinion regarding the probable plot against her, in which John Knox and the English Cecil are said to have taken part, but he is careful to explain and give references; and where he cannot do this, he shows a curious eagerness to state both sides and to bid the reader choose. Evidently he is a believer in the inevitableness of many of the great events of history. The fates were friendly, and one had only to follow their plain bidding and even blunders would not change the result. The fates were hostile, and no care, no honesty nor clear-sightedness would have saved the lost cause.

A student of the sad history of Scotland may be especially liable to this kind of opinion or feeling. Nowhere else is so forlorn a series of long royal minorities, of feeble princes appearing when the strongest and wisest were needed, of ill-directed and ill-managed struggles against an enemy of overwhelming force; and, when this enemy had disappeared, of government by the most selfish and grasping of oligarchies. The sketch before us, written by one who is in touch with the latest archæological research and historical thinking, is a valuable prompter and guide, and one might read the history of Scotland with the greater enjoyment and intelligence for this suggestive teaching. There is some attention to details, too, in spite of the limitation of the work to forty folio pages. Carlyle's opinion as to the value to the historian of authentic portraits of public personages—to which might have been added Michelet's practice of using them as authoritative documents—is disapproved; and in this connection an interesting reference to Lord Lovat's portrait and that of Claverhouse is made. Pen portraits, too, of some important persons are given, mostly very good. It is a desirable piece of reading, and one very different from the common perfunctory Introduction to a book of plates.

As to these plates, they are excellent color-pictures, and Mr. Gibb's repute is such that we can trust them implicitly for all that they show. It is open to question whether, in such cases as these, artistical effect ought not to give way to minute rendering of details; the student would be glad, in many instances, of a common photograph in addition to the color-print; but the plates are good and satisfactory, on the whole. As to the subjects, since they are brought together to commemorate the Stuarts, and not for their intrinsic value, the examples cannot vie in importance with the Spitzer catalogue, nor with 'Le Trésor Artistique de la France,' nor with Babelon's 'Antiquités de la Bibliothèque Nationale,' nor with any one of a score of books devoted to art and artistic archæology, pure and simple. On the other hand, some rather commonplace things, such as the works just named do not contain, are rather welcome to us here. A cuff of Lord Darnley's glove, or the embroidered leading-strings of James the Sixth of Scotland and First of England, or the harquebuse with which Bothwellhaugh shot the Regent Moray, are none of them rich and splendid enough for the book of Decorative Art; and yet one rather likes to see them. For another reason one is glad to see the large detailed drawings of the crown, the sword of state, and the sceptre of Scotland—objects which are repeated in very inadequate woodcuts till one is weary of the ugly pictures. And the ivory casket of the Cardinal of York, the cibarium called Malcolm Canmore's cup, the Indian powder-horn, and the embroideries generally, are well worthy of the costly plates that contain them.

We conclude that twenty-five of the forty plates deserve their place here; the subjects of the other fifteen would be sufficiently shown in small text-illustrations, or, in the case of the locks of hair of Charles I. and Mary Stewart, might as well be omitted.

The History of Herodotus. Translated into English by G. C. Macaulay, M.A. Vols. I, II. Macmillan & Co. 1890.

The Works of Xenophon. Translated by H. G. Dakyns, M.A. Vol. I. Macmillan & Co. 1890.

EACH of these translations makes good its right to existence, though their methods are curiously diverse. Each is painstaking, accurate, and scholarly; each is superior in various respects to any of its predecessors in English, and vastly superior to most of them. Each is not only exact and faithful, but, on the whole, attractive in style—a work which the gentleman of scholarly tastes will consult with pleasure as well as profit, and the scientific person who does not read Greek may quote without risking confusion of face.

It is interesting to observe how different are the processes of the two translators. Mr. Macaulay aims, "above all things, at faithfulness—faithfulness to the manner of expression and to the structure of sentences, as well as to the meaning of his author." He believes that it is a mistake to try to represent the simplicity of Herodotus and his occasional quaintness by affecting an archaic style, as Rawlinson has done, or to lose his poetic coloring "in an attempt by courtier phrase to render his style more noble." It is by no means easy to follow Herodotus closely and gracefully at the same time. The structure of many of his sentences is alien to that of the English, and others present intrinsic difficulties. The passage we cite from the 'Euterpe' shows some of these difficulties and the characteristic manner in which the present version meets them:

"The customs which they practise are derived from their fathers, and they do not acquire others in addition; but, besides other customary things among them which are worthy of mention, they have one song, that of Linos, the same who is sung of both in Phœnicia, and in Cyprus and elsewhere, having, however, a name different according to the various nations. This song agrees exactly with that which the Hellenes sing, calling on the name of Linos, so that *besides many other things about which I wonder among those matters which concern Egypt*, I wonder especially about this, namely, whence they got the song of Linos. It is evident, however, that they have sung this song from immemorial time, and in the Egyptian tongue Linos is called Maneros. The Egyptians told me that he was the only son of him who first became King of Egypt, and that he died before his time, and was honored with these lamentations by the Egyptians, and that this was their first and only song."

There is some awkwardness in the lines we italicize—an unnecessary awkwardness, we believe—but this arises from the conscientiousness of the scholar, not from a servile fidelity to the letter; and this conscientiousness has generally reaped its reward in reproducing, not only the tone and spirit, but the charm of the original. The brief notes of the translator and the extremely careful index of proper names have a special value for scholars. The text followed is that of Stein's critical edition; but the notes embody the results of a careful independent examination of the Medicean MS. in all places where questions about the text might concern a translator.

Mr. Dakyns has begun by falling in love with his author, and certainly this is a good beginning for a translator. His work, indeed, bears evidence of being a labor of love. It is full of enthusiasm; and whereas Mr. Macaulay confines himself austerely to his text and a minimum of useful notes, Mr. Dakyns introduces his favorite with a preface, a life, and a profusion of discussions and eulogies, which are executed with so much zeal and knowledge as to be generally pleasing and valuable. He adds to these some admirable maps and a running commentary of useful and scholarly footnotes. All this he does with the devotion of an ardent admirer. Nothing is too good for Xenophon. He admires his life, his character, and his style. He would have him rendered by Mr. Ruskin or by Mr. James Russell Lowell. To ourselves the notion of harnessing either of these highly imaginative stylists to such work seems whimsical in the extreme. Admitting all the charms of Xenophon's character and the impressiveness of his wonderful march, one cannot but feel, when reading his 'Hellenica' or his 'Memorabilia,' that, beside

Thucydides or Plato, he is an *esprit borné*. In the matter of style, Mr. Dakyns himself confesses his inequality, and his mixed vocabulary of old poetic words and neoterisms. In this connection, he remarks, with a certain artlessness of conception:

"If the correct Victorian English, as it is sometimes named, of our own land to day may be allowed to stand for the newer Attic of Isocrates's time, Xenophon is not unlike an able American of the moment, bringing forth from the treasure-house of language vocables new and old. At one time, and quite naturally, he will use words bearing the stamp of Elizabethan or of Puritan times; at another, he employs some specimen of the latest vernacular, which has hardly as yet received the consecration of literary usage. The combined dignity and freshness of a style so composite, employed by a writer of tact and delicacy such as Xenophon, might perhaps be represented by any one who could write as gracefully and freely as the author of 'My Study Windows.'"

It is evident that Mr. Lowell has mystified one of his English friends, and perhaps we have no right to dispel the mystery. Still, for the sake of accuracy, we may be allowed to suggest that Mr. Lowell uses his vocabulary deliberately, with certain artistic intentions, while it is noted by some ancient critics that Xenophon mingled his archaisms and neoterisms with the excusable carelessness of the old soldier and the much-travelled man of action. Mr. Dakyns, if we may say so without wounding the partiality of a lover, has shown himself perfectly competent to reproduce the beauties of Xenophon's style. He has chosen Goldsmith as his model in English—how happily may be seen everywhere as well as in the following passage:

"Leaving these quarters, they marched the whole of the next day over snow, and many of the men were afflicted with 'boulimia' (or hunger-faintness). Xenophon, who was guarding the rear, came upon some men who had dropt down, and he did not know what ailed them; but some one who was experienced in such matters suggested to him that they had evidently got boulimia; and if they *got something to eat*, they would revive. Then he went the round of the baggage train, and, *laying an embargo* on any eatables he could see, doled out with his own hands, or sent off other able-bodied agents to distribute to the sufferers, who as soon as they had *taken a mouthful got on their legs* again and continued the march. *On and on* they marched, and about dusk Cheirisophus reached a village, and surprised some women and girls who had come from the village to fetch water at the fountain outside the stockade."

We have italicized here certain turns of expression, and we venture to say that every one of them is more sprightly than the original. Mr. Macaulay would not have permitted himself these vivacities of idiom; the general effect of them is that the translation is lighter, more readable than Xenophon's own sentences; and this is the worst we have to say of a most skilful, accurate, and charming performance. The work is to be completed in four volumes, the first containing the 'Hellenica,' books i, ii, and the 'Anabasis.'

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Alden, Mrs. Miss Dee Dunmore Bryant. Boston: D. Lothrop Co. $1.50.
A Secret Mission: A Novel. Harper & Bros. 40 cents.
Black, W. Stand Fast, Craig-Royston! Harper & Bros.
Brendecke, Dr. F. Prof. Koch's Method to Cure Tuberculosis. Milwaukee: H. E. Haferkorn. 75 cents.
Bullen, A. H. Davison's Poetical Rhapsody. 2 vols. London: Geo. Bell & Sons.
Campbell, Helen. Anne Bradstreet and Her Time. Boston: D. Lothrop Co. $1.25.
De Vigny, Alfred. La Canne de Jonc. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co.
Dunckley, H. Lord Melbourne. Harper & Bros.
Edgeworth, Maria. Stories for Children. Scribner & Welford. $1.40.
Francke, Prof. K. Libelli de lite Imperatorum et Pontificum saeculi xi. Hanover: Hahn.
Gerard, E. and D. A Sensitive Plant. D. Appleton & Co. 50 cents.
Graham, W. Socialism, New and Old. D. Appleton & Co.
Harris, W. T. The Spiritual Sense of Dante's Divina Commedia. D. Appleton & Co. $1.
Hazell's Annual for 1891. Scribner & Welford. $1.50.
Hill, G. B. Boswell's Life of Johnson. 6 vols. Harper & Bros. $10.
Huggins, Capt. E. L. Winona: Poems. G. P. Putnam's Sons.
Lamb, C. and Mary. Tales from Shakespeare's Comedies. Harper & Bros. 50 cents.
Thompson, C. L. Etchings in Verse. A. D. F. Randolph & Co. $1.25.
Tolstoi, Count L. The Fruits of Culture. Boston: B. R. Tucker.
Tourgee, A. W. Murvale Eastman, Christian Socialist. Fords, Howard & Hulbert.
Treasure-House of Tales: Leigh Hunt, Mary W. Shelley, Douglas Jerrold, and B. Disraeli. 4 vols. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co.
Trelease, W. The Missouri Botanical Gardens. St. Louis, Mo.: Missouri Botanical Garden.
Veeder, Emily E. Her Brother Donnard. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co.
Ward, H. D. The New Senior at Andover. Boston: D. Lothrop Co. $1.25.
Warner, A. B. Patience. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. $1.25.
Wedding's Basic Bessemer Progress. Scientific Publishing Co.
Wells, W. College Algebra. Leach, Shewell & Sanborn.
Wescott, Dr. J. H. Livy. Books I., XXI., and XXII. Boston: Allyn & Bacon. $1.25.
Whipple, G. M. History of the Salem Light Infantry from 1805 to 1890. Salem, Mass.: Essex Institute.
White, G. Sketch of the Philosophy of American Literature. Boston: Ginn & Co.
Winter, A. The New York State Reformatory in Elmira. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co.
Wolff, J. Fifty Years, Three Months, Two Days. Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. $1.50.
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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 5, 1891.

The Week.

THE Supreme Court having taken jurisdiction of the *Sayward* case, the case is now to be argued like any other in which private rights and property are involved. The owner of the *Sayward* complains that his ship was seized in Bering Sea when she was engaged in lawful enterprise fifty-nine miles from any land, and was brought before a District Court of the United States in Alaska acting as a court of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction, and that said ship is in danger of being condemned and sold contrary to the right and contrary to the law of nations. Wherefore, he prays that said District Court may be prohibited, etc., etc. The Attorney-General of the United States, we are told in a despatch to the *Tribune*, was taken somewhat by surprise by the action of the Supreme Court. But at the State Department this action "is not giving rise to either apprehension or alarm." On the contrary, Mr. Blaine "commends it most warmly." The telegram goes on to say that Mr. Blaine is "willing to submit to the Supreme Court the whole dispute for *arbitration*, providing he has an opportunity to submit, not simply a single law point, as is done in the present case, where the court is asked to decide the legality of a seizure inside [outside ?] the three-mile limit, but the entire question, involving among many other things a definition of the jurisdiction exercised by Russia in Bering Sea and its legality; her power to dispose of such rights, if rights they were; the exact nature of the jurisdiction acquired by the United States, together with all historical and not merely legal lights thrown upon the subject; the undisputed jurisdiction for many years of the United States in that sea, etc."

All this is very droll as touching a lawsuit where a record has been made up, and where issue has been joined, and where a rule has been entered requiring the inferior court to show cause within a certain time why a certain writ should not issue. "If," continues the telegram, "Mr. Blaine had a guarantee that all of these points would be submitted to the court, and, furthermore, that the British Government would agree to bind itself by the decision of such a tribunal, and that it would not, as in the present case, announce unofficially that it will disregard the decision of the court, according as it suits its convenience or not, he would be willing enough to accept the arbitration of the Supreme Court." The public may reasonably ask what practical end is to be gained by Mr. Blaine's willingness to accept arbitration of an impossible kind under impossible circumstances. Of what use is his readiness to turn into the Supreme Court a lot of papers that the court would be obliged to pitch out of the window? This is the last of the many oddities of the Bering Sea case under Mr. Blaine's treatment. Perhaps it means that Mr. Blaine sees a decision looming up that will be very disagreeable to him, and that he wants to prepare the public mind for it by showing that the case was not properly presented. If he wanted real arbitration, why did he not take it when it was offered to him?

The Republican managers in the Senate have served formal notice upon the Democratic leaders in the body that the Force Bill is dead. The admission thus grudgingly made has been extorted from unwilling partisans by the power of public opinion. The Republicans have fourteen majority in the Senate, and thus the numerical ability to pass any measure. The Force Bill was one of the chief issues submitted to the people for their approval or disapproval last November. The Republicans said to the voters, "Go to the polls and say what you think about it; if you elect a House with a Republican majority, the Republican Senators will interpret the result as a vote of confidence in the policy embodied in the Force Bill, and they will then pass it; if you elect a Democratic House, it will be accepted as an expression of lack of confidence, and the Republican Senators will feel inclined to drop the bill." It was a frank appeal by the politicians to their masters, and the masters left no room for doubt as to what their orders meant. The Bourbons among the Republican Senators set out to disregard the popular will, but enough Senators were found who recognized the force of public opinion to defeat the scheme. Great credit is due to those Republican journals which represented this opinion, and thus sustained Republican Senators in carrying it into effect.

The man who emerges from the struggle with most harm to his reputation is Mr. George F. Hoar, who has shown himself ready to sacrifice all the principles which he had maintained as essential even to civil liberty, in order to push through a purely partisan measure. This is a melancholy spectacle for an "old public functionary" to present, the more so that sixteen years ago Mr. Hoar was on the right side when a similar issue arose. He was one of those Republicans who, after the "tidal wave" of 1874, argued and filibustered day after day in the House of Representatives against the Force Bill of that period, and thus, although a minority in the House, held it back until so late in the session that their allies in the Senate could beat it in the latter body. It was a great service to the cause of popular liberty and self-government, and it would have been a happy thing for Mr. Hoar's reputation if his public career had then ended.

We turned with much curiosity to Speaker Reed's article in the new number of the *North American Review*, with the very taking title, "A Deliberative Body," expecting to find some defence or explanation of that now famous ejaculation of his, "Thank God, this is not a deliberative body!"—meaning, as was understood, that the House of Representatives was a body which enacted laws, but did not talk about them. We have been greatly disappointed, however. The article is very much subdued in tone as compared with the Speaker's former one on the same subject—as becomes his altered circumstances—and is very apologetic; but of real explanation or defence there is very little. He pleads that nearly all needful debating of public questions in this country is now done by the newspapers, and that, therefore, parliamentary debating is not so useful or necessary as it once was; that the present Congress got from the majority of the electors a mandate to do what it did, and that therefore the Democratic obstruction was as unnecessary as it was improper. Here is where the hole in his argument occurs, and it is as wide as a church door. We venture to say there has never yet been persistent obstruction by the whole minority in any parliamentary body of the first rank, where the majority was *undeniably* trying to execute a mandate of the electors. No rational person, as Speaker Reed well knows, has deliberately maintained that the McKinley Bill was imbedded in the platform on which the Republicans went to the country in 1888. The subsequent obstruction was offered to an absolutely new scheme, for which there was no precedent in the history of this or any other country, and of which no hint or outline was ever offered to the voters, by any newspaper or orator, during the canvass, and which there was much reason to believe was concocted subsequently to the election by a small clique or junta of which he was a member, in virtue of a bargain with the contributors of campaign funds.

Speaker Reed fails to point out, in his comparison of the House of Representatives to the English House of Commons, the totally different position occupied by the respective Speakers of these bodies. In the present Congress Mr. Reed himself as Speaker occupied, in relation to the McKinley Bill, exactly the position Mr. Gladstone occupied towards the Home-Rule Bill, or Mr. W. H. Smith towards the Irish Coercion Bill—that is, he was charged with its carriage through the House as the leader of his party in the House. When he drew up rules giving himself power to suppress debate, he was really providing himself with the means of squelching his own political opponents. If it were seriously proposed in the House of Commons that the leader of the majority on the floor should have the power to decide which of the mi

nority was to be allowed to speak and when the minority had talked enough, it would be received with shouts of derision; and yet this is exactly what Speaker Reed's rules did in the House of Representatives. In England the Speaker is a strictly judicial officer, who studiously abstains from all partisan connection with pending measures. Speaker Reed is nothing of the sort. He is a fierce and avowed partisan, and stumped his own State last fall in that character, and took to himself the credit of pushing through the McKinley Bill. To take on himself under these circumstances the task of putting down the minority in defence of a novel and unforeseen measure, was probably one of the most absurd pieces of partisanship ever witnessed. In truth, we can recall nothing like the position he occupied last winter, and still occupies, in the history of parliamentary bodies within the present century, except that occupied by De Morny and Rouher in the French Senate and Corps Législatif respectively, under the Second Empire. These two officers performed for the Emperor the exact functions which Mr. Reed has been trying to perform for the protected manufacturers.

The appearance of the new Senator from Kansas, as described in the despatches, is rather startling. "A gruffly hoarse but low-toned voice issuing from a sea of long, dark beard flowing nearly to his waist," demanding in the Senate the issue of unlimited money directly by the Government to the people, might well produce a depressing effect on the stock market, and bring American securities home from Europe. But any one who reads the speech he made after his election will readily see that the Judge is by no means a shape of dread. He is apparently one of those extremely active-minded men who always come to the front in revolutionary times, and the times in the West just now are very revolutionary. The rapidity with which he has changed his opinions in the past shows how open he is to conviction, and makes it pretty certain that when brought in contact, in Washington, with new ways of looking at things, and new currents of thought, he will again revise them. He was once, it seems, an ardent Republican; he has now completely repudiated his old party. He was once a strong protectionist; he is now a free-trader. The particular craze which now dominates him is the notion that the Government ought to lend money to all comers at low rates of interest—presumably without security. It may seem odd that a man who has education enough to write books and edit newspapers, should never have sat down and thought out for himself how this system would work in practice, or how money which anybody could have for the asking could retain its efficiency as a measure of the value of other things, which is its sole function. The explanation is to be found, we think, in the tremendous force with which a popular consensus acts on individuals. Hardly any man can resist the pressure on his own mind of the general agreement of all his neighbors in any absurdity, however great. In a community of obstreperous debtors or borrowers, even the most sensible man after a while begins to feel the necessity of giving security for loans to be a piece of monstrous oppression; and the difficulty of getting money at all without selling something, to be the result of some hidden defect in the national system of finance. The extreme form of this phenomenon is to be found in the well-known peril to mental soundness which lies in prolonged attendance on or association with the insane.

Mr. Peffer's defeated competitor, Ingalls, is in the meantime getting that consolation which awaits all charlatans in our day, in the shape of invitations to lecture. This, too, is his time to consider and act promptly on proposals from dime museums. There is a golden moment, in these careers, for purposes of public exhibition which, once gone, never returns. Mr. Ingalls, indeed, carries with him into his retirement the proud consciousness that he is a male. Of this character no legislature can deprive him. The "Epicenes" whom he has so often held up to scorn, may now laugh at him, but they cannot deprive him, even in this hour of adversity, of his sex. History will record that he was the most distinguished male, *qua* male, in the United States Senate towards the close of the first century of the national existence. Now that he has been beaten, Republican newspapers are very frank in declaring that he is an arrant demagogue who ought to have been beaten. But he is no worse demagogue to-day than he had shown himself to be over and over again during the last few years; and yet during these years the Republican Senators twice conferred upon him the highest honor in their gift by making him President of the Senate, and Republican organs had no word of protest to utter.

The Omaha Farmers' Alliance resolved among other things on January 28, "that the volume of the currency be increased to $50 per capita," and then at the same time "demanded" that paper money be placed on an equality with gold—probably the heaviest burden ever put upon public financiers. One of the Omaha papers, the *Morning World-Herald*, apropos of this, supplies the farmers with the following wisdom:

> "The charge is, that the undue scarcity of money, owing to the failure of the Government to provide an adequate supply, has a tendency to make the rich richer and the poor poorer. This idea finds confirmation by the examples of two European nations. France is one, England the other. In France the supply of money amounts to about $60 per person—that is to say, ——————; but in England the circulating medium amounts to only about $15 per person, that is to say, ——————. The circulating medium, therefore, is about four times as great per person in democratic France as in autocratic England. How about pauperism? England is compelled to spend $60,000,000 a year to take care of paupers, that is to say, ——————; but in France the annual expenditure for the care of paupers is only $10,000,000, that is to say ——————, or only one-sixth what it is in England."

There would not be much use in going into the question of fact with an economist of this sort; we cite the passage as in part an explanation of the ideas about currency which are now ravaging the West. A very large body of the farmers of that region are now really peasants fresh from Europe, with all the prejudices and all the liability to deception of their class. The old boast about "American intelligence" does not any longer apply in any sense to large bodies of population in the Northwest. Most of our political questions are very tough subjects for them, but a cruel fate could not have selected a more unfortunate subject for them to vote on, when they get here, than the regulation of the currency. No enemy of democracy has, in fact, ever imagined a grosser *reductio ad absurdum* of the democratic theory than the submission to the popular vote of the question how much currency a commercial nation ought to have, and of what material it should be made.

The extract we have made above from the *World-Herald* shows the kind of help the farmers get in forming their opinions on these questions from the only political guides they have — the local newspapers. The editor is about as well informed as they are—in fact, does little for them except to put their ideas in type. He ought, of course, to be a man who could tell the convention that if national prosperity and individual happiness and comfort depended on the volume of the currency, and the Government could make the volume of the currency what it pleased, it would be almost criminal to fix the amount at $50, or, indeed, at any figure whatever. It would be the duty of a civilized government to go on issuing fresh currency until pauperism and even poverty not only had been reduced, but had totally disappeared. If by means of a currency of $60 per head France has cut down the cost of maintaining her paupers to $10,000,000, it is very wrong of her not to proceed to issue as much more currency as will cause the extirpation of pauperism. In fact, if poverty can be extirpated by currency, and currency may be anything the Government pleases, we have at last discovered the philosopher's stone, and the greatest cause of human misery is on the point of disappearing. Can any man who is concerned about the future of the country, read these farmers' lucubrations on national finance without feeling the enormous importance of having the mechanism of exchange (we will, to avoid offence, say nothing about the principles of taxation), taught in the public schools?

It is scarcely necessary for any one to waste strength in attacking the compulsory-voting proposition which Gov. Hill has been urging upon the Legislature for the past three years, for the plan never has had any support among the members and is not likely to have any. There is something quite ludicrous in the advocacy of this most theoretical of all reforms by a Governor who professes such boundless con-

tempt for "theorists" of all kinds. He thinks it would be "unconstitutional" to compel a free American citizen to vote by means of a blanket ballot, because that would require him to cast a ballot upon which were the names of candidates not of his choice; but he is warmly in favor of compelling all citizens to register and vote, no matter whether they wish to or not, and of organizing in support of such compulsion an elaborate system of fines and penalties, and an illimitable body of officials to enforce them. So far as interference with the "constitutional" rights of citizens was concerned, this would make the voting of a blanket ballot appear somewhat trifling.

The preliminary report of the Commission on Taxation in New Jersey is a depressing document. It is not altogether prepossessing to see that the Commission selected as one of their counsel the son of the Governor under whose administration they were appointed; but this, we suppose, can nowadays be regarded as only a trifling indelicacy. But it is truly deplorable that the representatives of a great and enlightened community should publish the record of their flounderings among the meshes of antiquated fallacies from which an acquaintance with the elementary principles of economics would have delivered them. Thus, they lay it down as indisputable that obligations and promises to pay are property that should be taxed just like tangible wealth; that if the depositors in a bank draw their checks for a million dollars, there is an actual creation *ex nihilo* of a million dollars' worth of property having "every characteristic that should induce it to contribute towards the expenses of the State." As the Clearing-house records show a weekly creation of property of this kind to the extent of a billion of dollars, statesmen who consider it the true policy for a State to levy all the taxes possible are naturally eager for the exploitation of this new source of revenue.

The puerility of this report is further manifested by the statement that no dissatisfaction with the tax law of Massachusetts is known in that State, and by the suggestion that evasion of taxes upon property of the kind above described could be prevented by refusing the aid of the courts in the collection of notes not stamped as listed by the assessor. The Commissioners apparently suppose that capitalists are under some compulsion to lend their money in New Jersey, where they obtain a less return than they can get elsewhere. Undoubtedly there are serious abuses under the present system in that State, some of which are correctly described in this report, but we fear that no improvement is to be expected as a result of the labors of the present Commission. Unhappily, a large proportion of the most intelligent citizens of New Jersey have no time to attend to the proceedings of their Legislature, and it is quite probable that some barbarous laws will be enacted before they are aroused.

The pressure of intelligent public sentiment of all parties in Boston for the retention of Gen. Corse as Postmaster has become so strong that both Senators Hoar and Dawes are said to have yielded to it, and to have recommended his reappointment to the President. Their course in doing this has greatly exasperated the Machine Republicans of Boston, and they are multiplying their efforts to convince the President that the future of the Republican party in Massachusetts hangs upon the appointment of a Republican as Postmaster of Boston. They admit that Gen. Corse has made an almost ideal Postmaster, but he is a Democrat. The President, as represented in many recent White House interviews with delegations from various States, is strongly inclined to the view that no man but a Republican should hold office, and the attitude of Senators Hoar and Dawes must cause him great perplexity, if not positive pain. He has a natural sympathy with the Massachusetts Republican leader who said, in reference to this Post-office controversy, that he "was not voting the Republican ticket every time for the sake of keeping the Democrats in office."

The decision of Judge Wallace, in the Circuit Court on Monday, that any American may take and sell for his own profit all that goes under the name "of the ninth edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica," provided he does not use articles therein written by Americans—an infinitesimally small portion of the whole—is doubtless good law, and yet we trust there is not one honest man or woman in this community who will read it without a blush of shame and indignation. It means that American jurisprudence sanctions and even protects the wholesale, deliberate, advertised theft of the fruits of another man's labor and capital, provided that other man be born under a foreign flag. It is, therefore, a decision which, without meaning any disrespect to the learned judge who delivered it, ought never to have been heard from any tribunal but that of an Algerine Cadi in the old days of the Corsairs. It actually makes mockery of our religion and of our morality, and brings disgrace on our courts and Legislature. Of course there are plenty of Gallios among us who think it injudicious to say these things lest the thieves should get angry and steal more than ever. But theft and brigandage were never yet suppressed by soft-sawder. They have been always put down by the anger of honest men and the shame and sorrow of religious men.

The Waterbury *American* has construed our remarks on the recommendations of the Board of Arbitration of this State touching the railroad service, as concurrence in the Board's plan of settling differences between the officers of the road and the employees. Their suggestion was that these differences should be referred to the decision of a State board of arbitration, and the *American* points out, justly enough, that this Board would probably be in most cases a political body, with strong leanings towards "the poor man" and against "the bloated corporation," and that under these conditions the maintenance of discipline would be impossible. We had no intention of giving in our adhesion to this particular part of the arrangement. What we recommended was the general reorganization of the railroad service on a semi-military basis, like the Police and Fire Departments. If railroad corporations had, whenever they wished to dismiss a man for incompetency or misconduct, to go outside to a political board for permission, their service would not be organized on a semi-military basis, but rather on what we should call a bunkum basis. As in the military, police, and fire services, the offences of railroad employees would, under the plan we have suggested, be in trifling cases punishable summarily by the immediate superior, in graver cases by some sort of tribunal like a court-martial within the service. This, however, is a matter of detail. What civilized communities demand and will have is, that men who have voluntarily taken charge of great lines of communication, and have the lives, health, and happiness, and business interests of millions largely dependent on their fidelity, shall not be allowed to abandon their trains and switches and telegraphic instruments suddenly and without notice, on their mere whim or caprice, or in a gust of passion or delusion, any more than a sailor is permitted to refuse duty in a gale at sea, or a soldier to throw down his rifle in the presence of the enemy. The thing is preposterous on its face, and cannot last much longer.

The interview with Sir John Macdonald, the Premier of Canada, which was published the other day, on the subject of a commercial treaty with the United States had a note of shrillness which is rather unusual with that statesman. "It means annexation, that is, treason," said the excited statesman of the Dominion. Sir John is the leader of the high-tariff party as well as of the Conservatives, and, like our own high-tariff leaders, he sees how helpful it may be at times to "wave the bloody shirt." Commercial freedom is becoming popular on both sides of the line. So, on our side, the frightened protectionists cried out in the last Presidential campaign, "Rebel brigadiers!" and they actually saved a good many votes in that way. Since the passage of the McKinley Bill and the tremendous rebuff that they received in the elections, they have been trying to pass a Force Bill, in order to turn public attention away from the tariff and to bring back the rebel brigadiers as a political issue. This thought was probably running in the mind of Sir John when he called commercial union with the United States "annexation, that is, treason." We had reciprocity with Canada ten or twelve years without any symptoms or talk of annexation. Reciprocity was not technically commercial union, but if it had been such, the political consequences would have been in no wise different.

MR. WINDOM'S LEGACY.

THE death of Secretary Windom in this city on Thursday was one of those fatalities which shock us more by their suddenness than by their calamitousness. Mr. Windom had filled high places and enjoyed large honors, and was well on toward the Psalmist's period of life, being in his sixty-fourth year. Yet he appeared to be at the maximum of his powers, and he certainly occupied a place not easy to fill. Being cut off in an instant of time, without a premonitory symptom, so far as the public had any knowledge, his loss is more deeply impressive than if he had succumbed to some lingering illness. Yet all of us who survive him for some brief space would, upon reflection, prefer to go as he went rather than to yield life inch by inch.

Mr. Windom was one of those useful average statesmen who are necessary to all countries, and who keep things going in about the right way from generation to generation. He had twice filled the office of Secretary of the Treasury, and in both instances creditably. On the first occasion he accomplished what was then a considerable feat of financiering, although now it is looked upon as commonplace enough. He funded a portion of the public debt bearing 5 per cent. interest into 3½ and 3 per cents, without new borrowing, without even printing new bonds, and without losing the Government's option to redeem them at any time, by simply stamping a few words upon them. This operation involved questions of constitutional law as well as of finance. Although the operation now seems very simple, it was not so at the time when it was performed. Therefore Mr. Windom created a precedent of some magnitude, which has the force of law for all coming time. It is not given to many Secretaries of the Treasury to do this. He has linked his name with a method of public finance which will be useful whenever in the future like circumstances shall arise.

His usefulness was proved in another way when Mr. Harrison came to make up his Cabinet. At that time Mr. Windom had taken up his residence in New York, and had become engaged in business here as one of the promoters of the Broadway Arcade Railway. He had separated himself from the State of Minnesota, whose Senator he had formerly been, and from the line of political preferment. Probably nobody was more surprised than himself when he was called to take the second place in the Cabinet at Washington. His selection, after Mr. Allison had declined the place, was a matter of sheer necessity on the part of the incoming President. No political faction was placated by his appointment. No geographical section was flattered by it. He was the only man of sufficient reputation in both politics and finance who could be induced to take the place; and, as we have said, he filled the office a second time creditably. We have had occasion to differ from him seriously now and then, but we recognize the fact that, even if his policy was open to question at times, the difficulties which beset him, which were more political than financial, were extremely perplexing, especially those relating to silver and the tariff.

The last words that Mr. Windom spoke were an earnest and very emphatic protest against the introduction of the silver standard—that is, against the Free-Coinage Bill. This is his last will and testament, his legacy to those who come after him in the high office he held, and to his fellow-countrymen. His words on Thursday evening are weighted with peculiar significance, because they must be taken as the settled policy of the President. A Secretary of the Treasury speaking on that theme must be assumed to represent the Administration. Therefore, for all purposes of advertisement to the country, it is the same as though Mr. Harrison himself had spoken. What Mr. Windom said on this subject has been said by others before him, perhaps—there is not much room for originality now, after the flood of discussion that has been poured forth during the past fifteen years. But nobody has put the matter in fewer or better chosen words. Here is a single paragraph which ought to be read and pondered by everybody who is capable of reasoning on the subject at all:

> "Would our own people await the arrival of these silver argosies from Europe before acting? Not unless the Yankee has lost his quick scent of danger and forgotten his cunning. Bank depositors, trust companies, the holders of United States notes and gold certificates would instantly lock up all the gold at command, and then join the panic-inspired procession to the Treasury, each and all anxious to be in time to grasp the golden prize before it was too late. Probably before the swiftest ocean greyhound could land its silver cargo at New York, the last gold dollar within reach would be safely hidden away in private boxes, and in the vaults of safe-deposit companies, to be brought out only by a high premium for exportation. This sudden retirement of $60,000,000 of gold, with the accompanying panic, would cause contraction and commercial disaster unparalleled in human experience, and our country would at once step down to the silver basis, when there would be no longer any inducement for coinage, and silver dollars would sink to their bullion value."

There must have been one thought in the Secretary's mind back of this which he did not utter, and that is, that the only way for the Government to keep any gold would be to suspend the payment of it. In other words, the only way to avoid suspension would be to suspend. It would be as well to stop paying at the beginning of a run as at the end of it.

PARTY LESSONS FROM CONNECTICUT.

THE dispute over the Governorship at the Connecticut State capital has, on the whole, grown steadily more bitter and involved since the Legislature met four weeks ago. Not the slightest real progress has been made in any direction towards a settlement, and the result of a vast deal of partisan finesse and gesticulation has been an approach, not towards a point of agreement, but towards the point of actual collision. But whether that collision is to come in the form of violence or in the shape of stoppage of legislation and tying up State funds, or is at the last moment to be luckily avoided, the case as it stands offers some serious warnings. One cannot see an old and law-abiding New England State forced thus to a position which lacks only the presence of Federal troops to remind us of Louisiana during the last two years of Grant's Administration, without finding certain elements in the case full of instruction, and, it may be hoped, ultimately profitable to our statesmen.

The first and most resonant warning is the one to State constitution-makers against making the organic law of their commonwealths too inflexible. That State constitutions should not be changed as easily as the statutory law is a truth manifest enough, but there is equal or perhaps greater danger in the other extreme. The latter is the trouble with the Connecticut Constitution. Adopted at a time (1818) when the Connecticut towns, as compared with to-day, were equal, it made absolutely no provision for the differential growth of those towns and the unequal distribution of party strength in towns of varied size. The Connecticut Constitution-makers of 1818 little foresaw the time when New Haven would have, say, 150 times the vote of the town of Union, while each would be sending two representatives to the General Assembly. Still less did the old Federalist or Democrat descry that in 1890 the Democrats of the State would poll some 5,000 majority in twelve Connecticut cities, which majority would be almost wasted in choosing State officers or Federal Senators. Least of all, perhaps, did he forecast that the system which he was creating would so become the vantage-ground of a minority party as to make that party stoutly resist any reform. Accordingly those old constitution-makers went on, and, by providing, as the only means of altering their work, for a majority vote in the lower house of one Legislature, a two-thirds vote in both houses of the Legislature next following, and final submission to the people, practically locked the door on any constitutional change as to which the two leading parties might divide. Constitution-makers have often made mistakes to be demonstrated by time and the change of material conditions, but in no State, we believe, have they left those mistakes so exceedingly difficult to correct as in Connecticut. The warning against adopting constitutions too iron-bound is clear and emphatic.

A second lesson from Connecticut is the extreme unwisdom of allowing partisan bodies, and particularly State Legislatures, to be "returning boards" for votes. Altogether the two houses of the Connecticut Legislature have thus far divided some twenty or thirty times on matters pertaining to the count of the votes, and each time on party lines. If one party had had control of both houses, there would have been no broil, but there might have been great injustice. As it is, with one party controlling the Senate and the other the lower house, there has been for a month an absolute and obstinate deadlock of which the end is not yet. Large bodies like State Legislatures, indeed, have all the party irresponsibility which goes with numbers. Chosen as party representatives and easily susceptible to the party lash and the control of leaders, it is hard to imagine a group of men less fitted to pass quietly on

facts and the law. If we are not to have the experiences of Connecticut repeated in other States after close elections, wise statecraft surely dictates that there must always be an appeal to the courts, even with the evils to those tribunals which follow political decisions; or else, what may seem better, some State canvassing body containing, as nearly as may be, an equal number of party representatives, with power to add an arbitrator in case of obstinate difference. Not often, fortunately, are the functions of such a body important; but now and then, when a handful of votes tells the story of a Governor, a Federal Senator, or even a national President, won or lost, its duties become extremely momentous.

A third lesson, to which we have heretofore called attention, may be derived from the working of the Connecticut Secret Ballot Law, to which the present trouble must be chiefly attributed. As discussion and investigation in the State Legislature have gone on, the obscure cases arising under that law have been multiplied, and one branch of cases alone—that of duplicated votes in the envelopes—reaches to no less than 80 out of the 168 towns in Connecticut. If the law and the equities were to be absolutely determined, it would probably mean the endless task of overhauling the ballot-boxes in the two hundred or more voting-places in the State. The significant thing is, however, that practically all of these cases have arisen entirely from letting the parties handle the ballots. "Doublet" ballots, "marked" ballots, "unsealed" envelopes, envelopes "not endorsed," and all the other causes of rejected votes would have been absolutely avoided by simply adopting the Australian plan, with its genuine State ballot. States, like Maine and others, where the politicians are striving to emasculate proposed ballot-laws, can take this Connecticut experience as a most solemn and timely warning.

The final suggestion from Connecticut is its addition to the general stock of events which signal the moral decline of the Republican party. We see there one of those old Yankee commonwealths where the Republican party was born and cradled in the "moral ideas" of the anti-slavery conflict, which gave us then such men as Buckingham and Ferry in the forum and Sedgwick and Terry in the field. Yet now, in the later and more degenerate days of the Republican party, we find it resisting constitutional reform; sending to the Federal Senate, to favor force bills, Platts and Hawleys, who themselves hold their seats because of disfranchised votes; over and over again putting in minority State officers, and willing now, for the sake of a Governorship, to plunge the State administration into chaos; violating even the antiquated Constitution behind which it has been intrenched, approving a legislative report that is a satire alike on fairness and on mathematics, and, thus far, refusing to seat a candidate whose constitutional majority is unquestioned by anybody. If we add the stained personality of Governor Bulkeley, the first violator of the Secret Ballot Law of the State, as chosen leader of the party in Connecticut, we obtain a picture of Republican party debasement from which its good deacons and church-goers may well turn away to the seclusion of their closets.

THE PROSPECT OF THE ENGLISH GENERAL ELECTIONS.

MR. GLADSTONE is justified in attaching great importance to the result of the recent bye-election at Hartlepool. The outcome of that election tends to show that the scandals and quarrels in which Mr. Parnell has been involved have not arrested the "flowing tide" of Liberal progress. If that tide be not arrested, it is as nearly certain as anything in the future of politics can be, that, at the next general election, the Conservative and Liberal-Unionist coalition will lose its majority. The more closely the course of political events in Great Britain during the last four years is studied, the stronger becomes the evidence of the volume and direction of the movement of opinion against the present Government. No one of the members of Parliament elected four years ago as a Gladstonian has gone over to the Unionists. Four members, viz., those for the Barnard Castle and for the Jarrow divisions of Durham, for the Wilton division of Wiltshire, and for Linlithgowshire, classed as Unionists when elected, are now back in the Liberal fold. The Conservative member for Deptford and the Liberal Unionist member for West Edinburgh, upon their conversion to home rule, took the Chiltern Hundreds. The latter stood, and was re-elected, as a Gladstonian.

There have been 45 contested bye-elections since September, 1886, in British constituencies which were also contested at the general election of 1886. The total Home-Rule vote in these constituencies in 1886 was but 131,451. At the bye-elections it was 164,818, a gain of 33,367. The Unionist vote rose in the same time from 139,227 to 150,051, a gain of but 10,824. The net Home-Rule gain was thus 22,543, or at the rate of 500 to each borough or division. At the general election of 1886, the majority in each of 161 constituencies was less than 500. If the ratio of gain made in the bye-elections shall be maintained at the next general election, the Gladstonian triumph will be decisive.

The practical result of the bye-elections in the transfer of seats from Conservatives and Unionists to Home-Rulers has been even more marked. There have been, since September, 1886, elections held for ninety-nine Parliamentary seats (although, since, as at Burnley and at Ayr, the same seat has become vacant more than once, the total number of bye-elections has been somewhat larger). The following table shows the political opinions of the members returned for these ninety-nine constituencies at the last bye-elections, at the election of 1886, and at the election of 1885, before the Home-Rule issue divided the old Liberal party.

BYE-ELECTIONS.

	Lib. H. R.	Irish Nat.	Lib. Un.	Con.
England	25	..	2	33
Wales	7			
Scotland	8	..	1	2
Ireland	..	17	1	3
Total	40	17	4	38

GENERAL ELECTION 1886.

	Lib. H. R.	Irish Nat.	Lib. Un.	Con.
England	13	..	6	41
Wales	5	..	1	1
Scotland	6	..	3	2
Ireland	..	17	..	4
Total	24	17	10	48

GENERAL ELECTION 1885.

	Lib.	Irish Nat.	Con.
England	21	..	39
Wales	7		
Scotland	9	..	2
Ireland	..	17	4
Total	37	17	45

The Home-Rule Liberals have gained sixteen seats, the Liberal Unionists have lost six, and the Conservatives ten. These gains and losses are net. Irish Nationalists were elected at the bye-elections for all the seats previously held by that party. The result of the 99 bye-elections, therefore, was that, of the 58 Conservative and Liberal-Unionists' seats, no less than 17 were captured by the Liberal Home-Rulers, while of the 41 Home-Rule seats which became vacant the Unionists were successful in but one. A similar percentage of gains at the general election in the constituencies in which bye-elections have not been held would give a Home-Rule majority of between 80 and 90 in the next Parliament.

If the comparison of the results of the bye-elections be made with those of the general elections of 1885, the indications are still favorable to a large Home-Rule majority whenever a new House of Commons shall be chosen. It is true that the results of the polling at the bye-elections show that the Liberal-Unionists are still numerous enough to manifest their strength in some constituencies, but the combined Liberal and Home-Rule majority in the House elected in 1885, ranging as it did from 160 to 170, was large enough to permit some decrease of Liberal strength and still insure a comfortable Liberal majority.

But if we go a little further, there will be still more reason to predict such a result. We find that, in spite of a loss in the popular vote, the Liberals and Home-Rulers have at the bye-elections actually carried more seats than they did in 1885. These 99 constituencies were in 1885 represented by 45 Conservatives, as against 38 Conservatives and 4 Liberal-Unionists now, and by

87 Liberals and 17 Nationalists, as against the same number of the latter and 40 of the former to-day. This winning of more seats by less votes is of course partly due to accidental circumstances, but partly to a cause which is likely to exert an influence in the general election. If the constituencies which gave a Conservative majority in 1885 be examined separately, it will be found that the Home-Rule Liberals were at the bye-elections actually stronger in them than were the united Liberals in 1885, before the party split over Mr. Gladstone's Home-Rule and Land-Purchase Bills. Thus, in the 31 British constituencies which in 1885 gave a Conservative plurality and were contested both in that year and at bye-elections subsequent to September, 1886, the Conservative vote in 1885 was 111,263 and at the bye-elections but 107,54 —a loss of 3,723; while the Liberal vote in 1885 of 86,617 rose to a Home-Rule vote of 89,490 at the bye-elections, a gain of 2,873, or a net Home-Rule gain of 6,596. Twenty out of the 31 constituencies showed Home-Rule gains. On the other hand, out of 29 constituencies which in 1885 gave Liberal pluralities, no less than 25 showed Conservative or Unionist gains at the bye-elections. The total vote in these 29 constituencies was, in 1885, Conservative 84,888, Liberal 129,371; at the bye-elections, Conservative and Unionists 98,683, a gain of 13,795, and Liberal 119,917, a loss of 9,454, or a net Liberal loss of 23,249. It is evident, therefore, that for some reason —the dislike to the fusion with a minority of the opposite party, so common among the lower ranks of all parties everywhere, the rise of social and labor questions into increased importance, the usual tendency to turn against the party in power, an actual conversion on the subject of Home Rule, or what not—there is a movement of Conservative voters away from that party towards the Home-Rule Liberals.

This movement is obscured in constituencies in which the Liberal vote was originally very large by the fact that the Unionist Liberals, while less numerous than in 1886, are still more numerous than are the Conservative recruits to Home Rule. It so happens, however, that a considerable falling off in the Liberal vote in the constituencies which in 1885 gave Liberal pluralities, may be less disastrous to that party than a much less shrinkage in the Conservative constituencies would be to the latter organization. In 1885 the greater part of the constituencies carried by very small majorities returned Conservative members. From every possible point of view, it is clear that unless recent events have checked it, the "flowing tide" is running in fast enough and strong enough to sweep the Salisbury Government from power whenever the general election takes place. If it shall turn out that a check has been given, it is historically all the more important that the failure of the effort to give Ireland the control of its own Government shall not lead future students to think that the movement never was in a fair way to succeed.

QUALITY OF OUR LATEST IMMIGRATION.

THE official figures of the immigration to this country during 1890 reveal some striking changes in the nationalities of the new arrivals from those of previous years. In round numbers the total immigration of the year was 491,000, or a gain of about 64,000 over that of the preceding year. Nearly half of this total gain came from Italy alone, for the number from that country exceeded 62,000, and was nearly 33,000 larger than in 1889, a gain of more than 100 per cent. A smaller numerical but larger proportionate gain was shown by Poland, which sent nearly 20,000, against less than 5,000 in 1889. Other countries showing gains were Hungary, over 9,000, Russia over 7,000, Austria over 6,500, and Bohemia over 5,000. In fact, the total gains from these countries aggregate about 76,000, or 12,000 more than the net gain on the entire immigration from all countries combined. There was no material gain on the German and Scandinavian totals, which remain about the same, and there was a considerable falling off in the English, Scotch, Irish, Netherland, and Swiss. The German still leads all others, standing at about 96,000, but the Italian has gone ahead not only of the Swedish and Norwegian, but of the Irish, and stands next to the German.

For the first time in the history of the country the number of Italians entering it exceeded the number of Irish, and also exceeded any previous Italian total in a single year, the nearest approach to the 62,000 of 1890 being the 47,000 of 1888. The Irish total for 1890, a little over 53,000, is below that of any previous year, with two exceptions, since 1880. A lower limit was reached in 1885, when less than 50,000 came, and again in 1886, when less than 53,000 came. All the countries, except Italy, which show gains are those of Slavic races, the immigration from which has been regarded hitherto as the least desirable of all that has come hither, while all the countries which remain stationary or show a falling off are those from which the most desirable foreign additions to our population have been drawn for the past quarter of a century. These are large general facts which may well call for serious consideration.

There are special causes for this increase in the Italian and Slavic inflow. The Italians are brought here in response to demands from this side of the ocean for a class of laborers who will work at low prices and will not be led into strikes. Those of them who come from the northern and central portions of Italy are usually strong, powerful men and women, sober, industrious, and moral, and capable of enduring great fatigue. This estimate of them is quoted from the report of our former Consul-General at Rome, Mr. Alden. Those coming from southern Italy, according to the same authority, are less desirable.

The large increase in Polish immigration is due entirely to the persecution of the Jews in Russia. Some of this immigration is of excellent character, and some of it is quite the reverse. It has been directed to this country through the exertions of Baron Hirsch, and the most serious question in regard to it has been that of a proper distribution of the new arrivals throughout the country. A Hebrew society in this city, which is working in connection with the Baron, is considering the matter, and a solution is looked for within a short time.

The countries which contribute most heavily to the Anarchist population of our large cities are Austria and Bohemia, and, though those countries send us some industrious immigrants who become desirable citizens, there is good cause for uneasiness in the rapid growth of additions from those quarters. The large increase in Hungarians is due almost entirely to the importation of large gangs of them by the miners and manufacturers of Pennsylvania and other States, who have substituted them for other laborers who struck for higher wages. They have many of the characteristics of Chinese laborers, working very cheaply and living upon very meagre fare. For their presence in the United States, the American laborer has to thank the protected manufacturers and other loud-mouthed friends of American workingmen.

The most serious aspect of the immigration statistics is the evidence they give that the tide of German, Scandinavian, English, Scotch, Dutch, and Swiss arrivals has been checked. These nationalities have always furnished the most desirable additions which have been made from alien soils to our population. Their representatives are frugal, industrious, of good average intelligence, and the great majority of them come to this country to make homes for themselves and become citizens. They have built up thousands of acres in the Western States, changing them from a barren wilderness into fruitful farms. They become householders almost from the moment of their arrival, and from the nature of the case become also law-abiding and useful citizens. It would be a sad change for the American people if there were to be a steady decline in the number of recruits to our citizenship from these countries, and a steady gain from the countries which showed an increase last year, but it would at present be premature to fear such results. The inflow from the desirable sources has not been stopped. It is still very strong, and its quality remains undiluted. Neither is there much reason to fear that the increase from the undesirable sources will be maintained. Much of it is undoubtedly temporary, and reasonable and perfectly legitimate and practicable restrictions will be sufficient to keep it within the bounds of safety.

LOOSE LEGISLATION IN FRANCE.

THEY do not always do these things better in France. Under the Empire the phraseology of all bills passed by the Chambers was closely scrutinized by the Council of State, and pains were taken to make laws clear and precise in their terminology, consistent with themselves, and in harmony with existing statutes. With the coming in of cruder

methods, too much like our own, under which every Deputy can put any sort of an amendment into a bill in any sort of language, if he can get votes enough, some curious specimens of carelessly drawn legislation, with the resulting tangles of judicial interpretation, have got into the statute-books. One such would appear to be the famous law on "syndicates," or associations of workingmen and others, passed March 21, 1884. It was designed primarily to benefit trades-unions, and under its terms public works in the city of Paris have been repeatedly let to such organizations. But the law was much debated through several sessions before getting final enactment, and came to be a composite affair before all was done. For example, the right of association was extended expressly to farmers and merchants, and the law vaguely spoke of those who had "financial interests" to defend as also entitled to the privilege. Can members of the liberal professions associate under the law? The courts have said no and yes.

The physicians of the Department of Orme formed an association for mutual protection, under the terms of the law, and in that capacity brought a suit for damages against a man who was illegally practising medicine within their preserves. His defence was the technical one that the association had no legal standing in court, as it had no right to exist under the authority conferred by the law. The lower court so held, as did also the next higher tribunal, and finally the Court of Cassation. The doctors, therefore, got nothing but the heavy bill of costs for their suit. This decision was supposed to settle the law, and to exclude from its benefits all but workingmen, farmers, and merchants. However, in 1889, an association of teachers, mostly connected with religious institutions, was formed, but was ordered by the Minister of Public Instruction to dissolve, as being illegal. But it was shown that a similar association, of a personnel more agreeable to the Minister, had been allowed to exist for three years. Finally, a third teachers' organization was formed, and resolved to test the matter in the courts. Thereupon the Tribunal of the Seine reviewed the case, and came to the conclusion that the law really placed no restrictions upon the right of association, thus leaving all again in delightful uncertainty.

Another ambiguity of the law has left it doubtful whether an association can sue in its corporate capacity. The Paris courts have held that it can, but a recent case in the Department of Aix sets a different precedent. An association of merchants at Nice brought a suit for damages against a fellow-tradesman for the curious offence of having advertised a sheriff's sale in too flaming a manner. He had filled the town with "dodgers," and covered all the dead-walls with posters, seting forth the immense advantages of being present at the sale ordered by the court, where goods were to be had at any price. This was a gross injury to the business of the conservative merchants, who saw their shops deserted in consequence, and hence the suit. The guilty man could not deny the crime, but rested his defence on the legal inability of the association to sue as a corporation. The lower court at Nice overruled this, but the Aix Court of Appeals sustained the objection, and threw the case out. The defendant placed much reliance upon citations from the debates in the Chambers, especially from a speech of M. Waldeck-Rousseau, Minister at the time, who declared that it was not intended to give any such right to the "syndicates." By thus going outside of the terms of the law to arrive at its intent, the Court decided that the association could not sue, and that the only remedy left the injured merchants for the wrong they had suffered —a wrong which appears to be admitted on all hands to be grievous—was a series of individual prosecutions.

THE WINTER EXHIBITION AT THE ROYAL ACADEMY.

London, January 10, 1891.

That the twenty-second winter loan exhibition of old masters, lately opened at the Royal Academy, is uninteresting, as a whole, is hardly a matter of surprise. Many as are the fine private collections of England which for twenty-two seasons have contributed to the winter show at Burlington House, they are not inexhaustible, and this year it looks as if the end of their resources had been reached.

The present exhibition contains no such brilliant series of masterpieces as the Velasquezes and Rembrandts of last winter, and comparatively few single pictures of note. It is, indeed, successful chiefly in showing what indifferent work could be produced in a so-called great age of painting or by a really great painter. The examples of the primitive schools of Italy, Holland, and Flanders do but give an eloquent contradiction to the Ruskinian theory of the artistic value of religious motives, and prove that only too often the painting of Christs, saints, and Madonnas was the most perfunctory task. Even in the ages of faith, as now, there were a few great masters and a multitude of feeble imitators; and unfortunately it is the latter who are here represented, though one or two pictures by Memling and Mabuse are very decorative, and though there is a little Madonna by Mantegna which, while it is inferior to his best work (I believe it is questioned whether it should really be attributed to him), is admirable in the foreshortening of the figures, and beautiful in its Blake-like arrangement of scarlet and golden angels in the background.

Of the foreign masters of a later date, only two have been brought forward with prominence, Velasquez and Franz Hals. Of the former there is nothing that can quite equal the Venus of last year; but then, on the other hand, nothing in the exhibition can approach the three portraits by him which now appear. The most striking is the small full-length of the Duke D'Olivarez on horseback, tremendously strong in its rendering of character, fine in the color of the crimson scarf and the sheen of the armor, and full of life in the action of the rearing horse. Besides this, there are one of his twenty-three variations of that very paintable Philip IV., this time in royal red, and an Infanta Maria Theresa as a child in quaint court dress, black over great hoops, a wide lace collar, and a red cap, standing by a chair where a little spaniel is curled up, his face looking out of the canvas; costume and chair and dog all suggested as no one else could have done them, though the face of the Infanta was probably painted by another artist, so little is it like the work of Velasquez.

The six examples of Franz Hals are less satisfactory. None can compare to the portrait in the National Gallery; all are rather black, and one or two have apparently been restored, to their irreparable loss. But Franz Hals, even at his most indifferent, could not be commonplace; and "Le Joyeux Buveur"—his jolly carouser, smiling in drunken good humor, glass held high, lute clasped tight by a hand that can no longer steady it—and three portraits, hanging together in the centre of one of the smaller rooms, completely kill the little Flemish and Dutch cabinet pictures by which they are surrounded. Studied singly and apart, many of these, especially wonderful interiors by De Hooghe, Meer, and Terburg (who were already preoccupied with what we usually suppose are wholly modern problems of light and perspective), would be altogether delightful. But their almost microscopic qualities can never be appreciated in a large gallery under any circumstances; when contrasted with the broader, more artistic methods of a master like Franz Hals, they show to the very worst advantage.

British artists have fared but little better. In the Royal Academy of late years, in the New Gallery and the Grosvenor, Sir Joshua and Gainsborough and Romney have again and again been much more adequately represented. Portrait-painting to the eighteenth-century artist was not infrequently as perfunctory work as Madonna painting was to the Pre-Raphaelite, and royal and noble sitters had as paralyzing an effect as church patrons. Even Sir Joshua could not always escape this deadening influence, and only a couple of portraits — one of himself, another of Robert Mayne—and a charming study of a "Nymph, with Boy Piping," would give the person who knew nothing of his work an idea of his mastery of beautiful color and composition which ranks him only second to the great Venetians. There are Gainsboroughs in which the drapery is rendered with a freedom and vigor not unworthy of Velasquez, while the face has been elaborately finished until all art is worked out of it. The Romneys one would willingly pass without a second glance, with the exception of his incomparable "Mrs. Carwardine and Child." This picture has been exhibited before, at the Grosvenor, if I am not mistaken, and it has been engraved. It is a simple and exquisite version of a subject which, with the old Italians, was overweighted by its religious interpretation, and with the modern artist is degraded by Christmas Annual sentiment. But Romney treated it with a realism delightful in its sincerity and free from the affected straining after prettiness but too often marked in much of his work. The composition is as fine as in the most celebrated Madonnas—the child clasped in the mother's arms, her face softened by the delicate white cap pressed close to the little head; and both figures are well modelled and solidly painted. But the chief charm is the color, rich and glowing, which even an ugly note in the red of the chair cannot mar.

The most notable British portrait, however, is really Hoppner's "Mrs. Gwyn, the Jessamy Bride." It would be a masterpiece whoever had painted it; coming from Hoppner, whose work rarely rose above mediocrity, it is a revelation. In it he seems for once to have thrown tradition to the winds, and to have recorded his own impressions in his own way. Mrs. Gwyn, in a white gown, a bit of blue around the waist, and a powdered wig, is sitting, her arms folded in her lap, under a tree. The

composition is the simplest; it is in the execution that the artist surpassed himself. The face and hair and dress are sketched in with infinite freedom and knowledge, the color is as lovely as in a Romney, while in his large, effective treatment of the foliage in the background he seems almost to have anticipated Monet.

Of the British landscapes there is nothing special to be said. The selection does but scant justice to Crome; there is but one small Constable; the single Bonington is not a very good example, and the Turners vary from a big classical composition to two scenes in the Park at Lowther Castle, which still give a fine effect of distance, and probably were good before the color faded from them.

To lend an element of novelty to the exhibition, two galleries have been set apart for a distinct collection, illustrating, as the title-page of the catalogue explains, the progress of the art of water color in England. This is perhaps the most interesting, if the least artistic, section of the show, and it is certainly the most timely. We have heard a great deal of late about the "national" art of water color, for, in his patriotism, the true Briton has not yet discovered that art knows no nationality. We are told, with a repetition which grows wearisome, that this is the medium in which British artists are supreme; and, according to the new gospel, Reynolds and Romney, Gainsborough and Constable, sink into insignificance by the side of Samuel Palmer and David Cox, William Hunt and John Frederick Lewis. Men who own many drawings by these masters of insular reputation are crying out aloud against the iniquitous indifference of the nation; they would organize a crusade against the National Gallery, and ruthlessly strip from its walls what in their facetiousness they call "squint-eyed Byzantine saints" by Italian intruders, and "scraps of Constable," who was but a painter in oils, in order to find a place for water colors by English artists who have not as yet been honored in their own country. Or they would gladly set up a new temple of British art, in which British water color could assert its supremacy. The gain to the nation, they maintain, would be great. But the profit to present owners of the despised drawings for which they cannot find a paying market, would be unquestionably greater. For the dealer, professional or amateur, there is no better customer than the Government.

But so far the Government has not availed itself of the opportunity for enriching private subjects at the expense of the nation with the celerity it showed in the case of the Duke of Marlborough's Raphael. An exhibition elsewhere of representative examples of the "national" art comes, therefore, at a most opportune moment. At the Royal Academy one can now see the genuine British work to which it has been calmly proposed to sacrifice a great portion of the treasures of the National Gallery. It must be confessed that the study of this work speedily reconciles one to the indifference of the nation. With some very conspicuous exceptions, the present collection of water-color drawings is even more devoid of artistic importance than the annual show at the Institute. The earliest, in point of date, in the series are more primitive than the most primitive squint-eyed Byzantine saints, and are remarkable for nothing but the absence of every artistic quality. Paul Sandby, Michael Angelo Rooker, Thomas Girtin, John Varley, are names known only to the few, and the many may willingly continue to remain in ignorance. The first of the water-color painters who put any brilliancy, color, or "go" into his work was John Sell Cotman, for whose sketches and studies wall-space might profitably be found in any great gallery, British, Continental, or American. With his exquisite cloud effects, his beauty of line, his brilliant color, and, above all, his fine technical qualities—his simplicity and breadth—he stands head and shoulders above his niggling contemporaries. After him come David Cox, whose work is often enough niggled and messed, though occasionally he rises to larger methods; Turner, who here is seen at his most commonplace, there being nothing so good as his Swiss and Italian sketches, which are just now exhibited for the first time in the basement rooms at the National Gallery; Peter de Wint, sadly mediocre; William Hunt, a true British sentimentalist in his subjects, who worked carefully and conscientiously, but who was without the least artistic sense; Samuel Prout, chromo-like in his most telling effects; Samuel Palmer, who lacked the power of giving artistic expression to his really fine poetic feeling for nature; John Frederick Lewis, whose study of detail was marvellous, but whose technique was atrocious. Three lovely little Boningtons break this long uninteresting series; in their crispness, their brightness, their out-door atmosphere, their successful rendering of an impression by the simplest means and without the least suggestion of painstaking but misdirected labor, they, by the contrast, do but emphasize the inefficiency of the Hunts and Palmers and Prouts.

The last of the list is Frederick Walker, who holds a place, as it were, alone. For while he, too, unlike Cotman and Bonington, elaborated his details and worked everything out to the last degree of finish—while to really see all that he has put on his paper one must use a magnifying-glass—he had a keen artistic perception, and, by his own plodding methods, in the end succeeded in getting what he wanted. His color is often very rich, his draughtsmanship good, his figures beautiful in line and pose. But as a whole, and looked at from the least distance, his drawings are far from satisfying; and often when you do study them microscopically, you find a curious carelessness in the very details to which he apparently devoted all thought and energy. In the "Harbor of Refuge," the most important work, the man is mowing with the scythe in his wrong hand, and daisies are wide open long after sundown. How an artist who seems to have studied his subjects so seriously could make such blunders, is unaccountable. Similar blemishes occur in other pictures.

Here also are the "Wayfarers," the "Girl Driving Geese," the "Vale of Rest," the "Ferry," so well known by the etchings. I had never seen the originals before, and at first could not understand my disappointment. But the truth is, the reproductions simplify the effect of the drawings to a certain extent; the details of color at least are left out in the black-and white copies.

If this collection really does illustrate the progress of water color in England, then it proves very conclusively that, from Cotman to Fred Walker, the art made no advance. Nor has there been much improvement from the time of Fred Walker to our own day, except in the marvellous work now being done by the younger Scotchmen, by Mr. Alfred Parsons and one or two other Englishmen.

THE SCIENTIFIC WORK OF THE LATE DR. SCHLIEMANN.

ROME, January 14, 1891.

DR. CARL SCHUCHARDT of Hanover has written a book on the scientific work of Dr. Schliemann. It is a summary of the assumptions and presumptions in favor of the theories which the renowned excavator put forward touching the significance of the various discoveries he made. Now that his work is done and he himself gone from the effect of either proof or disproof of those theories, and from the pain scientific condemnation would inflict if scientific criticism should result in condemnation, it is worth while to examine impartially the evidence on the subject, and see if some definite value can be given to his discoveries.

Two facts have long been agreed on by most scientific archæologists, viz., that the Doctor, in all the interesting discoveries he has made, has not determined a single point with scientific definiteness, and that he had no conception of scientific method in his researches. He set out with the purpose of finding a particular thing, and, when he found something, decided that it was what he sought for. His enthusiasm was great and his love of classic associations absorbing, while his liberal use of the fortune he had acquired in his researches gave him a right to the honor he has received, and to the intimate association with Homer and the great Greek epoch which will always be his. But the interests of science are of greater weight than any personal merits; and while we may yield him all the credit due to the most romantic of classic discoverers, we are not thereby led to accept his conclusions as to his discoveries. That he was utterly wanting in scientific purpose and even elementary training was made clear from his first book on Homeric precincts, in which he gave the result of his researches in the Peloponnesus, Ithaca, and the Troad, where he gravely fixes the early Cyclopean ruin on Mt. Ætos as the palace of Ulysses, and the curious chambers in it, distinctly a part of the fortifications, as the pig-pens of Eumæus; identifying the decayed stump of a huge tree which stood at the corner of the citadel as the remains of the tree from which Ulysses made his bed, etc. This book proves his constitutional incapacity to perceive the indispensable characters of scientific evidence, for he sees a mutilated inscription on a stone, transcribes it so incorrectly that no sense could ever be found in it, and then puts it down as an inscription on a sarcophagus of which he gives the exact dimensions with illustrations of objects which he says were found in it. But the facts were that he only found the half of the inscription, copied it without understanding its epoch or meaning, or that it was made certainly not later than the fifth century B. C., while the coin he engraves as among the contents is a late Achaian one; moreover, as I learned in rediscovering the inscription some time after entire, it had nothing to do with mortuary records, but was a mural tablet, and, according to the declaration of the men who found it and showed it to us both, nothing was found with it, as might be expected.

The romantic sentiment so dominated all else in him that he could not recognize the value of a merely scientific datum. In his first examination of Mycenæ he found no indication of what he sought for, and walked over the graves which since have been the puzzle of the archæological world. When he first went to Troy he set to work on the hill of Bunarbashi and dug there, finding nothing, till Calvert, who had been digging at Hissarlik and had exhausted his means, advised him to continue his work there, as there were indications of finds to be made, Calvert having already made some discoveries. He discovers several strata of débris, in the third of which he

finds objects of gold and silver, whereupon he dubs *that* Troy and the find, Priam's treasure. But, digging further, he finds that there are indications of two strata of ruin underneath, and concludes that the nearest one must be Priam's Troy, the lowest being that which was destroyed by Hercules before Priam. As the identification of the site has been the principal discovery of Schliemann claimed as scientific, it will be interesting to review the evidence on the question adduced when the conditions were more favorable than they are now to a sound decision.

Strabo (Book 13, ii, 32-45) describes the plain of Troy as it was in his day, and gives us a résumé of the discussions which the attempts to determine the site had given rise to even before him. The site of Hissarlik was then occupied by the city of New Ilium, and the dispute was hot between its inhabitants and the Greeks of Hellas proper as to the identity of the site with that of Homer's Troy. With the advantage of living at the beginning of our era, when all the classics of the prior centuries were accessible and the local traditions still living, he says:

"The two plains, the Scamandrian and the Simoisian, are separated by a long spur of mountain extending perpendicularly to the point of intersection of the two arms of Ida, from New Ilium, which seems to be part of it, to Cebrenia, and, with the two arms, forming the letter E. A little above is the Ilium-Comé, or village of the Ilians, which occupies, according to common belief, the site of ancient Ilium, and is thirty stadia from the modern Ilium. Ten stadia above Ilium-Comé we reach Calli-Colone, a mountain about five stadia in circuit, and of which Simois bathes the foot. This disposition of the localities gives the most satisfactory explanation of many passages of the 'Iliad' and especially of that which relates to the god Mars: 'on the other side, coming down like the dark storm, he encourages the Trojans, now shouting with his penetrating voice from the highest point of the citadel, now running along the Simois on the ridge of Calli-Colone.' And in effect, the combat, going on in the plain of the Scamander, the poet could, without loss of actuality, show us Mars exciting the Trojans, first from the summit of the acropolis, then from other stations in the neighborhood of the city, such as the banks of the Simois and the ridge of Calli-Colone, to which point the combat evidently might extend; whereas, at the distance of forty stadia which separates Calli-Colone from New Ilium, one asks the utility of making the god pass from the summit of the acropolis to points so far away that it is evident that the combatants would never be able to reach them. This other detail, 'on the side of Thymbra is the camp assigned to the Lycians,' is equally in accord with the site of ancient Ilium, a site well known to be near the plain of Thymbra and the course of the Thymbrius, which, at the bottom of the plain, near the temple of the Thymbrian Apollo, empties into the Scamander, while the same plain is at least fifty stadia from the New Ilium."

Then follows a dissertation on the impossibility of the movements of the 'Iliad' taking place on the plain between Hissarlik and the sea-shore, all of which is of the highest interest to students of the question. Reference is also made to the extension of the land by the alluvium beyond its ancient limit, and Strabo adds:

"Demetrius [of Skepsis, a prior disputant on the question] invokes on this point the testimony of Hestius, the famous grammarian, a native of Alexandria, who, in his commentary on the 'Iliad' of Homer, asks if really the vicinity of the present city of Ilium could have been the theatre of the war between the Greeks and Trojans, and where, in that case, one must seek the plain of Troy which the poet describes between the city and the sea, since it is known that all the land before the present city has been formed at a later period by the floods of the rivers. And Polites, 'the Trojan spy, who, confiding in his speed as a runner, had come to take his position on the tomb of the old Æsyetes'—Polites on the same ground would have been a simpleton, because, though he had there a spying-place certainly very high, could, by going up on the acropolis [of the New Ilium] see the enemy from a point much higher and from almost as near, and would not have been obliged to calculate only on his quickness of foot for his safety, the tomb of Æsyetes being (and it can still be seen on the road to Alexandria) only five stadia from the acropolis of New Ilium. And finally the triple race of Hector around the city must appear equally absurd, for the rocky ridge which comes down to the present city would positively prevent the circuit. The circuit of the old city was, on the contrary, perfectly free. But it will be asked, How is it that no remains exist of the ancient Ilium? Nothing is more natural, because all the neighboring cities having only been devastated without having been completely destroyed, while Ilium had been razed to the foundations, they were obliged to take from it the very last stone to repair the others. We are assured, for example, that Archæanax of Mitylene took from Ilium all the stone he needed to fortify Sigeum, which did not hinder Sigeum from falling later into the hands of the Athenians commanded by Phrynon, who took the prize at the Olympic games.

"As to the total destruction of Ilium, which the Ilians of to-day deny, Homer expressly states it. . . . And on their side, many modern authors certify the destruction of the ancient Ilium. The orator Lycurgus, for example, having occasion to pronounce the name of Ilium, says: 'Who is he that has not heard that from the day when the city was destroyed by the Greeks, it ceased for ever to be inhabited?' It is presumed that those who later had the idea of rebuilding Ilium decided that the ancient site had become an accursed place, either on account of the misfortunes of which it had been the theatre, or on account of the curses that Agamemnon had launched against Ilium, following in that a very ancient custom, which Crœsus observed when, after having taken and destroyed Sidene, last refuge of the tyrant Glaucias, he pronounced a solemn curse against those who should ever attempt to reconstruct its walls. In any case it was always believed that it was obligatory to abandon the primitive site of Ilium, and they sought another to build the new city. First, the Astypaleans of Rhœteum chose a site near the Simois and built there Polium (or, as it is now called, Polisma); but, the position not being sufficiently strong, the new settlement was soon ruined. Later, at the time of the Lydian conquest, the present Ilium with its temple was built, but it could not be called a city, and only merited this name long after, having grown slowly and by degrees. Hellanicus, indeed, affirms that the new and the old Ilium were only one city, but this is evidently to flatter the inhabitants of Ilium, which he had always the desire to do. As to the territory which was divided after the destruction of Troy by the Sigeans, the Rhœteans, and others, it was only restored after the construction of the new Ilium."

What, then, was the mass of ruins in which Schliemann found the Troy of Homer? He believed that he could distinguish five distinct strata of ruin, indicating as many successive occupations of the site. But in the lowest of these he found constructions of brick, which was absolutely unknown in the archaic times in which Troy is supposed to have been constructed, and which was apparently a strange material in the times when the Lydian conquest took place, for it is recorded that the Greeks wondered at Crœsus building his palace at Susa with bricks. This corresponds with the statement of Strabo that the first city on that site was built in the epoch of Crœsus (Book 13, i., 25): "According to the testimony of many historians, Ilion was moved several times before fixing itself, about the epoch of Crœsus, in the locality it occupies to-day." And ibid., 27: "As to the modern Ilium, it only half merited the name of a city when the Romans for the first time set foot in Asia and drove out Antiochus the Great from all the country this side the Taurus." Here we have the first conquest, though, according to the testimony of Demetrius of Skepsis, it was then a miserable village, the houses of which were hardly covered with tiles. Strabo continues:

"Hegesianax, in his turn, relates how the Galatians, after their passage from Europe to Asia, ascended to Ilium in the hope of finding the fortified refuge they needed, but soon left it, not having even found a surrounding wall. In the succeeding time, it is true, the state of the city was greatly improved and changed, but it had much to endure from the Romans under Fimbria, who, in their war against Mithridates, laid siege to it and took it by storm. Fimbria had accompanied as quæstor the Consul Valerius Flaccus, appointed to make war on Mithridates, but once in Bithynia he excited a mutiny and killed the Consul, assumed the command and marched to Ilium, and, on the refusal of the city to admit a brigand like him, he laid siege and took it in ten days. . . . On this Sylla landed in Asia; he put Fimbria to death, and, having concluded with Mithridates a treaty which forced that prince to return to his own States, he indemnified the Ilians by according to the city important repairs."

We have, therefore, four captures of the city before the Christian era, to say nothing of what may have occurred during the subsequent wars of the Romans with the revolting tribes of Asia Minor, so that we can easily account for all the débris dug through by Schliemann. The testimony of Strabo is clear and stated in accordance with historical method, and there is no reason to reject it, for nothing in the discoveries made on the locality can be held as an argument of equal force. There is no indication, in the ruins exposed by the excavations of the Doctor, of a city of the archaic epoch, while at Bunarbashi there are remains of foundations of Pelasgic structures, examined and reported on by Hahn. Whether the site of Bunarbashi agrees with the indications of Homer is a question apart. Neither of the rival sites may be free from all objection, but the utter want of archaic work at the Hissarlik site is conclusive against it, for work of that character is found at the other and in many other places in the Troad. The city which once stood on Bunarbashi may have been that which the author of the 'Iliad' had in mind in the construction of the poem as that believed in his time to have been Troy. That on Hissarlik cannot have been, for, if there is any evidence worth weighing on the matter, it was not built till after the poem had been written, whoever wrote it. The manner of construction agrees with the indications of Strabo, and Strabo accounts for the absence of ruins at Bunarbashi, and meets all the objections which Schliemann made on that ground.

Again, taking the latest critical authority as well as the greatest in all that relates to the Homeric unities, Prof. Jebb ('Homer: An Introduction to the Iliad and the Odyssey'), the summary of the arguments is equally decisive against the Troy of Schliemann being the Troy of Homer:

"The 'Iliad' shows a personal acquaintance with the plain of Troy and with the dominant features of the surrounding landscape. In the site of Troy as described by Homer the capital feature is the acropolis — 'lofty,' 'windy,' 'beetling'—with those precipitous crags over which it was proposed to hurl the wooden horse. This suits one site only in the Trojan plain—that above the village of Bunarbashi on the lower slopes of the hills which fringe the plains to the south. Here the hill called the Bali Dagh rises some 400 feet above the plain, with sheer sides descending on the south and southwest to the valley of the Menderé [Scamander]. A little northwest of Homeric Troy two natural springs arose. A little to northwest of Bunarbashi these springs still exist, and no others like them exist anywhere else in the plain. As Prof. Ernst Curtius well says, 'This pair of rivulets is the immutable mark of nature, by which the height towering above is recognized as the citadel of Ilium.' Though the site at Bunar-

bashi has not yet been thoroughly explored, pottery has been found there which is referred to 1000—900 B. C. Since Le Chevalier's visit in 1785, the striking features of agreement between Bunarbashi and the Homeric picture of Troy—features unique in the Trojan plain—have been emphatically recognized by a series of the most competent observers, including Leake, Moltke, Forchhammer, Kiepert, Ernst Curtius, and Tozer. Leake remarked that any person at all accustomed to observe the sites of Greek towns must fix on Bunarbashi 'for the site of the chief place of the surrounding country.' The same opinion was expressed to Prof. E Curtius by Count Moltke, 'that he knew no other site in the Trojan plain for a chief town of ancient time.' The low mound of Hissarlik stands in the open plain, about three miles from the Hellespont. It measures some 325 by 235 yards, and stands only some 112 feet above the plain. This mound marks the site of a historical Greek town to which the first settlers gave the name of 'Ilium' (perhaps about 700 B. C), and which existed here down to Roman times. In the mound have been discovered (1) remains of this Greek town, (2) some prehistoric remains. Dr. Schliemann asserts that the prehistoric remains are those of Homeric Troy. If this means that they represent a town which gave rise to the legend of Troy, the assertion is one which can no longer be either proved or disproved. No objects found at Hissarlik tend in the slightest degree to prove it. On the other hand, one important fact is certain: the low site at Hissarlik is in the strongest contrast with the site of spacious and 'lofty' Troy as described by Homer, while the site at Bunarbashi is as strikingly in harmony with that description."

Space does not allow me to extract the whole of the exhaustive demonstration of Prof. Jebb that the site of Hissarlik cannot have been that of Troy, which (whether we take it as the real city of the Homeric legend or the localization of it by the author of that legend, going to the site attributed to that legendary city in search of some features which would serve for the construction of the poem, and basing the action of the drama on local study) must have been Bunarbashi. The whole discussion has this distinct result, that it makes clear Schliemann's method of demonstration, viz., that, having set out to find traces of the heroic age, when he found some objects of value he decided that this was what he set out to find. He was incapable of estimating the significance of archæological evidence, and his identification of Troy is of no scientific value whatever. If his theories were to be accepted as valid, they would make confusion of all archæology based on the character of objects discovered in similar excavations.

The same general objection may be brought against the hypothesis that the tombs discovered at Mycenæ are of Achaian inhumation. There is not a single coincidence with the recorded characteristics of the Homeric customs of burial, nor a single positive indication of the archaic or even prehistorical date of it. The recent discovery in the immediate vicinity of Mycenæ of many tombs of the tholos type, similar to the great domed tombs long known at the gates of the Agamemnonian city; the discovery in them of some classes of objects included in the miscellaneous collection found in the graves opened by Schliemann; and the later magnificent discovery by Mr. Tsoundas of an untouched and evidently royal tomb of the Achaian epoch near Spata—a tomb which, for reasons not necessary to my present argument, we must consider prior to the Dorian occupation of the Peloponnesus—give us positive data from which to commence an appreciation of the provenance of the treasures found in the Schliemann tombs and the nature of the interment itself. The fact that the principal personage in the cemetery found by Schliemann was a woman, is a positive indication of barbaric presence. The masks of gold on the faces of the dead, only found in barbaric graves hitherto; the extraordinary diversity of the objects found, some of which certainly cannot be attributed to the arts of classic Greece, and must be assigned to the later centuries of Greek nationality, if Greek at all, while some of the most important agree perfectly with those found in the tomb at Pharis; the fact that in the construction of the structures about the Schliemann tomb, and prior to it, the débris of the ancient city appear; and, above all, the nature of the grave itself, surmounted by a quasi-Druidical circle, and utterly unlike any grave of Greek custom of any epoch and especially those which have been discovered at Mycenæ—forbid the attribution of the inhumation to any Hellenic source, while they are all reconcilable with the hypothesis that the interments were those of the chiefs of a tribe of barbarians established at Mycenæ in the interval between its destruction by Argos and its reoccupation by Greeks (which the inscriptions found by Tsoundas prove to have been effected before the time of Nabis, tyrant of Sparta). These barbarians had presumably robbed the tombs around Mycenæ, deriving from them the greater part of the treasures found by Schliemann, if not the whole. Schliemann's interpretation runs against continuous insoluble difficulties, while this, especially since the late discoveries by Tsoundas, meets every fact in the case.

Remains the Tirynthian discovery, with regard to which the discussion is not yet beaten out, and in which I have taken too prominent a part to be a dispassionate disputant, perhaps. But here it is not Schliemann who is mainly in view, but Dr. Dörpfeld. To the opinions of Dörpfeld on all that relates to classical architecture as far back as architecture can be said to be an art, no one defers more completely than I; but I am no more willing to accept his decisions on a matter of prehistoric structure, a subject to which I have given many years of study, than I should be willing to oppose my judgment to his on a question of temple or theatre structure. The whole question turns on two considerations—the architectural characters of the Homeric or pre-Homeric house, the evidence concerning which is purely literary, and the material of construction. On the former I defer to those who have made the texts of the early Greek literature a special study, not pretending myself to have a judgment thereon. The following is the conclusion of Jebb's thorough discussion of the question in the "Tiryns" appendix of his 'Homer,' already referred to:

"All the Homeric evidence tends to show that the Homeric house is the prototype of the later Greek house of the historical age. A dwelling on the supposed Tirynthian plan differs from this Greek type in a vital respect. By placing the women in a practically separate house, with a separate egress, it fails to provide for their seclusion in the sense in which ancient Greek feeling required it. The space which has here been given to this subject is amply justified by its importance in two general aspects. First, the interpretation of the 'Odyssey' is reduced to chaos if these fragmentary house-walls at Tiryns, of doubtful age and origin, are accepted as at once sufficient to upset all the plainest evidence of the Homeric text. Secondly, this case is typical of a tendency which, in the interests alike of archæology and scholarship, is to be deprecated. No one questions the intrinsic interest and value of the Tiryns remains, whatever may be their date or source. Nor is the classical scholarship of the present day at all disposed to neglect the invaluable light derived from classical archæology. But when, as at Tiryns, it is sought to bring monuments into relation with texts, then the difficulties which those texts present should be either fairly answered or frankly allowed."

In another place Prof. Jebb says:

"Dr. Dörpfeld speaks with acknowledged weight when he speaks as an architect on a question of ancient architecture. But the attempt to dispose of the literary evidence of the 'Odyssey,' to which he devotes a few lines at p. 227 of 'Tiryns,' is grotesquely superficial. It could not have been offered or accepted by any one who had even a rudimentary idea of what is meant by an adequate examination of literary evidence."

On the other point, the material employed in the construction of the house at Tiryns, I claim a right to pronounce a valid opinion because I have qualified myself by rigorous examination of many ancient structures in Greece and in Italy to do so. And I unhesitatingly say that the manner of construction and the materials employed are such as were never employed in classical structures, prior to the fourth century B. C. at all events, and have not been found in any building the date of which is determinable by historical evidence prior to the Roman conquest. The employment of material derived from the ruins of the Tiryns of the early epoch in the later building, which is evident, proves only, what nobody denies, that there was an ancient city there, and possibly of the Homeric date; but the constant use of the stone-saw proves that this material cannot have been earlier than the seventh or, at most, eighth century B. C., as we know approximately the date of the introduction of the stone-saw. But there are, as I have repeatedly pointed out to visitors with me to the ruins, bricks of good manufacture, well burnt and laid in mortar, in the walls which Dr. Dörpfeld has put as the walls of the palace. Now, burnt brick and mortar are not found in any ancient house in my experience, and the distinct statement of Philios, the most experienced excavator of Greek ruins living, is to the same effect. "The presence of mortar in any building," he says, "is conclusive against its belonging to the classical epoch."

I do not care to reconcile the contradictions which have grown out of the question, and for none of which I am responsible; nor do I concern myself about the omission to note this fact on the part of the excavators. Its actuality I have proved by breaking off, in the presence of members of the Archæological Society of Athens, a fragment of the wall indicated in Dörpfeld's plan as that of the ancient palace, and I am ready to repeat the proof. On this point I do not make any discussion. If, therefore, the plan of the building is not, as Prof. Jebb says, Homeric, and the material used includes elements unknown to remote antiquity, there is but one conclusion possible, viz., that the attribution to the Homeric epoch of the house at Tiryns has no scientific value, and that its reference to the classical era is even disputable; and I hold that there is no evidence whatever to justify the assignment of it to any period earlier than the admitted Byzantine buildings on the site, of the Byzantine origin of which there can be no doubt, for they contain a chapel and graves of well-known type. Except for the employment of the massive ancient material in the construction of what appears to be the chief house of the settlement, there is nothing to distinguish one part of the architecture from the other, and it evidently all belongs to the same period, viz., the latter part of the Byzantine rule, as is indicated by the fragments of Byzantine pottery with which the site abounded, and of which the most characteristic are preserved in the Greek archives.

The general conclusion, from which there is no escape, and which is of the highest impor-

tance in future study, is that the archæological conclusions of Dr. Schliemann cannot be accepted as scientific deductions, and that, while he has added immensely to the material from which science may draw useful results, his own method of investigation is utterly fallacious, and has never led to any conclusive scientific results. We must respect his memory for his enthusiasm and his liberality in his pursuit of Homeric traditions, but we may not permit this to mislead us in the study of archæology, remaining *amicus Platonis sed major amicus veritatis.* W. J. STILLMAN.

Correspondence.

WANTED—AN HONEST-MONEY ASSOCIATION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In your issue of January 22 you say: "We believe that there is a sufficient body of public opinion in the country to beat the Free-Coinage Bill and eventually to put an end to the present dangerous Silver Law (of which nobody is really in favor except as a compromise), if that public opinion is ever organized and properly directed."

Probably all but confirmed "silverites" or pessimists on principle will agree with this, yet it must be admitted that intelligent public opinion in favor of honest money based on a gold standard has never made itself heard or felt to any adequate extent, and that ever since the law of 1878 first stamped light-weight dollars with the hypocritical "In God we Trust," the demands of the silver-producers and of the advocates of the rather indefinite "debtor class" have grown more persistent, one may even say impudent, with every concession made to them. Even now, with the dangers of a sudden drop to the silver standard staring us in the face, many of the anti-free coinage resolutions recently passed have a half-hearted and doubting sound, as if the present law were right enough and free coinage the only evil to be feared; while only those who have had some experience in securing investments on a gold basis can realize how blind the mass of the people are to the fact that there is anything unstable in the widely differing values of our double standard.

The reason for this extraordinary lethargy of public opinion can scarcely fail to be that it has never been either organized or directed in the least. That American citizens should hold sound views on the currency, and require their representatives to vote accordingly, is primarily their own business—that is, nobody's business—and unless a certain number of men will band together and make it *their* business to propagate such views, and show Congress that the people think honest money for us all more desirable than large profits for silver-miners, or even a partial repudiation of the liabilities of the "debtor class," the present movement towards free coinage will not easily be checked.

We have often seen how public affairs may be affected, sometimes practically directed, by the action of private citizens working together to arouse public opinion. The Anti-Slavery Society, the Reform Club with its committees, the Civil-Service Reform Associations, the Indian-Rights Association, and many others have made and are making their mark upon our institutions; and just such work as theirs is needed in regard to the currency. Meetings like that at Boston are invaluable, but there is need of continuous agitation through the newspapers, by short pamphlets showing what a change in the currency practically means, by appeals to investors of moderate means and to workingmen, and in various ways familiar to those who have worked in other lines of reform. The *Nation* and other papers are active in enlightening the public mind on this subject just now, but their work would be made much more effective if aided by the systematic and continuous activity of an organization.

One may well hesitate to urge any addition to the present number of reform associations, and perhaps some existing organization can do the work. The Constitution of the Reform Club refers to "sound currency" as one of its principles, and a committee of that active body, with the experience and knowledge of methods gained by the Tariff-Reform Committee, might supply that vital force which the party of honest money seems to lack. Possibly the leading spirits of that society may already have decided to act, but whether it be done by them or others, there ought to be some organization of the sound-currency forces to withstand the reckless assaults of the champions of fiat money. CHARLES C. BINNEY.

PHILADELPHIA, January 24, 1891.

FREE COINAGE OF SILVER.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: That the recent action of the Senate of the United States in favor of the free coinage of silver has given alarm throughout the country to men who have had a large experience in business will hardly be doubted. Is that alarm reasonable?

A brief examination of the successive coinage laws of the United States and of the last report of the Director of the Mint will satisfy any of your readers that the following statements are true, and substantially accurate. If they are true, there should be little wonder at the shock which the recent action of the Senate has given to men of business.

By the Act of 1792, establishing a mint and regulating the coins of the United States, free coinage of both gold and silver was provided for, and the ratio of fifteen to one was fixed, that being very nearly the market ratio of gold and silver at that time. After many fluctuations of the market values of the two metals, during more than forty years, gold was at a premium, and the coinage difficulties of the United States had become so serious that in 1834 a new ratio of sixteen to one between gold and silver was fixed by law, that being very nearly the market ratio at that time. To bring the two metals into use again as coin, the amount of pure gold in the dollar was reduced, while the amount of pure silver was left as before. Our par of exchange with London was thus altered from 4.44 to 4 8665, and our dollar was no longer worth as much as before in the world's market.

Before the end of another twenty years the coinage troubles of the United States were again serious, owing to the great production of California gold. Silver was at a premium, and in 1853 our only fractional currency was being rapidly melted up. To save ourselves we bought silver, and from that time coined debased fractional money in limited amounts, having, however, the good sense to limit its legal-tender quality to small payments. The legal ratio of gold and silver was not changed, and the coinage of standard silver dollars remained free, but the price of silver was so high that for the next twenty years less than $250,000 of standard silver dollars were coined yearly, on the average.

The law of 1873, by which the free coinage of silver was formally abandoned, was not opposed by the people of the United States, silver being then at a premium in gold, as it had been for more than twenty years, and both being at a premium in legal-tender paper. The double standard had proved in practice to be a delusion.

Since 1873 the fall in the price of silver has been so great—the production from American and other silver mines having rapidly increased in spite of the fall in price—that in 1889 a legal ratio of twenty-two to one would have been needed to keep both metals in circulation with free coinage. If we should now give free coinage to silver as well as gold on the old ratio of sixteen to one, it is idle to hope that both could stay in use as money. We should be obliged to again lessen the amount of gold in our dollar, as we did in 1834, leaving it far below that with which we started less than a hundred years ago.

What the business men of the country fear, if the Senate bill now becomes law, is first a great shock to credit, and then, in one way or another, a currency debased and uncertain, with the evils that have always followed such a currency in this and in every other country. A great London merchant once said, impatiently, to a young friend: "I have tried hard to teach you what credit is. I believe it is hopeless to try. Credit is not money. It is the result of a long course of honorable dealing."

Let us pray that the United States will not now permit a delusive cry for more money to lead it to the destruction of its high credit.

H. C.

BOSTON, January 26, 1891.

"SHERMAN'S SHAM."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The attitude of Senator Sherman on the silver question calls forth hearty praise from the *Nation.* In this, I take it, you express only in part the sentiments of many of your readers. There must be in the minds of many a feeling of deep regret that the Senator has put it out of his power to do the country the service which it has a right to demand from him. His attitude towards the epidemic insanity of protectionism makes his attitude towards any other form of epidemic insanity a matter of comparative indifference. When he compelled us to call him a protectionist, he made it impossible to regard any of his opinions as those of an economist.

Again, thousands of the editors and politicians who have been preaching protection since the nomination of Harrison, would have greatly preferred to speak their real convictions. If the Chicago Convention had decided in favor of free trade, they would have been ardent free-traders by this time. Can these gentlemen be made to believe that John Sherman is any more sincere in advocating protection than they are? If so, they are prepared to believe that he is sincere in denouncing silver inflation.

"The great party to which I belong," says Senator Sherman. It is the curse of this country that it is governed by men who belong to parties. No great man ever belonged to a party. Parties belong to great men, who use them as instruments for the accomplishment of great ends. The man who belongs to a party ceases to belong to the nation and humanity, to truth and freedom and justice.

A. F. H.

GRANVILLE, O., January 26, 1891.

AN "INDIAN" OUTRAGE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: No right-thinking man who has lived

any length of time among the Indians of the Northwest can fail to be thankful for the manly plea in their behalf made by Father Craft, the heroic priest at Pine Ridge Agency. There are bad Indians, but there has been a considerable class among them who have been striving to be sober, upright men. Every instinct of right and justice demanded that these should be protected in their unequal struggle with the whites, as well for the sake of the Indians themselves as to save border settlers from the terrible vengeance sure to overtake them when a long series of heartless dealings on the part of the Government or of the settlers reawakens the inherited instincts of hundreds of years. I make no arraignment of white settlers as a class. But on the border there are always hot-heads who will embroil a whole community by their foolish and wicked acts. As at present there is a surfeit of accounts of Indian outrages, perhaps an account of an outrage of another sort may open the eyes of people who, while justly sympathizing with frontier ranchers, have no sympathy for the Indians.

On the Colville Reservation, an immense tract of land between the British line and Columbia and Okanogan Rivers, there are between eight hundred and a thousand Indians. Chief Moses, who has about two hundred Indians, is personally well disposed towards the whites, but his tribe belongs to the heathen Indians who are impatient of control. There are three hundred Indians on the Okanogan, ruled by chiefs Simitkin and Antone, Antone having been chosen by his tribe when their former chief Tenascott left to live on the Colville or eastern side of the reservation. Joseph, the remaining chief, is a fiery warrior who is never suffered to go abroad without an escort of Indian police.

Antone's Indians and Simitkin's are Christians, and, as I know from my own observation, have so far been law-abiding, peaceable people, living on their farms and coming together three or four times a year for a few days to attend Mass and other religious exercises. At such times there has been no drunkenness, profanity, nor gambling. The chiefs would every day harangue their tribes on the evils to which they were exposed (notably white men's whiskey) and exhort them to be good upright men and women lest their race be utterly destroyed. There would be service in the church three or four times a day, and finally, after a grand hand-shaking, the Indians separated to their homes. There are a few renegades, disliked by the Indians themselves, who go to horse-races, gamble, and do what they can to justify the adage concerning a good Indian.

Last fall a man named Cole disappeared while crossing the reservation. An Indian, undoubtedly his murderer, was arrested, and, on forcibly resisting the sheriff, shot. It was supposed there was another culprit, but he was never found, and now probably never will be. About a week ago at the Okanogan Mission a young Indian came out of the church with the priest. A number of the tribe were there, and one of them, stepping up, asked him if he knew anything about the murder to tell them. The priest then said: "Tell exactly what happened." Here follows his story:

He was riding the range after stock, and fell in with two other Indians. The others had whiskey, and they all drank. The three rode on together until they overtook Cole. They stopped and talked awhile, until finally a quarrel arose, and Cole got down from his wagon and started for them with an axe. The boy had just ridden around to have the wagon between himself and the others when he heard a shot. Without looking to see the result, he put spurs to his horse, and never stopped until he reached Chief Simitkin's, fifteen miles away. He added that he could identify the murderer, still at large, and could tell who sold the Indians the whiskey.

Hereupon he was advised to surrender to the authorities. Word was sent to Conconnully, the county seat, and an officer went to the reservation and promised that no harm should befall the boy, whom he took back to Conconnully. The justice who heard the case refusing to give bail, a writ of habeas corpus was issued by the Court Commissioner. The only apology for evidence offered was that, after the murder, two drunken Indians were seen in the vicinity, and the boy could not be identified as one of them. The Commissioner fixed bail at $1,000, and the prisoner was remanded to the county jail.

At two o'clock on the morning of January 8, ten masked men forced an entrance into the jailer's bed-room, and, covering him with their revolvers, compelled him to go to the jail and open the cage in which the prisoner was confined. They then took this poor boy—a mere child, fourteen years old—threw a rope about his neck, and led him, scantily clothed and barefooted, through the snow, in the piercing winter weather, outside the town. The rope was flung over a bough, and the miscreants pulled until they had raised him off the ground. They fastened the rope and left him dead.

The most plausible reason for this infamous night's work is that certain persons feared exposure for whiskey-selling to Indians. All chance of discovering the second murderer of Cole is destroyed. The Indians are furious; and who can wonder? While the officer who brought the boy in from the reservation most unwisely exceeded his powers in promising him freedom again, still it must seem to the Indians that all of us whites deliberately participated in a lie that we might get one more of them in our power and kill him. They believe, and with too much reason, that there can be no law nor justice for one of themselves, but that the whites are leagued together to kill them whenever they can do so without discovery.

This is not the first time that settlers have owed their scalps to the priests. There has been no outbreak, and the chances are overwhelmingly against one; but the ranchers in distant parts of the country are safe only because of the influence of the Jesuit Father de Rongé, and the Christian chiefs.

HENRY A. THAYER.

LOOP LOOP, OKANOGAN CO., WASH., January 15, 1891.

WOMEN AT JOHNS HOPKINS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The writer of the letter entitled "Women at the Johns Hopkins," published in last week's *Nation*, makes certain statements that are likely to mislead the friends of women's education who are unacquainted with the true position of affairs in Baltimore. I beg, therefore, to be permitted to draw attention to the following points. Your correspondent, when he finds "retrogression as well as progression" in the policy of the Hopkins Trustees, ignores the all-important fact that they accepted the precise terms proposed to them by the committees of women that had organized themselves from Boston to New Orleans and from Baltimore to San Francisco, for the purpose of preferring this request to the University. The words used by the Committees—"that women whose previous training has been equivalent to the preliminary medical course shall be admitted to the school, when it shall open, upon the same terms which may be prescribed for men"—were expressly designed to restrict their request to the Medical School proper. Whatever fault is to be found should be found rather with those who asked than with those who gave all that was asked. The Trustees' cordial words of acceptance are especially significant, in that there is as yet no legal provision made for women physicians in the asylums and penitentiaries of Maryland:

"This Board is satisfied that in hospital practice among women, in penal institutions in which women are prisoners, in charitable institutions in which women are cared for, and in private life when women are to be attended, there is a need and place for learned and capable women physicians, and that it is the business and duty of the Board, when it is supplied with the necessary means for opening its proposed medical school, to make provision for the training and full qualification of such women for the abundant work which awaits them in these wide fields of usefulness."

The "Preliminary Medical Course," in regard to which your correspondent finds it necessary to have recourse to conjecture, was first organized by the University in 1882, and is given under that title in the index of all the succeeding university catalogues; it presupposes the ordinary college matriculation requirements in mathematics, Latin, history, science, and in either Greek or French and German; and its three years of collegiate work include advanced courses in French and German, five hours weekly of class work and five hours weekly of laboratory work for two years in both chemistry and biology, and five hours weekly of class work and three hours weekly of laboratory work for one year in physics. This course is the third (the chemical-biological group) of the seven undergraduate courses leading to the degree of B. A., and to open it to women would be to throw open the University without restriction, and to accept undergraduate coeducation in its fullest sense. The result would be not, as your correspondent seems to think, "that women who are to be trained jointly with men in hospital wards, in clinics, and in medical lecture-rooms" would "two years earlier receive instruction in common with them in physical, chemical, and biological laboratories"; but that such women would meet in the class-rooms, not only their fellow "preliminary medical" students, but all the other undergraduates of the University; for one year of some science is required of all candidates for a degree, and the other years of science as well as the French and German courses are elected by other students at will.

To what extent in this or that institution a substitute may at present be found for the undergraduate instruction of the Johns Hopkins University, is difficult to discuss; but there are excellent schools of science already open to women, and it lies in the very nature of undergraduate instruction that its methods and its apparatus can be duplicated.

M. CAREY THOMAS.

BRYN MAWR, January 26, 1891.

CIVIL-SERVICE REFORM IN STATE LIBRARIES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The attention of the friends of civil service reform should be directed to those States (particularly in the West) where the office of State librarian is still regarded as a part of the spoils belonging to the victors. The recent changes of State administrations make probable several decapitations of old and trained State librarians, to make place for inexpe-

rienced persons, probably party-workers or favorites of the new administrations; unless the new Governors should follow the bright example of Gov. Boies of Iowa, last year, who recognized that it was good *politics*, as well as good *principle*, to regard the office of State Librarian as a non-partisan one, and retained the appointee of a former Republican Administration.

The proposition is now too well recognized to need argument, that the librarian should be a person *trained* to the work, or, in other words, that one cannot, at a few days' or weeks' notice, become competent to conduct the affairs of a large and important library, such as most of the State libraries now are, even in the newer States. The Association of State Librarians, at their meeting in St. Louis, in May, 1889, as a part of the work of reform in State library management and legislation which it has undertaken, resolved "that tenure of office [of State librarians] should be made dependent on efficiency solely, and not on changes of administration, political or otherwise." The influence of the various civil-service reform organizations, national and State, could be used to great advantage in this direction, to the benefit not only of their own cause, but to that of libraries as well.

T. L. C.

WASHINGTON, D. C., January 26, 1891.

THE DISCOVERY OF ARISTOTLE'S CONSTITUTION OF ATHENS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: A discovery of no small importance has just been made among a mass of papyrus-rolls recently acquired by the British Museum. This is nothing less than the almost complete text of Aristotle's 'Description of the Constitution of Athens.' I say the almost complete text because the opening is missing, and the concluding portion is badly mutilated. Apparently nothing could so well be spared as these missing portions, and certainly no part of Aristotle's collection of 158 constitutions could be more welcome than what has just been found —its first and most important chapter. Even those few who have thought that antiquity was wrong in attributing this work to Aristotle, will recognize the epoch-making importance of such an addition to our means of knowing Athenian constitutional history at first hand. Here we have an authority freely used by Plutarch, by Pollux, and by Harpocration as well as by many others, whose works have hitherto been our only possible source of information about vital questions concerning ancient Greek institutions. Facsimile reproductions of this newly found text will soon be published, and meanwhile it has been printed by order of the trustees of the British Museum, and will shortly appear with accompanying introduction and notes by Mr. Kenyon of the Department of Manuscripts.

As for evidences of its genuineness, they appear to be abundantly forthcoming. The possibility of entertaining a supposition that we have here a repetition of the Simonides-Shapira episode, of recent and painful memory, is entirely removed by the fact that, when the rolls in question were acquired, neither of the parties to the transaction dreamed of its importance to the learned world, or had the least idea that a treatise by Aristotle was involved. Even if this were not known to be the fact, a careful examination of the newly found text yields apparently such internal evidence as to be absolutely "conclusive." A competent and careful examination of the new text reveals the fact that of the fifty-eight citations from Aristotle's description of the Constitution of Athens definitely known in various ancient writers, fifty-five "occur with appropriate context in the text of the papyrus now in the British Museum." The absence of two out of the remaining three results from their occurrence at the beginning and the end respectively of the treatise, which fact precludes the possibility of finding them in this version, where the former is lacking and the latter is mutilated. One passage only of the fifty-eight in question remains still undiscovered in the papyrus-rolls just deciphered, or rather the corresponding passage there found presents serious discrepancies when confronted with it. Besides the fifty-eight fragments above referred to, where Aristotle's 'Athenian Constitution' is directly quoted, there are thirty-three other quotations which have been more or less conjecturally supposed to belong to that work. Of these all but ten occur on the newly found papyrus, and of the missing ten some probably have been wrongly connected with it, and others possibly are from its missing beginning or its mutilated end. Confirmation of the genuineness of the version written upon these papyrus rolls, and also further proof of the authenticity of the two papyrus fragments at Berlin, is found in the appearance of the contents of both these fragments upon the newly deciphered text.

Now that this latest philological windfall has proved for us its own authenticity, and saved the long labor of its defence, it would seem that the least to be required would be some strenuous effort in discovering its date. But this labor is also most considerately spared us. The approximate date of the new text can be known to any one who is competent to read the accounts of a private estate in Egypt, dated month by month in the eleventh year of Vespasian, which occupy what is technically called the *recto* of the British Museum papyrus. The text of Aristotle, written on the *verso* in four distinct hands, agrees with these accounts in certain minutely characteristic points, such as remarkable forms of letters and abbreviations. The date, then, is later than the eleventh year of Vespasian, and as early as accounts belonging to that year can supposably have lost their importance, say 95-100 A. D.

Apparently little will be added to our present knowledge of the picturesque side of Greek history by this new discovery or recovery; nothing is gained towards the enhancement of our realization of the intellectual primacy of Greece and Athens. But still certain blanks are filled in a way which will rejoice not the minute student of Greek constitutional history only, but every one who appreciates the Odyssean subtlety of a certain unconscientious type of Hellenic character well exemplified by the unscrupulous Athenian patriot Themistocles. Needed light is thrown upon the hitherto obscure nature of Draco's legislation, and the position of Solon and Pisistratus with regard to the development of Athenian democracy becomes more clear. Detailed information on all these points will be gathered from the forthcoming publication. Meanwhile readers of the *Nation* will doubtless be interested in the account of a hitherto unknown passage in the life of Themistocles, given by an eminent authority who takes it from the newly discovered text of Aristotle's 'Description of the Constitution of Athens':

"It appears that the final attack on the ancient council [of the Areopagus] was led by Ephialtes, and that it was delivered in the year 462 B. C. In this enterprise Ephialtes had a strange ally from among the members of the Areopagus itself, in no less a person than Themistocles. This somewhat tortuous politician was at that time under apprehension of a charge of Medism, which was being investigated by the Areopagus, and his share in the attack which was now being made upon that body consisted principally in hastening the course of events. Having first warned Ephialtes that the Areopagus was about to arrest him, Themistocles proceeded to the Areopagus and there denounced Ephialtes as being engaged in a conspiracy against the State, and offered to conduct a party to the house where the conspirators were assembled. On arriving at the house of Ephialtes, he managed that he should be seen talking with the members of the council who accompanied him. Ephialtes, thinking, no doubt, that the warning of Themistocles was being fulfilled, escaped and took refuge at the altar; but, realizing that his only chance of safety lay in taking the bull by the horns, he hurried to the Council of Five Hundred and made a violent attack on the Areopagus, presumably proposing to strip it at once of its peculiar powers. In this he was seconded by the versatile Themistocles, who no doubt was able to furnish some plausible explanation of his conduct. The matter was carried from the Council to the Ecclesia, and the attack was there completely successful. The Areopagus was deprived of all the rights which made it the general guardian of the State, and its functions were distributed between the Five Hundred, the Ecclesia, and the law courts."

LOUIS DYER.

LONDON, January 19, 1891.

Notes.

THE Historical Society of Pennsylvania is about to publish the Writings of John Dickinson, beginning with a Life of him which has been written by Dr. Charles J. Stillé. That the public at large may not be deprived of this work, a separate edition of the Life will be offered to the trade. It will be ready in a few weeks.

'Canada and the Canadian Question,' by Mr. Goldwin Smith; 'Literary Essays,' by Bishop Westcott of Durham; 'The Light that Failed,' by Rudyard Kipling; and 'Social Diseases and Worse Remedies,' Prof. Huxley's criticisms in the London *Times* on Gen. Booth's scheme, are in the press of Macmillan & Co.

Other letters to the *Times*, namely, by W. Laird Clowes, are to make a volume called 'Black America: A Study of the ex-Slave and his Late Master,' which Cassell & Co. will publish.

The late Prof. Thorold Rogers left behind him the materials for the concluding volumes of his 'History of Prices and Agriculture in England.' A single volume will be made of them by his son, Mr. Arthur G. L. Rogers, and issued in one volume by the Clarendon Press.

Charles Scribner's Sons announce 'Essays in Little,' by Andrew Lang; 'Original Charades,' set forth in verse, by L. B. R. Briggs; 'English Composition,' eight lectures delivered at the Lowell Institute, Boston, by Prof. Barrett Wendell; and the sixth edition of the late Dr. Woolsey's 'Introduction to the Study of International Law,' brought up to date by his son, Theodore S. Woolsey.

A 'Life of Charles Brockden Brown, with a View of Post-Revolutionary Literature,' by Edward Irenæus Stevenson, is to be published by the Welsh, Fracker Co.

Ward, Lock & Co. have undertaken an *édition de luxe* of the 'Lyra Elegantiarum,' edited by Mr. Frederick Locker-Lampson and Mr. Coulson Kernahan. It will be limited to 250 copies, each signed by Mr. Locker-Lampson, whose portrait, by Sir John Millais, will form an etched frontispiece.

Paul Bourget's 'Un Cœur de Femme,' done into English by Camden Curwen, under the title, 'Was It Love?' will shortly be brought out by Worthington Co.

Thomas Whittaker promises a series of "Studies in Christian Biography," beginning with 'St. Augustine and St. Chrysostom,' by Dr. Philip Schaff.

Two volumes of verse, 'Bohemia and Other Poems,' by Isabella T. Aitken, and 'Dramatic Sketches and Poems,' by L. J. Block, are soon to be issued by J. B. Lippincott Co.

The Salem (Mass.) Press Publishing and Printing Company have ready for publication a genealogy and history of the Treat Family in America. Up to 1800 the record is considered nearly perfect. Subscriptions are invited by the compiler, John Harvey Treat, Lawrence, Mass.

The twenty-fifth volume of the 'Dictionary of National Biography' (Macmillan) is the third since the letter H was taken up, and closes with Henry I. This monarch is delineated in fifteen pages, Henrietta Maria, wife of Charles I., in eight; and among British subjects, Warren Hastings receives most attention, in eleven pages. Other long sketches are those of William Hazlitt, by the senior editor, Leslie Stephen, noticeably minute; Haydon, the painter; Lord Hawke; and Sir John Hawkins, whose aliases in Spanish (Aguinas, Achines, Acle) and in Portuguese-Latin (de Canes) recall those of another English adventurer here commemorated at corresponding length, Sir John Hawkwood (Haucud, Haucwod, Haukcwod, Haukutd, in his own free spelling; Haccoude in Froissart; Acuto, Aguto, Aucud, etc., in Italian). Among the Hastings tribe occurs Selina, Countess of Huntingdon (1707-1791), the founder of revival chapels forming a "connexion" which is still a living institution, as one may see by consulting the rubric "Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion" in the latest *Hazell's Annual*. John Harvard is duly celebrated, but with hardly enough recognition of Mr. Henry F. Waters's part in revealing his pedigree; and John Haynes, third Governor of the Bay colony and first Governor of Connecticut, is another of the founders of New England who finds a place in this instalment of a work possessing the highest interest for all English-speaking peoples.

In 'The Worldly Wisdom of Lord Chesterfield' (Clarendon Press; New York: Macmillan), Dr. George Birkbeck Hill has gathered selections from the famous letters and added some of the 'Characters' with sufficient skill to make the volume readable and serviceable to the noble author's literary reputation, which has paled in this century. An introductory essay prepares the reader to find good in the courtier of a world essentially mean, and the selection discreetly ignores what most offends the moral sense of the present time in his Lordship's paternal advice. The passages characterizing woman in general are retained, but otherwise there is comparatively little which would not be accepted to-day by those who think etiquette and formal obligingness any important part of conduct; and it is to be acknowledged that the turn of the sentences is often very clever and the substance full of good sense. Generally, Lord Chesterfield is an author safely to be avoided, but here acquaintance with him is a very tolerable thing.

A new edition of Bacon's 'Essays' (Clarendon Press; New York: Macmillan), by Samuel Harvey Reynolds, is the most complete in its apparatus of notes and illustrative passages yet made. The editor's attitude towards his author is very unfavorable; he misses no opportunity of justifying the epithet "meanest of mankind" applied to Bacon, but he admits the eloquence of the essayist. The most valuable portion of the work, which is one of great learning and industry, consists of the illustrations of Bacon's sources in ancient or contemporary authors; in the verification of his misquotations, and the right ascription of the passages Bacon had in his memory when he wrote; also, in showing his habit of using over in the Essays thoughts and figures which he had employed in other writings. The notes upon the English are rather more full than was necessary when the Bible and Shakspere are still read, and the frequent annoyance of the editor at Bacon's grammar becomes an annoyance to the reader. The work altogether is a very complete one, and indispensable to the student of the Essays if he desires to go deeper than the obvious meaning of their contents in his study.

The sixth volume of Prof. Henry Morley's 'English Writers' (Cassell & Co.) comprises the period from Chaucer to Caxton, and is occupied by the usual encyclopædic account of the Romances, Chronicles, Dictionaries, Translations, Ballads, Caxton's publications, etc., together with a chapter on block-books and early printers of Europe, and brief notices of a score of minor poets, besides more extended articles on Lydgate, Occleve, Pecock, Sir John Fortescue, etc. The minuteness of this survey is the most important of its good qualities, bringing as it does into an accessible and handy volume an immense amount of erudition, scattered elsewhere through many books. This volume completes the first great division of the author's works, and he offers title-pages to such as may wish to bind the six volumes as a 'History of English Literature from the Earliest Times to the Invention of Printing.' He hopes to conclude the work in fourteen more volumes.

The new edition of Palgrave's 'Golden Treasury' (Macmillan), which has so long held its place without a rival as a repertory of English songs, lyrics, and sonnets, is welcome because of the larger type and page, although the volume becomes less handy thereby and ceases to be a book for the pocket. Most readers, too, will welcome the added poems, especially those of Sidney, Vaughan, Norris, Blake, and the anonymous songs from the Elizabethan time. The space given to Campion seems large, however, and several of these new candidates for the immortality of an anthology will not receive unanimous favor: "Agnes," by H. F. Lyte, for example, is a poem which has no such intrinsic merit or accepted fame as to entitle it to admission, and a few others are in the same category. The use of Blake's "To the Muses" as the opening poem of the Fourth Book, with its depreciation of modern verse, seems to us a grave fault of judgment. Several poems of the old collection are dropped, among which we notice with surprise Shelley's "Life of Life" and "Rarely, rarely comest thou." The collection loses by its omissions and gains by its additions. The total number of selections is increased by thirty-nine.

Shelley's Poetical Works form the fourth volume of that admirable series of English poets of the present century begun by Macmillan & Co. with Wordsworth, Tennyson, and Matthew Arnold. The editing has been intrusted to Prof. Dowden, who furnishes a compact introductory sketch of Shelley's life. Since in this he feels free to repeat the facts as to Harriet Westbrook's ultimate degradation, we cannot well excuse his omitting any hint of her nobility of mind and real intellectual force, as revealed in her correspondence with Catherine Nugent during her early married life—letters published in these columns last year by Mr. Alfred Webb. For the rest, Prof. Dowden avails himself of the labors of his predecessors, and produces a very scrupulous text, with notes of various readings, for some of which he acknowledges indebtedness to the Harvard College MS. as edited by Mr. Woodberry. There is also a list of Shelley's principal works, and here we should have been glad to find Dr. Garnett's "Select Letters of P. B. Shelley" (1883), despite its not coming strictly under the heading. The volume closes with an index of first lines.

Students of early American literature will find in Mr. Greenough White's 'Sketch of the Philosophy of American Literature' (Ginn & Co.) a faithful and well-informed study of the course of its history in general outline. The only criticism to be made upon the pamphlet is that it attempts to make a great subject of what is really a small one, and that the treatment of the last period of our literature seems disproportionately restricted in comparison with the earlier portions of the essay.

Ginn & Co. have issued vol. ii. of 'Open Sesame!'—a collection of poetry and prose for school-days, edited by Blanche Wilder Bellamy and Maud Wilder Goodwin, with special reference to boys and girls from ten to fourteen years of age. Half of it is given up to the rubric "Loyalty and Heroism"; other extracts are grouped as "Sentiment and Story," "Song and Laughter," "Nature," and "Holidays and Holy Days." Translations have been availed of, and the range thus widened considerably. The standard has been kept high, and no child will be the worse for memorizing the most of the pieces. The same may be said of 'Harper's Sixth Reader,' edited by James Baldwin from British authors exclusively. The Messrs. Harper have also published, in their "English Classics for School Reading," Lamb's 'Tales from Shakspere's Comedies,' edited and annotated by Dr. Rolfe, who appends a good many of the passages in verse summarized by Charles and Mary Lamb—an excellent idea.

In his 'Outlines of Physiological Psychology' (Charles Scribner's Sons), Prof. George T. Ladd has revised, modified, and abridged his larger work by the same name, and has better adapted it to classes of less pretentious ambition. It still confines the subject-matter to physiological and experimental psychology, with a mere spicing of introspective questions, and so does not enter into competition with the ordinary text-book. On the whole, we regard it as even better than the larger work, as it is more judicious and mature, having the advantages of longer reflection upon the subject and larger experience in teaching it. For its purpose there is not a better text-book in the language.

Several volumes on our table invite to warmer climes. 'Appletons' Handbook of Winter Resorts' makes its annual reappearance with revision. The painstaking volume, 'San Antonio de Bexar,' compiled by William Corner and called a guide and a history (San Antonio, Texas: Bainbridge & Corner), has a frank chapter on the town as a health resort, which is placed in the front rank for affections of the throat and lungs. The illustrations are photographic and very attractive. Mr. Charles Ledyard Norton's 'Handbook of Florida' (Longmans) is an excellent performance, full, well-arranged, and in its literary execution far above the ordinary guide-book. It must supersede everything yet attempted in this line. The historical portions have been carefully elaborated, and the volume is well supplied with maps. Mr. Norton gave us last year under the same title only the Atlantic Coast; the present issue is more than half as large again. Walbridge & Co. of this city send us 'The

New Jamaica,' by Edgar Mayhew Bacon and Eugene Murray Aaron. It is a useful guide-book, but it cannot be compared with Mr. Norton's. There is, of course, a chapter on the climate, and another on the Industrial Exhibition, which the "protected" United States takes little interest in. The cuts are rather crude.

Mrs. M. Carey's translation of Baron Hochschild's 'Désirée, Queen of Sweden and Norway' (Dodd, Mead & Co.), is sufficient if not very flexible or skilful; and the charm of the story is not lost. The late Eugene Schuyler made it the text of a long account of Bernadotte's Queen in these columns nearly two years ago. The publishers have produced a very pretty book.

We need not recur to the contents of Renan's 'Future of Science,' which comes to us in an anonymous translation from Roberts Bros., Boston. It is a needlessly large and ungainly book, in very coarse print.

Some of the opposition to the Copyright Bill comes from legislators who honestly believe that the absence of international copyright is the cause of the cheapness of books in America. The American Copyright League issued a pamphlet on 'Cheap Books and Good Books,' to show that good books, the classics of all literatures, were not as cheap in the United States as in Europe. A recent double-page advertisement in the *Bibliographie de la France* is evidence in support of this contention. It contains a list of the books already published in the "Nouvelle Bibliothèque Populaire" (Paris: Librairie Blériot; New York: F. W. Christern). This collection now extends to more than two hundred numbers; and the price of each volume is ten centimes—two cents! In the main, of course, this collection consists of the classics, Shakspere, Voltaire, Swift, Sterne, Molière, Virgil, Goldsmith, etc.; but more than sixty of the two hundred volumes contain the writings of contemporary authors, Coppée, Theuriet, George Eliot, Carmen Sylva, Tolstoi, etc. Eleven volumes are of American authorship, being translated from Franklin, Irving, Longfellow, Hawthorne, Poe, Dr. Holmes, Bret Harte, "Marc Twain," and Mr. John Habberton. One of the two volumes contributed by Mr. Clemens contains "La grenouille sauteuse" and "Le vol de l'éléphant blanc.'

As the labor legislation of Massachusetts has in recent years been considerable in amount, a compendium of these laws has been prepared by the State Bureau of Statistics of Labor, and is now published in pamphlet form. As it is supplied with a full index, it is a convenient manual for reference.

No. 21 of the 'Complete Index to *Littell's Living Age*' (1135 Pine St., Philadelphia: Edward Roth) comprises the whole of the division called "Social," and completes Volume I., which deals with the first hundred volumes of the *Living Age*.

The *Bookbuyer* for February, in pursuance of its practice of giving every month a portrait and biographical sketch of some littérateur of the day, thus makes known Mr. George Edward Woodberry to the reading public which he has addressed with so many titles to be listened to and remembered. The portrait of the author of the 'Life of Poe,' of 'The North Shore Watch, and Other Poems,' and of 'Studies in Letters and Life'—to mention only his best-known work in history, poetry, and criticism—is not an inspired likeness, but will serve for recognition of the merely external features.

In the January *Bulletin* of the Boston Public Library (now a subscription periodical, by the way) will be found a handy list of books on costume. Mr. Paul Leicester Ford's bibliography of the official publications of the Continental Congress is continued.

Mr. Alfred C. Potter's Bibliography of Beaumont and Fletcher has been reprinted by itself from the Bulletin of Harvard University.

We have received the *Mentor*, a new monthly magazine published in Boston by the Alumni Association of the Perkins Institution for the Blind, and the *Doll's Dressmaker*, a new illustrated magazine for girls published in this city at 35 East Seventy-seventh Street. Parents who object to dolls altogether will take warning; others may take satisfaction in the practical instruction in needle-work involved in the scheme of this magazine, to say nothing of what will be taught in other useful branches.

The plain-spoken *Rio News* has in its issue for December 29, 1890, some timely censure of the order of the Minister of Finance "for the collecting and burning the official records relating to slavery and emancipation." "It is," says the *News*, "merely an expression of overwrought sentimentalism, like that which led the Paris mobs to destroy priceless treasures because they had been associated with the men and measures of an overthrown régime." Was it not Catharine of Russia who ordered the word slavery stricken out of the dictionary?

"J. C. N." writes us from Cincinnati: "The apparent connection between 'war and the weather' which Mr. Edward Powers traces, was noticed centuries before ever cannon volleyed and thundered. Plutarch, in his 'Life of Marius,' says: 'It is observed, indeed, that extraordinary rains generally follow after great battles; whether it be that some deity chooses to wash and purify the earth with water from above, or whether the blood and corruption, by the moist and heavy vapors they emit, thicken the air, which is liable to be altered by the smallest cause' (Langhorne, vol. ii, 302). We cannot accept the old Greek's explanation, but does not this evidence of the antiquity of the storm coincidence invalidate the artillery theory for its origin?"

—The February *Century* contains a very speaking account, both in the illustrations and the text, of the Cracker population of the Georgia cotton-mills, and opens to public view a disheartening state of things for which no remedy seems sufficient. The grown-up portion of this peculiar people are in hopeless subjection to wretched habits and mean standards of life, and the children, in the absence of effective laws restricting child-labor, contract the same weaknesses and invite the same misery. The only motive of ambition we discover in this article is the race-wish to keep ahead of the negroes. The little improvement indicated, however, is altogether insignificant, and no amount of local color, picturesqueness, or the lazy content of these men and women with their degradation should be allowed to cloud perception of the disgrace this mill-life in Georgia affixes to civilization in this country. We turn from it to the intelligent and orderly description of the state of labor in Australia, where the workingman is said to be more prosperous materially than elsewhere in the world, with less hours and more pay and larger opportunities of recreation commonly used. The reason for this condition of affairs and the question of its maintenance are discussed with moderation, and the whole general subject of the future of Australia in industry, agriculture, pasture, fruit-raising, etc., and in political development is treated broadly and suggestively. The most noticeable influence of this country on Australia seems to be the determination of the public not to allow any race-question to begin, although the sugar-plantations and the capital invested there should be sacrificed as the price of the exclusion of the only labor that can be used on them. The extracts from the Talleyrand memoirs are entirely about Napoleon, and are of greater interest than the chapter last month. It appears that Talleyrand justified himself for interfering with his master's plans, or attempting to thwart them, by the defence that he was caring for the interest of France or of Europe when betraying his chief. The conversation between Napoleon and Goethe, and also that with Wieland, are given *verbatim*. An interesting paper on the artist Rousseau, with characteristic cuts, is contributed by Mr. Charles De Kay, and the Californian papers devoted to the gold discovery are noticeable for some contemporary caricatures as well as for their contents.

—A curious illustration of the difficulty of securing historic accuracy has lately come to light in regard to the date of Margaret Fuller Ossoli's death by drowning. The peculiar tragedy of the whole affair attracted wide attention, and might, one would have thought, have fixed the date correctly. Yet every professed book of reference which we have consulted—the 'Britannica' (8th edition), Appletons' and Johnson's Cyclopædias, Duyckinck's 'American Literature,' Appletons' 'Dictionary of Biography'—gives it as the 16th of July, 1850; except Mrs. S. J. Hale's 'Woman's Record,' which gives it as August 8! But the three American biographies of her agree in giving it as July 19; and this same date is given in the *Tribune* (*Whig*) *Almanac* for 1851, and is confirmed by all the newspapers of the time. Thus the Boston *Daily Traveller* of Monday, July 22, 1850, had, among its telegraphic news, "Ship *Elizabeth* . . . went ashore on Friday last"—this being July 19; and the Boston *Daily Advertiser* of July 24 had only got so far as to announce that the loss was "confirmed." It was Tuesday, July 23, when Charles Sumner and others went to Fire Island to look for the bodies. In the Fuller family Bible, Mrs. Fuller records the date of her daughter's death as July 19. The curious question arises, how this error originated. Apparently in the fact that the 'Encyclopædia Britannica,' in 1859, got the date wrong—the ninth edition omits it altogether—and all American books of reference found it easier to follow that than to look in the three carefully prepared biographies, or in the *Tribune Almanac*, or to consult the newspapers. The error in 'Appletons' Cyclopædia' is peculiarly noticeable, as both its editors were Mme. Ossoli's friends, or at least acquaintances, and both were connected with the New York *Tribune*, whose annual almanac had given the date correctly. It all illustrates the extreme tenacity and vitality of an error.

—The Incorporated Society of Authors held their annual meeting on the 15th of January, in the Whitehall Rooms of the Hotel Metropole, London. The one question of vital importance, to English and American authors alike, which came up for discussion was the new American Copyright Bill. But Sir Frederick Pollock, the Chairman, Mr. Walter Besant, and the few who spoke on the subject, were very cautious and non-committal. There seemed to be a general feeling that the less said until the bill had actually passed, the better. Then Sir Frederick Pollock thought it would be time to give serious consideration to that clause which provides that a book to be copyrighted must be printed from type set up

within the limits of the United States; but even then it would be wise for authors to wait until those who are most interested pronounce an opinion or take active steps. However, no matter what the fate or drawbacks of the act, he suggested that a vote of thanks be passed by the Society to the American authors who had supported the bill, and this motion was eventually proposed by Mr. Besant and, needless to say, unanimously passed. Mr. Besant delivered himself of the opinions published in last month's *Author*, the organ of the Society, which are briefly these: Pirates will not be smitten with confusion by the act, because of the large stock of stolen property they have on hand, and because copyrights are always expiring. They will not be able to pay for the best new British books, but for second and third-rate publications they will offer a five-pound note for the copyright, and this will be accepted by British authors, who, Mr. Besant seems to think, will take anything they can get. And as for the printing, it will not be done altogether in America—in the first place, because, with a successful book, the cost of composition is a trifle; and in the second, because there lives not "a caitiff Briton so vile as to allow, if he can prevent it, his work to appear in his own country in the vulgar and debased spelling adopted in the States." Spelling will be dearer to the British author than filthy lucre, for all that eagerness with which he clasps a five-pound note! It may be interesting to mention that the Society of Authors are thinking of founding an Authors' Club in London on the same lines as those of the well-known institution of the name in New York.

—Perhaps there are good reasons why an Englishman of letters should bless the narrow seas that separate him from France, and wish they were a whole Atlantic broad, but these reasons do not relate to his fame as a writer or to the understanding of the man or of his work. In these regards the Channel is now as wide as the Pacific. The *Revue Bleue*, the best informed and most judicious of the French weeklies, furnishes some good evidence of this in its number of January 3. It is speaking of the death of the late Dean of St. Paul's (which took place on the 9th of last December), and says of him, that Dean Church "occupied himself but little with theology; his recent book on St. Anselm was much more a literary study than a religious work. But his books and essays on Dante, on Spencer [*sic*], on Bacon are, in point of originality of ideas and of a natural elegance of style, works of the first rank, and they will be reckoned among the best productions of English literary criticism." The 'St. Anselm' is not precisely a recent work, since the main part of it appeared in the *British Critic* in 1843, but that is a matter of not much consequence. The great mistake of the *Revue* lies in its confusion of what were no more to Dean Church than literary recreations with what he considered his serious work. He was first and foremost and always a priest of the English Church. Neither Keble nor George Herbert delighted more than he in the life of the country parson. No one at Oxford was more active than he in the years that preceded Newman's secession, and there was perhaps no man who had in those days more of Newman's confidence and affection. Certainly his position in connection with the great leader of the Oxford movement was much more important than that held either by Frederick Oakeley or William George Ward; and after Newman's departure the part he played was more important still. With his friend, Sir Frederick Rogers (afterwards Lord Blachford), James Mozley, and Mountague Bernard, he founded the *Guardian*, which has been through the last fifty years probably the most weighty of the English Church newspapers. Church wrote much in its columns, contributing to them down almost to the last week of his life. When he became, most unwillingly, Dean of St. Paul's, there was a marked contrast to be seen between his attitude towards the work there and that of his literary predecessor. His full sympathy and help went to those of the Chapter who have revolutionized the cathedral and turned it from what was merely a showplace, with an admission fee of twopence to be paid at the door, into what the *Times* lately called "the home and centre of church life in London."

—While it seems plain to any one who considers Dean Church's life that he was—what he always looked upon himself as being—first a priest, and after that a man of letters, still it would be a mistake to look upon him merely as an ecclesiastic, or at all as a narrow ecclesiastic. His sympathies were as wide as his culture. No knowledge and no persons who possessed knowledge of any sort seemed to be indifferent to him. "Any one of note, whether it was a Benedictine from Portugal seeking information in the Bodleian, or a Syrian explorer like Mr. Hormuzd Rassam, or a famous botanist like Professor Asa Gray, or a rising naturalist such as Dr. Sclater then was, or an eager physicist like Frank Buckland, was sure of a welcome from him in the Oriel common-room." Fraser, Clough, Matthew Arnold, Henry Coleridge, were his companions at Oriel and his friends; and while he was perhaps more closely bound to men, like James Mozley and Charles Marriot, who shared his theological sympathies, he was often to be found with Stanley or Jowett or Lake, Balliol men of quite a different cast of mind from his own. Mark Pattison distinguishes him by perhaps the only tender or gentle judgment that is to be found in his mordant autobiography: "There was such a moral beauty about Church that they could not help taking him" for a fellowship. Stanley hailed his coming to St. Paul's with great delight. In point of literary style, Church's writing is nearly as good as that of his master, Newman. It is perhaps more perfect—perhaps too obviously perfect—literary English. But if the reader misses in Church something of Newman's grace and ease, he will miss also some of the rather careless freedom which the greater writer at times permitted to himself. Church, to turn back for a moment to what we were saying above, had the opportunity once to serve Newman in a very public and marked way. He was one of the two proctors who, after Ward's degradation and the condemnation of his book, interposed to prevent the Oxford Convocation from proceeding to the condemnation of Tract No. 90 and of Newman by the famous veto, "Nobis Procuratoribus non placet!"

REID'S LIFE OF LORD HOUGHTON.

The Life, Letters and Friendships of Richard Monckton Milnes, First Lord Houghton. By T. Wemyss Reid. 2 vols. Cassell & Co. 1890.

Richard Monckton Milnes, Lord Houghton, was an unusually interesting type of a kind of person characteristic of England, and indeed not to be found outside England—the man of fashion and society who is also something of a man of letters and something of a politician. Such men are plentiful and usually deserve no record beyond that of those who remember their good dinners. But when they evince exceptional capacity in any one of these three lines, their triple aspect makes them men of consequence, giving them, it may even be, a niche in the history of their times. Of Richard Milnes it may be said that he was really eminent in one of these lines, that of the man of society, and might perhaps, had he exerted himself, have been eminent in literature also, for though his work was scanty, it has quality; and though it is now but little read, those who read it are sure to value it.

He was born in 1809 — the birth-year of Abraham Lincoln, Tennyson, and Gladstone — the son of a wealthy country gentleman in southern Yorkshire, who had made a brilliant début in the House of Commons three years previously, but soon abandoned politics for the easier life of a landlord and sportsman. He was sent in 1827 to Trinity College, Cambridge, and had the good fortune to find himself there in the midst of a singularly able and brilliant group of undergraduates, some of whom afterwards became famous. To this group belonged Alfred Tennyson and one of his brothers, Thackeray, F. D. Maurice, John Sterling, Arthur Hallam, Edmund and Henry Lushington, James Spedding, C. R. Kennedy, and G. S. Venable. Connop Thirlwall, afterwards Bishop of St. David's, Whewell, and Julius Hare were tutors. To know and to be liked by these men was itself an education and an admirable start in the world. When he left the University, young Milnes travelled a good deal and began to write. His verses had considerable merit, and as their merit was aided by a *succès d'estime*, they soon made their way and brought reputation to their author. Presently, in 1837, he entered Parliament as member for the (now extinct) borough of Pontefract, and, after eleven years of service as an independent Tory, joined the Liberal party, showing, however, his old detachment from party ties no less in the new than in the old affiliation. In 1863 he quitted the House of Commons only to become, on Lord Palmerston's nomination, a peer, and continued to take a part, though not an active part, in politics till nearly the end of his life.

The advantage of a double or triple career like this is that success in one direction may bring consolation for failure in another, and that it makes life altogether fuller, richer, and more interesting than the career of a mere politician can be. Its defect is, that it almost invariably prevents a man from attaining the highest distinction in any one line. He who does many things well scarcely ever does one thing consummately well; and, in the press and competition of modern life, there really is not time, even for a man in whom the literary temper does not injure the capacity for practical work, to excel both in literature and in statesmanship. Milnes, however, was not really suited for politics. He had all the external aid that any one could desire, but his mind was too fastidious and critical to acquiesce in that subjection of individual impulse and opinion to the necessity of party co-operation which the party system of England makes imperative. Although he was a man of keen sympathy, he had not the power of divining and bringing himself into harmony with the main current of feeling in the people; and he was consequently liable to grave errors in judgment and foresight. His father, professedly a Tory, was in favor of the Reform Bill of 1832; he, fresh from the stimulating influences of Cambridge, was opposed to it. Subsequently he nearly lost his seat by advo-

cating a scheme which, whatever might be said for it on the merits, had never the least chance of success, viz , that of endowing the Roman Catholic clergy in Ireland. He felt bitterly Peel's omission to give him, in 1841, the post of Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, for which his knowledge of the Continent of Europe seemed to render him specially fitted. Peel, it is plain to readers of this biography, thought him too light a weight for serious political work—more than sufficiently clever, but not likely to run quietly in harness, and capable of vivacious sallies or expressions of individual opinion which might embarrass his colleagues in the Government.

For social success, on the other hand, he had a rare combination of gifts—a quick intelligence, a lively wit, a kindly temper, infinite curiosity, especially about his fellow-men ; a great power of making himself pleasant, yet with sarcasm enough to be able to diffuse a slight sense of alarm—the whole coupled with just so much of singularity in his manners as gave a flavor of originality to everything he did. For fifty years he was a conspicuous figure in London society, knowing everybody worth knowing, and full of recollections of everybody who had been eminent in the generation next before his own. This social fame not only interfered with his success in politics, but with his literary reputation. Most of those who saw him in his later days had never read or had forgotten his poetry; and his prose writings, though always marked by grace of expression and refinement of taste, were comparatively slight, and addressed to a relatively small circle. But the almost unique position which he occupied enabled him to be of some service to literature in general, and to do many helpful acts to individual literary men. His biographer mentions a few out of countless instances in which he bestowed not merely money (which would have been, considering his wealth, no such great test of a good heart), but time and trouble upon those who had attracted his sympathy by ability and misfortune. Mr. Wemyss Reid has done well to bring out this, because Lord Houghton, who in all things loved paradoxes and enjoyed mystifications, wore, at any rate in his later years, an air of cynicism and worldliness which, though it was hardly noticed by intimate friends, who knew it to be superficial, often did him wrong with the world at large. Apart from these instances of benevolent aid to struggling authors, the book is full of proofs of Lord Houghton's sensitive tenderness and of the warmth of his friendships.

These friendships are the pleasantest feature in the biography. His inexhaustible interest in many sorts of subjects and men made him a sort of meeting-point for different social streams. Hardly any of his contemporaries was equally well fitted to be a common friend to persons unlikely to be friends to one another. Thus the book becomes an agreeable picture of the world of literature and politics in England from 1830 to 1870. From a great many entertaining anecdotes and letters we select a few of Arthur Hallam, who will go down to remote posterity as the "A. H. H." of Tennyson's 'In Memoriam.' Monckton Milnes wrote in 1828, when they were both undergraduates:

"I have a very deep respect for Hallam. Thirlwall is actually captivated with him. He really seems to know everything, from metaphysics to cookery." . . .

"Hallam opened at the Union [debating society] in a maiden speech against the decapitation of Charles I. last night, but he did not succeed very well. I opposed him at some length, but am afraid I was too flashy. Indeed, I find it hard to trace the line between passion and rant. . . . The London Union does not seem half so good as ours. Sterling [Carlyle's John Sterling] spoke splendidly, and Mill made an essay on Wordsworth's poetry for two and three-quarter hours which delighted me, but all the rest was meagre in the extreme."

The following deliverance from Victor Cousin (fall of 1829) is delicious :

"I had a delightful two hours' conversation with Cousin this morning, mostly on politics. One of his remarks was : 'What is it makes Lafayette a mere idol of the public, and B. Constant a *phraseur*, and Wellington and Peel mere engines of state? They are not metaphysicians. For a man to be now a statesman he must first be a philosopher.' He embraced me most affectionately."

Here are notices of two famous Germans whom Milnes saw at Bonn in 1830 :

"I am to be introduced to Schlegel [Augustus]. He thinks a great deal more of rank and political eminence than anything else, so I wish I could say that papa had been Chancellor of the Exchequer, if it was only for twenty-four hours. ["Papa" had been offered that office in 1806, but refused it.] He is insufferably vain of his person, though near seventy, and arranges his wig from a little looking-glass in his snuff-box, and ill-natured people say he rouges."

"Milnes [says Mr. Aubrey de Vere in some admirable pages of reminiscences of his friend] drew to us in 1831 a vivid picture of Niebuhr's profound grief at the downfall of the restored monarchy in France at the renewal of the Revolution in 1830. He was delivering a series of historical lectures at the time, and Milnes was one of the young men attending the course. One day they had long to wait for their professor ; at last the aged historian entered the lecture-hall, his form drooping and his whole aspect grief-stricken. 'Gentlemen,' he said, 'I have no apology to make for detaining you ; a calamity has befallen Europe which must undo all the restorative work recently done, and throw back her social and political progress perhaps for centuries. The Revolution has broken out again.'"

Another anecdote from 1830 : "I have only heard two stories by way of news : one that the Duke of St. Albans asked the showman of the Siamese boys, who you know are joined together, whether they were brothers ; and the other, that Prince Leopold, being recommended to read Plutarch for Grecian lore, got the British Plutarch by mistake, and laid down the Life of Sir Christopher Wren in great indignation, exclaiming there was hardly anything about Greece in it."

In 1844 the present Queen gave a state fancy ball which excited much curiosity at the time. Milnes, who had shortly before published his first volume of poems, announced his intention of appearing at the ball in the character of the poet Chaucer, in a dress the details of which were superintended by Macready. Wordsworth, as poet-laureate, had received an invitation to it, though not wholly pleased at having to begin his attendance on such revels at seventy-five years of age. The patriarch of English poetry, when told of the young poet's intention, exclaimed: "If Richard Milnes goes to the Queen's ball in the character of Chaucer, it only remains for me to go to it in that of Richard Milnes."

There are superb letters from Carlyle, too long to be here extracted; and some excellent sayings of Sydney Smith, together with some letters from him, one of which deserves quotation. Several epithets, or rather nicknames, to which Milnes objected had been given to him, and rumor ascribed their authorship to Sydney Smith. Milnes, who was still a young man, was annoyed at this, and wrote to his elderly friend a letter of remonstrance. Sydney Smith replied as follows:

DEAR MILNES: Never lose your good temper, which is one of your best qualities, and which has carried you hitherto safely through your startling eccentricities. If you turn cross and touchy, you are a lost man. No man can combine the defects of opposite characters. The names of "Cool of the Evening," "London Assurance," and "In-I-go Jones," are, I give you my word, not mine. They are of no sort of importance; they are safety-valves, and if you could by paying sixpence get rid of them, you had better keep your money. You do me but justice in acknowledging that I have spoken much good of you. I have laughed at you for those follies which I have told you of to your face; but nobody has more readily and more earnestly asserted that you are a very agreeable, clever man, with a very good heart, unimpeachable in all the relations of life, and that you amply deserve to be retained in the place to which you had too hastily elevated yourself by manners unknown to our cold and phlegmatic people. I thank you for what you say of my good humor. Lord Dudley, when I took leave of him, said to me, "You have been laughing at me for the last seven years, and you never said anything which I wished unsaid." This pleased me. Ever yours,

SYDNEY SMITH.

Many years afterwards Lord Houghton himself showed this letter to his present biographer, saying, "Don't you think that that was an admirable letter for an old man to write to a young one who had just played the fool?"

Of Milnes's own witticisms some good specimens are given, but we do not find one of the sharpest. It was addressed to a lady of rank who had been dilating to him upon her triumphs, and had wound up by saying, "In fact, I have had hundreds of men at my feet." "Chiropodists, I suppose," was the reply.

Of the sixty years of active life which these volumes cover, it is noticeable how much more interesting the first thirty, 1825–1855, are than the thirty which bring us down to the end of Lord Houghton's life in 1885. This is not to be explained merely by the greater curiosity which people feel about the generation whom they have not known as contemporaries. Any one who makes a list of the eminent Englishmen who flourished in the former period and compares that list with a similar one of the prominent figures of the latter period, will be struck by the superiority of the earlier generation and of the society of London then to the society of London now. The same remark is often made regarding France and Germany. One often sets such reflections down to the familiar *laudatio temporis acti*. But this Life has made us feel that there is some real foundation for the complaint that England has begun to enter a sort of period of eclipse, such as occasionally happens to all countries, and such as she experienced between 1720 and 1770.

It only remains to say a word as to the editorial part of the book. Mr. Reid has done his work with eminent taste and skill. If he has somewhat overstated the literary merit and social importance of his hero, this is a fault which may be easily pardoned to a biographer who was also an intimate friend. His own remarks are so just and so pertinent that we are sometimes inclined to wish he had given us more of them. He has been scrupulously careful to avoid wounding the susceptibilities of living persons—a task very difficult in dealing with the correspondence of a man who heard so much and said so much about his fellow-creatures; and he has succeeded, while not concealing the vanities and oddities of Monckton Milnes, in making him live before us not only a very bright and clever, but a very kindly and genial man, in whom many of the best features of diverse and even opposite types of character and profession were happily blended.

ERICSSON.

The Life of John Ericsson. By William Conant Church. 2 vols., 8vo. Charles Scribner's Sons.

JOHN ERICSSON was born July 31, 1803, at Longbanshyttan, in the mining district of Nordmark in Sweden. His parents were well educated and well off, but when John was about eight years of age his father failed in business, and the family was reduced to poverty. Olaf Ericsson removed to Forsvik, where he obtained a position as engineer, and gave his two boys every advantage which he could obtain for them. John made remarkable progress in mechanical drawing, and, with his brother Nils, was finally appointed a cadet in the mechanical corps of the Swedish Navy. Through the patronage of Count Platen, he was afterwards employed as engineer on the Göta Canal. He next entered the army, where his skill in topographical drawing stood him in good stead. In 1825 he made the first of his recorded inventions—an engine in which air heated by a flame expanded in a cylinder. This was the germ of the caloric engine of his later years. In May, 1826, Ericsson went to England on leave of absence, but eighteen months later resigned his commission in the army and began his mechanical career. He soon became intimate with John Braithwaite, a manufacturer of machines, and afterwards formed a partnership with him. His fertility of invention showed itself in a number of contrivances, of which we need only mention a hot-air engine, a plan for transmitting power by compressed air, a boiler with artificial draught, and a surface condenser for steam-engines. The two last, in principle, at least, are still in use. The invention of the steam fire-engine followed in 1828, and was received in England with violent and, for a time, successful opposition. Gradually, with improvements, it everywhere replaced the old hand-machines.

In April, 1829, the directors of the Liverpool and Manchester Railroad offered a prize for the best locomotive engine. A trial took place on the 8th of October of the same year, the competitors being George Stephenson with the *Rocket*, Braithwaite and Ericsson with the *Novelty*, and three others of little or no account. Stephenson had all the advantage of experience, having been for five years at the head of an establishment for making such locomotives as were in use on colliery tramways. He had five months' time to construct his engine, and was also able to test it on a railroad before the final trial. Braithwaite and Ericsson had but seven weeks in which to build their engine, and no opportunity to test it. Stephenson's engine was better and more solidly built. The trial was on a piece of road only two miles long, and the competitors were obliged to run backward and forward over less than two miles of track. Owing to various defects in workmanship, the *Novelty* could not complete the required distance, and the prize was awarded to Stephenson. The *Novelty*, however, easily ran past the *Rocket*, and the sympathy of the press and the public appears to have been strongly with Ericsson. We have the testimony of Couper and Vignoles that the *Novelty* ran with them on one occasion at the rate of fifty miles an hour.

After a number of inventions which were at best only partially successful, Ericsson returned to his air-engine. Robert Stirling obtained a patent somewhat in advance of Ericsson, but his engine was never practically successful. In 1833 Ericsson devised his regenerator, an apparatus by which the hot air going out after expansion in the cylinder communicated heat to metallic tubes, which, in their turn, served as sources of heat to the entering cold air. The principle of this contrivance was really a very old one, and had also been used by Stirling. Practical difficulties prevented the general use of the caloric engine, but small pumping-machines are still in use, and very recently a splendid success appears to have been obtained by the hot-air engine of Woodbury, Patten & Woodbury. A number of minor contrivances followed, but we will name only a very successful deep-sea sounding instrument depending on the compression of air.

In October, 1836, Ericsson married Amelia Byam, a young lady of good family, handsome, and a fine musician. As he himself said, however, Ericsson was not fitted for domestic life. His wife followed him to America, but soon returned to England, and the two never met again. They continued, nevertheless, to correspond, and Ericsson contributed liberally to his wife's support.

In 1836 Ericsson devised a screw propeller, the form of which was afterwards copied for the steamer *Princeton*. The next year he made a small working model, and in 1837 he designed an engine for driving the propeller by the direct action of the pistons upon the shaft, a method of fundamental importance, and the parent of the modern system of screw propulsion. Various unsuccessful attempts had been made to replace the paddle-wheel by the screw. Of these the most noteworthy is the Archimedean screw of Francis Pettit Smith, a contemporary rival of no mean achievement. Ericsson patented his invention, and in 1837 launched upon the Thames the *Francis B. Ogden*, a vessel only 45 feet long, which towed a schooner of 140 tons at the rate of seven miles an hour. The Lords of the Admiralty could not, however, be induced to adopt Ericsson's plans. One misfortune followed another. The firm of Braithwaite & Ericsson failed. Ericsson was sent to the Fleet, but finally secured his discharge in bankruptcy. Other successful screw propellers were built by the assistance of his friends Ogden and Stockton, but Ericsson was, as usual, too far in advance of his age. The new system slowly forced itself upon the attention of practical men. Robert F. Stockton, a lieutenant in the United States Navy, and a man of wealth, intelligence, and political influence, saw the value of the invention, and a vessel was built for him by the Lairds at Birkenhead, and proved a signal success. Several smaller vessels were also constructed and were successful, but the inertia of an unintelligent public opinion could not be overcome. Ericsson decided to remove to the United States, and arrived in New York March 23, 1839. Within ten years afterwards twenty-four merchant vessels had been fitted with screw propellers. Stockton secured an order to build a frigate of 600 tons for the navy, and the *Princeton* was begun in 1842. All the plans for this vessel were drawn by Ericsson at Stockton's request, Ericsson leaving his remuneration to the generosity of the Government. Stockton paid Ericsson $1,150 for his services to himself, assuring him that there would be no difficulty about his pay from the Navy Department. Ericsson gave Stockton a bill and receipt for $1,150, and Stockton then used this to extinguish Ericsson's claim against the Government, and Ericsson was never paid.

Ericsson had brought with him from England a wrought-iron gun in which hoops or rings were shrunk upon the breech in two superposed layers. Stockton constructed a similar gun of bad material imperfectly welded, but bored and finished under Ericsson's direction, and called the Peacemaker. The story of the bursting of this gun on board the *Princeton* February 28, 1844, is familiar to all. The *Princeton* proved, however, a great success. Stockton claimed the whole merit of her construction, and in a report to the Navy Department did not even mention the name of Ericsson. The *Princeton* was the first successful application of steam in naval warfare. The genealogies of inventions are always hard to trace, and the claim of Ericsson to the substitution of the screw for the paddle-wheel has of course been disputed, though it is not difficult to show that others only attempted to do what he succeeded in doing. The direct action of the piston upon the shaft of the screw has, we believe, not been claimed by others. The *Princeton* was the first steam ship-of-war in any proper sense of the term; the screw, boiler, and machinery being placed beneath the surface of the water.

Ericsson again took up his plans for hot-air engines. He made great advances in theory and practice, and decided to apply the principle to a large vessel. The "caloric" ship *Ericsson* was accordingly built, and on February 16, 1850, made a trial trip to Washington. The speed of the vessel was, however, only eight miles an hour. On her return to New York she was struck by a tornado and sank. She was raised, but it was finally decided to take out the hot-air engines and convert her into a steamer. We can hardly do otherwise than regard the *Ericsson* as a failure, but Ericsson never lost faith in the final success of the principle of the engine.

The breaking out of the Civil War in the spring of 1861 gave Ericsson a long-desired opportunity. The Confederate Government early began the construction of iron-clad vessels, and in July, 1861, Secretary Welles recommended the appointment of a board to inquire into the necessity of constructing armored steamers or floating batteries. Both France and England had at the time a number of iron-clad steam vessels, no one of which resembled in any respect the plan which Ericsson proposed. The board, September 16, 1861, reported in favor of three plans: Ericsson's floating battery; a broadside vessel of 3,266 tons, afterwards known as the *Ironsides;* and lastly the *Galena*. This last vessel was designed by C. S. Bushnell, who was subsequently associated with Ericsson in building the *Monitor*, and whose very interesting letter to Secretary Welles, written long afterwards, is well worth reading. A contract was at last secured, and even before the usual formalities were completed the keel of the *Monitor* was passing through the rolling-mill. The vessel was put into commission, under command of Lieut. Worden, on February 26, 1862. We must pass over many interesting details which even now it is impossible to read without emotion. The story of the memorable battle between the *Monitor* and the *Merrimac*, March 9, 1862, need not be related here. Ericsson always maintained that if the officers of the *Monitor* had had a few weeks' practice with the vessel, the *Merrimac* would have gone to the bottom on the very first discharge of the fifteen-inch gun in the turret. As it was, Ericsson's triumph was complete, and he was overwhelmed with congratulations at home and abroad. Congress passed a vote of thanks. Russia and Sweden at once accepted the *Monitor* as the solution of the problem of naval attack and defence. On the 16th of March succeeding, Ericsson received and accepted a proposition to build six gun-boats on the plan of the *Monitor*, and later two monitors of the larger

class, the *Dictator* and the *Puritan*, one of which, against Ericsson's urgent and in the end successful protest, was to have two turrets.

The *Monitor* was sent up James River, and withstood without injury a heavy cannonade from forts. O her successes followed. Capt. Worden with the *Montauk* destroyed the Confederate ship *Nashville* under the guns of Fort Macallister. The *Manhattan* gave the finishing blow to the ironclad ram *Tennessee* in Mobile Bay. At Fort Fisher the monitors lay for three days under fire, with the loss of only three men. The first shot from the fifteen-inch gun of the *Weehawken* knocked down forty men on the ram *Atlanta*, which, after two or three more shots, surrendered. Finally, the *Miantonomoh* crossed the Atlantic in perfect safety, while the *Monadnock* rounded Cape Horn and reached San Francisco. The success of the monitor system was complete, but the strong opposition of ignorance, prejudice, and class pride was but slowly and partially overcome.

At an early period of his life Ericsson had devoted much thought and study to the subject of "sub-aquatic" attack, his plan being to discharge an explosive projectile from a tube lying near the bottom of the attacking vessel and with valves at each end. After various plans, he constructed in 1877–78 a vessel called the *Destroyer*, and in 1880 he was able to announce that from this vessel a torpedo was discharged two hundred and seventy-five feet in a direct course under water. In the navy this project met with both opponents and defenders, but in the end was rejected.

In his old age Ericsson devoted himself to the construction of a sun-motor or engine—air or steam—to be moved by the reflected heat of the sun. A certain measure of success was attained in this way. The first motor was constructed in New York in 1870. Ericsson made a large number of experiments in solar radiation, and continued to work in this field with his usual energy until his death on March 8, 1889.

In his best years Ericsson was strikingly handsome and possessed of immense bodily strength. With some very marked faults of character, and as he grew old with much eccentricity, he possessed very noble qualities. He was generous even in his poverty, supported needy relatives, and forgave mean enemies and treacherous friends, while his long life of eighty-six years was full of usefulness and of good deeds. The picture of Ericsson's old age painted by his biographer with truthful colors is well worthy of contemplation. It is the portrait of a man in whose strong face there are still lines of weakness. Col. Church has done the work which Ericsson intrusted to him with great labor and with more than charity. He has written one of the best and most interesting biographies on record. There is, perhaps, a little too much detail, and yet no reader will regret it. In concluding our notice we may be permitted to express the hope that Ericsson's letters to and from other engineers will be collected and published. They must contain the inner history of much of the best mechanical work of our century.

How the Other Half Lives: Studies among the Tenements of New York. By Jacob A. Riis. Charles Scribner's Sons. 1890.

THIS book exhibits two tendencies that are especially prominent in these latter days. One is the disposition to study the pathology of society, to examine the manner of life of criminals, paupers, beggars, and incapables generally; the other is the propensity to regard social therapeutics as consisting in a change of material conditions. As to the first of these tendencies it is probable that the general softening of manners has led to a positive increase of benevolent feeling. More persons are sincerely disturbed at the thought of human misery, and more persons are in position to interest themselves in any movement that has for its object the relief of this misery. But on the other hand, with the softening of the heart, there tends to come a softening of the head. Much learning of slums and sweating-houses has made some social reformers mad, and acquaintance with the hideous details of human depravity and wretchedness has resulted in wild outcries against the government of God as well as the government of man. Nor is it to be denied that the exploiting of these horrors has sometimes been undertaken for sensational purposes, for the gratification of that uneradicated if not ineradicable taste for whatever is foul, which finds a more exquisite satisfaction in the filth of fact than in that of fiction.

Mr. Riis, however, has evidently been animated by the best of motives in making this study of the dark side of life in the city of New York; and while he is occasionally overcome by the appalling character of the sights that he has personally witnessed, his account of them is generally marked by sobriety and self-restraint. He does not quite lose sight of the fact that not all dwellers in tenement-houses are on the point of starving to death, or live under vile conditions. His aim is to let us know the worst, and it is not surprising that especial emphasis should be laid upon whatever intensifies the darkness, but he allows us at least to see that there is another side. His book is by no means so thorough and even scientific as that compiled by Mr. Booth upon East London, but it is an excellent presentation of many superficial aspects of the life of the poor in a great city. He takes us with him on his visits to Gotham Court and Cherry Hill, to Chinatown and Jewtown and Little Italy, to "The Bend" and "Hell's Kitchen" and "Murderers' Row," and he tells us what is there to be seen and heard and smelt. There is much sameness in it all, and the difficulties of the situation are as manifest at the beginning of the tour as at the end. These difficulties Mr. Riis does not seem to us fully to appreciate.

For he is an illustration of the second tendency of which we have spoken. In his view the tenement-house is the root of all evil, and the only hope of improving the characters of degraded human beings consists in improving their dwellings. There is something to be said in favor of this view, but Mr. Riis offers sufficient evidence of its insufficiency. So long as the administration of penal law is what it now is, so long as the treatment of the inmates of penal institutions is unchanged, so long as some of our charitable institutions are managed as they are, and so long as the city of New York continues to be the common dump of the outcasts of the world, the building of improved tenement-houses will not put to flight the powers of evil. Almost the only people whom Mr. Riis heartily denounces are the landlords. It is their greed that is responsible for the wickedness and misery of their tenants. But unless they live in tenement-houses themselves, it is evident that character is not determined by the nature of the residence; and it is instructive to find Mr. Riis elsewhere maintaining that this selfsame greed, by turning itself to the construction of buildings for business purposes, has accomplished more good than all other reformatory agencies.

The truth is, that Mr. Riis has grappled with a more extensive problem than he supposes. It is not difficult to devise remedies for the evils that he describes. The difficulty lies in the application of these remedies. Given a mass of human beings leading lives of which it is desired to raise the standard, how shall this be done when the government of society is in the hands of these people? A benevolent despot could make New York clean, healthy, and beautiful for less money than is now spent in keeping it dirty, unwholesome, and hideous. He could equalize wages by putting a stop to the tyrannical monopoly of trade unions; he could raise wages by preventing the influx of workers contented with a low standard of living and of workers for whom there was no place. He could, at the same time, increase wealth by subjecting idlers and criminals to a reformatory discipline that should only terminate with their reform, and by saving the waste of misdirected and pauperizing alms. But how shall these things be done by the very people whom it is desired to elevate? How shall the tenement-house be reformed by the dwellers in tenement-houses?

Desperate as the situation is, the spectacle of the devoted labors of countless noble workers to better it is grand and exhilarating. The mere money poured out in charity that is known is computed to be $8,000,000 a year, and much giving by the right hand is unknown to the left. More valuable than money is the wealth of love and sympathy and Christian endeavor that flows like a river from both rich and poor. Mr. Riis gives most encouraging testimony as to the results of these labors; in his opinion the situation is improved ten-fold over what it was a few years ago. It is demonstrated that tenements in which self-respecting people may live can be made to pay a fair return upon the capital invested, and the great work of the Charity Organization Society renders the labor of the benevolent far more effective. Mr. Riis is not always discreet; he seems to give his assent to the extraordinary proposition that American women who reside in the country ought not to sew upon cheap clothing, because they come into competition with a degraded class of immigrants that choose to herd like pigs in the slums of the Tenth Ward of New York. But he has given his readers much material for thought, and his book is to be commended to those who wish to be informed as to the nature and extent of tenement-house life. The photographs with which the work is illustrated are not very clear, and quite fail to suggest the squalor that they are intended to represent.

Emblematic Mounds and Animal Effigies. By Stephen D. Peet, Editor of the *American Antiquarian*. Chicago: *American Antiquarian* Office. 1890. 8vo, pp. 351. Illustrated.

THESE mounds have ever been a stumbling-block in the path of the American archæologist, and it is with a feeling of regret that we are forced to confess that there is nothing in the present volume that is calculated to remove the obstacle, or that can, in any way, help us to a satisfactory conclusion in regard to the origin and uses of these structures. The questions involved are difficult—some of them, perhaps, are impossible of solution; and it was no doubt for this reason that almost all the writers who have thus far grappled with the subject, have dealt with it in the cautious manner that befits an investigation in which

many of the factors are, and must from the nature of the case remain, unknown.

Regarded from this point of view, the contrast between this work and those that have preceded it is very marked; for although, as a matter of fact, our author repeatedly admits that it is not always easy to identify these animal-shaped figures, yet it is very evident to any one who will take the trouble to examine the volume, that he is not embarrassed by doubts upon this or any other point upon which he finds it necessary to express an opinion. Thus, for instance, when referring to the disagreement between Lapham and himself as to the likenesses that are said to exist between certain mounds and the animals which, it is supposed, they were intended to represent, he tells us (pp. 23, 45, 54, etc.), that that writer "called birds crosses, and panthers lizards"; and that "he seemed to lack the faculty of imagination, or some other quality, which should have enabled him to trace the resemblances in the right direction." We are also told (p. 79) that "naturalists, as a class, are not acquainted with the habits and haunts of the animals, and are poor in their representation of animal life." "A surveyor" (p. 29), it is thought, "who is able to take accurate measurements and then to plot the effigy, is most likely to be accurate in his conclusions," though even he would fail unless possessed of "some imagination . . . so that the contour and complete figure can be given," since "a mere mechanical plotting will not convey the idea of resemblance."

This certainly makes short work of Lapham and the whole tribe of naturalists, but it does not satisfy our author. He now goes a step further, and, having brushed aside (p. 76) the "ordinary surveyor," and (p. 79) all but a few sportsmen, he assures us (p. 70) that when speaking of the attitudes of the different animals as represented in these mounds, "the points which he makes are perceptible to him while they are imperceptible to others," thus closing the door, so far as he was able, to all possible contention.

Being thus informed of our author's qualifications, there is, of course, no occasion for surprise at anything that occurs. Accordingly, when we are told (p. 6) that an animal-shaped mound described by Lapham as having several humps on its back, "is a moose," or when (p. 51) certain figures are identified as fishes, though "the shape of the fish is lacking," we recognize it as a proof of the superior insight by means of which our author discerns likenesses that either do not exist, or are not visible to ordinary mortals.

These, however, are but special instances, and do not give us an idea of the flights of fancy in which he indulges when treating of these mounds collectively. Thus, for example, although he speaks (pp. 27, 29, 70, 87, etc., etc.) of the liability to mistake these resemblances on account of "the size" of the mounds, their "indefiniteness," "the obliterations" made by time, and the "strange distortion" that was practised, yet he finds no difficulty in identifying the figures of fifty or more different kinds of animals, some of which, in size and shape, are as much alike as rabbits and hares, hawks and falcons, and weasels, minks, and skunks. Indeed, in one case, he is so far carried away as to assert that "the lofty flight and extensive vision" of the eagle is shown—a statement that may well be doubted in view of the limitations supposed to be inherent in this kind of work. Nor is this all, for, forgetful, apparently, of what is said about the indefiniteness of these animal-shapes and the difficulty of recognizing them, he tells us (pp. 53, 78, 80, etc., etc.) that they are formed with "remarkable skill," "are life-like," "true to nature," etc., etc.; and this in face of the fact that no two observers agree in characterizing them, and that Lapham, whose account of them is the best that we have, cautions us against accepting these resemblances, and does not hesitate to say that there is no evidence that the figures which "for convenience" he calls lizards, but which, according to our author, are panthers, were intended to represent the lizard, or an animal of any kind. In fact, our author himself admits that it is sometimes hard to distinguish between these different shapes, and (p. 302) he figures an animal which "may be taken for a mastodon or a coon," depending upon which end is regarded as the head.

But while we are not insensible to the wonder-working power of the imagination, there are times when it is inadequate to the demands made upon it. Take, for example, the statement (p. 50) that the eagle is never represented with a forked tail, and how is it possible, even in fancy, to reconcile it with the figures (pp. 37, 91, etc.), in which eagles are pictured with forked tails; or, how, by any exercise of the imagination, can we justify those references to Lapham in which, unintentionally no doubt, that writer is made to see (pp. 6, 38, 88) a moose, a serpent, and a game-drive, when he either says nothing of the sort, or so qualifies his assertion as to make it comparatively useless in an investigation which is or ought to be based on facts? But enough of this. From what has been said, a good idea can be formed of our author's peculiar method of work; and if we have dwelt upon it longer than its importance merited, it was because this portion of the work was chiefly descriptive, and it seemed probable that here, if anywhere, a careful observer might be expected to avoid inconsistencies and reckless assertions even if he did not attain accuracy.

Of the various purposes for which these mounds are said to have been erected, of their hidden significance, or of the motives, religious and otherwise, which are supposed to have actuated their builders, we have not the space to speak. Fortunately, however, the loss from this cause cannot be great, as these are matters about which nothing definite is known. Anything, therefore, that we might say would be more or less speculative, and hence of but little value in an investigation of this character. That some of these mounds may have been intended as clan emblems is possible, and so, also, it is possible that serpent worship, in some form, may have existed among the people who built them; but that they manifest (p. 96) "a strange mixture of material symbolism, of religious tradition, of tribal custom, and of wild life," are subjects about which we certainly know nothing, and after a somewhat careful examination of our author's utterances upon these and kindred topics, we do not find that he is much wiser. Theories he gives us, any number of them, and some of his statements are very positive upon matters that are supposed to be beyond the reach of human effort; but the evidence to sustain them is often lacking, and even in those cases in which facts are brought forward to support his positions they are not always to the point. In an investigation of this sort, we need not remind him, facts are wanted, not speculations, and those facts, to be of any weight, must be relevant.

In conclusion, we may be permitted to say that we do not object to the inference that these mounds were, in all probability, the work of some one of the Dakota tribes (pp. 249, 289, 297), "presumably the Winnebagos." So far as we know anything about the matter, there is no reason why they might not have built them, though we do not see how this statement can be reconciled with the fact (p. 133), if it be a fact, that "the effigy-builders possessed a different cultus" from the modern Indians, and that while we should perhaps call them Indians, "they were Indians of an unknown tribe." The two statements conflict, and it requires a stronger imagination than we happen to possess to bring them into harmony. Such inconsistencies, unfortunately, are only too frequent, and they make it difficult to take this book seriously.

Record of the Life and Work of the Rev. Stephen Higginson Tyng, D.D., and History of St. George's Church, New York, to the close of his Rectorship. Compiled by his son, Charles Rockland Tyng. E. P. Dutton & Co. 1890.

MR. TYNG'S loyal and affectionate record of his father's life is in two parts. The first, comprising eight chapters, is mainly autobiographical—the first three chapters purely so; the others, with additional notes, explanatory and illustrative. While the second part does not disappoint the expectations which it properly excites, it is much less interesting in its manner than the autobiographical portions of the preceding chapters. These give us first an over-dose of family history, from which it appears that Dr. Tyng was an Episcopalian by long ancestral right; indeed, that he was more Episcopalian than Tyng by native right, his father's name having been Dudley Atkins till it was changed to meet the wishes and receive the doubtful inheritance of the last of the Tyngs in Tyngsborough, Mass. He was a direct descendant of Gov. Dudley of Massachusetts, and on his mother's side from Francis Higginson, the first minister of Salem, whence, possibly, an evangelical strain of blood tempering that from the paternal side. The century was exactly two months old when he was born in Newburyport, Mass. When eleven years old, he went to Phillips Andover Academy, and got no learning, but much piety from the proximity of the Theological Seminary. Here was the first not merely conjectural influence working him to an evangelical temper. Between meetings on Fast Day, 1812, he engaged in an impromptu prayer-meeting with five other students, and all six became distinguished clergymen. This shows the quality of his environment. In 1814 a sermon by Dr. Gardiner Spring, then preaching in Newburyport, confirmed the Andover impression.

He graduated from Harvard College in 1817, in the class which started Caleb Cushing on his dubious career, and which also gave us the late George Bancroft. A brief period of commercial life followed his graduation, in the course of which he was converted in the instantaneous manner than which Wesley recognized no other. He studied theology with Bishop Griswold of Connecticut, whose temper was so evangelical that he had prayer-meetings, then a daring novelty in the Episcopal Church. Thus steadily impressed, young Tyng entered the ministry in full possession of those Low Church principles which dominated his career. Theologically he was not a good Episcopalian, for his theology was always Calvinistic, not Arminian; finding its centre not in the doctrine of the Incarnation, but in the doctrine of the Atonement. He was a conspicuous representative of a religious tendency foreign to the natural bent of his church, and

he fought for it a losing battle. There are less to do it reverence every year.

His first of many controversies—he was in hot water off and on his whole life through—was in Georgetown, D. C., with his first bishop to whom his Calvinism was an abomination. His next settlement, in Prince George's County, Md., was the most interesting of the five in his succession. He had not, as he reckoned, a Christian in his congregation. He preached in taverns, and his texts were "straight out from the shoulder" every time: "The show of their countenance doth witness against them"; "Woe unto them that rise up early in the morning to follow after strong drink," and so on. From 1829 to 1834 he was Rector of St. Paul's, Philadelphia, and from 1834 to 1845 of the Church of the Epiphany in the same city, and here he had his first phenomenal successes in preaching and church organization. In the Onderdonk controversy he was with the Pennsylvania Bishop until it became a question of his personal character, but against the brother in the New York bishopric throughout, not believing Onderdonk guilty, but holding that his influence for good was gone. But it is difficult to resist the impression that Dr. Tyng had ever a keener scent for theological than for moral obliquity. In Philadelphia began his passionate interest in Sunday-schools—another example of his fondness for the methods of the unepiscopal churches and his desire to engraft them on his own.

In the second part of the biography, we have first a history of St. George's Church, New York, with which, after 1845, Dr. Tyng was identified for the remainder of his life. Dr. Milnor had made it a fit garden for his successor's Calvinistic seed. Here Dr. Tyng found full scope for his organizing force and skill. In numbers and financial strength the church became a fine and proud success under his administration. This, as felicitously expressed by his eulogist, was that of a "judicious autocrat." The biographer is at pains to show that his father was not an extremist in his anti-slavery views. The wonder is that he should ever have been thought so—for he was a colonizationist after the Fugitive-Slave Law—until we remember that one did not have to be extreme to be considered so in the days of that iniquity. When the war-time came, Dr. Tyng was quick enough to draw the moral of emancipation. Later he was a strenuous fighter against the ritualist party and for Episcopalian "liberty of prophesying" in non-episcopal churches. Of the free intellect he had no conception, and for its activity nothing but vehement denunciation. The dogmas of the Church were for him infallible truth, and any doubt of them was sin.

Dying September 3, 1885, he lived long enough, before the clouding of his intellect, to see the growth of tendencies which to his mind were full of evil promise. He had other cause for sadness in the waning of his great success. When his mind was much enfeebled, his automatism, as the new psychologists would say, was still equal to the most copious extemporaneous prayer. Take him for all in all, there is small chance that we shall see his like again in his Church, which is getting further every year from his ideal. There is not a suggestion of his vigorous and effective personality in the frontispiece engraving, which presents a face of the most approved ecclesiastical inanity.

Grundzüge der Bibliothekslehre, mit bibliographischen und erläuternden Anmerkungen. Neubearbeitung von Petzholdts Katechismus der Bibliothekslehre von Arnim Gräsel. Leipzig: J. J. Weber. 1890. 12mo, pp. xii., 424.

THE first edition of Petzholdt's 'Katechismus' was published in 1856, the third (substantially unaltered) edition in 1877. His grasp of the subject and the general correctness of his views are best evinced by the large part of the original book which Dr. Gräsel has been able to retain. This new revision is thorough, and the editor has brought the work up fully abreast of the latest ideas. The catechistic form has been abandoned; the material has been rearranged, partly rewritten, and greatly augmented; notes have been added epitomizing the opinions of the most important dissenters from the conclusions which Dr. Gräsel himself adopts, and citing with praiseworthy care and fulness the literature upon each point discussed. American librarians cannot fail to be gratified at the just preponderance, among these citations, of references to the *Library Journal*. It was scarcely to be expected that a German, writing in and for German conditions, would adopt every device approved by the experience of American libraries; but dissent does not imply disapproval—on the contrary, a chief merit of the book lies in the author's constant recognition of the fact that the system found best for one library may not be at all good for another.

In the introduction, Dr. Gräsel defines his subject and describes its principal literature, both books and periodicals. The text he divides into two main parts: first, of the building, personnel, and finances; second, of the books. The first part occupies eighty-five pages and consists of three chapters, the longest being devoted to the much controverted subject of buildings. The second part, which extends to 230 pages, is also divided into three chapters. The first chapter considers the establishment of the library, the cataloguing, the shelf-arrangement and numbering, and the care of the books. The second chapter treats of the increase of the collection, *i. e.*, the nature and sources of accessions, the accessions-list, binding, and the incorporation of accessions among the books already assembled; the third chapter, the use of the books, divided into General rules for readers, Reference use, Lending use. The text is followed by seventy pages of notes in fine type and eleven pages of index.

In such a mass of details we can glance at a few only of the more important. The remarks on buildings are certainly not novel; it is the same sad story of cross-purposes, failure of the architect to consider the purposes of the library, failure of the librarian to understand that there are some architectural impossibilities and may easily be many architectural monstrosities; for America, one may add, failure of trustees to use patience or even decent consideration towards either party. Still, it is interesting to find that the practical defects which Mr. Poole, for instance, finds in most of our library buildings, including some of the most splendid, have also come to light, or rather to darkness, in many of the architectural palaces that house Continental libraries. Any one who has tried to read in the twilight that reigns at high noon in many alcoves at Wolfenbüttel or Munich will heartily echo these sentiments:

"In building stalls for horses and cattle, one seldom forgets to consider whether location and plan are sufficiently adapted to the ends for which the building is intended, and whether in its arrangement proper attention has been paid to the needs of its future inhabitant, the cherished cow; why is it not reasonable to ask that the same question should receive equal attention in planning for a library building the milch cows' stall to which thousands of thirsty scholars resort?"

Cataloguing is discussed at some length. No specific rules are given, but the writer attempts to state those fundamental principles upon which the cataloguer in any library, by paying due regard to its peculiarities, should be able to frame a working code. He pronounces in favor of an alphabetical author-catalogue, with full, perhaps too full, titles, and a briefer systematic subject-catalogue. The dictionary catalogue is an inadequate substitute for these two, and a third catalogue, alphabetical by subjects, a luxury. He would gladly see the use of manuscript catalogues by readers more generally allowed than is common in Germany, but cannot convince himself that it is possible to grant all readers that free use of manuscript catalogues which has been permitted for years not only in the principal libraries of America, but also in the British Museum. The system of shelf-classification he considers a matter to be settled by each library for itself. Still, he admits that general systems, while they cannot be expected to fit equally well the few symmetrical collections and the many deformed, may nevertheless offer valuable suggestions to a librarian who is attempting to solve his own concrete problem.

On the whole the 'Grundzüge,' although they form more properly a new book than the revision of an old one, offer few novelties. Yet it is possible, without unfairness to several other good books, to regard Dr. Gräsel's as the most important single publication on library economy since the issue of the Bureau of Education's special report on 'Public Libraries in the United States.' The intervening fifteen years have seen the establishment of the American Library Association and the Library Association of the United Kingdom, each publishing a successful journal, and the birth of the *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, the *Bulletin des Bibliothèques et des Archives*, the *Rivista delle Biblioteche*, and the *Anuario del Cuerpo Facultativo de Archiveros, Bibliotecarios y Anticuarios*. A great number of valuable observations have been made and some useful conclusions reached. Dr. Gräsel has skilfully summarized the most important of them, and at the same time, by means of his bibliographical notes, has furnished a useful index to the most important papers on different parts of library economy available either in the technical periodicals or elsewhere.

Les Communes françaises à l'époque des Capétiens directs. Par Achille Luchaire. Paris: Hachette & Cie. 1890.

SINCE the appearance of Carl Hegel's epoch-making work, a great number of studies have appeared upon the origin of the mediæval municipalities and their constitutional forms, but there has been need of some trustworthy work, not written to advance any particular theory, but presenting the best results of recent investigations and giving a general view of the whole movement. This need, so far as France is concerned, has now been met by this volume of 300 pages from the distinguished historian of French institutions. The book does not present the results of special studies of the author's, but aims to present his interpretation of all recent investigations in a connected account of the communal movement as a whole.

On the question of origin, the author holds that no trustworthy evidence has been presented for the Roman theory, and that not

much better can be said for the German. The essential element of the commune as an institution—the confederation formed by the inhabitants under the guarantee of a mutual oath—is an application of the common mediæval practice of association for all sorts of objects, a practice which is neither exclusively German nor Roman in its origin, but universal. In some cases, at least, the commune appears as only a transformation of some one of these local religious or commercial associations into a wider association of the whole body of citizens. The communal revolution itself grows, like all such movements in history, out of a need of the time—the need of the people to protect themselves against feudal exactions.

An especial feature of the book is the clearness with which the author presents this idea, the communal movement as an outgrowth of feudalism, analogous to the contemporary and later peasants' revolts. The whole process is regulated and controlled by the forms and ideas of feudalism. The commune, when successfully established, becomes in its corporate capacity a feudal person, with all the rights and duties implied in that idea. The territory of the commune is transformed from territory directly subject to the suzerain into a sub-fief, as in any other case of subinfeudation, and the city through its representative offers the vassal's oath and receives the oath of its lord. In this capacity of feudal person the commune has its right of local legislation, of independent jurisdiction, and of maintaining an armed force, and it may also in this capacity have vassals of its own. Of course, in every case this feudal position is not perfectly realized, but the tendency is always towards this result.

In showing, however, the origin of the general impulse to the formation of communes, one has not explained the origin of the special communal institutions, and here there is yet large room for investigation. It seems clear that many of these institutions are of much earlier origin, and are adapted by the commune to its new needs. The *échevins* descend, without doubt, from the *scabini* of the Frankish county organization. Here it may be possible in the case of some cities to trace a Roman influence upon single institutions, though it must be carefully remembered that the continued use of a name does not indicate in the least the continuance of the institution. In general, it must be kept in mind that what characterizes feudal society as a whole is also a characteristic of the communal side of it—that forms of institutions and phases of right and privilege differed widely in different localities. This is, of course, still more the case when we step outside the bounds of the nation; and a work similar to this on the German cities would show decided variations from the French type.

Mrs. Thrale, afterwards Mrs. Piozzi: A sketch of her life, and passages from her diaries, letters, and other writings. Edited by L. B. Seeley, with nine illustrations after Hogarth, Reynolds, Zoffany, and others. New York: Scribner & Welford. 1891.

Mr. Seeley has a more hackneyed subject to deal with in this volume than in his similar popular and pleasing accounts of Horace Walpole and Fanny Burney, but he succeeds as well as the nature of the case allows in interesting his reader in Mrs. Thrale's side of Johnson's association with her. The story, so far as Johnson is concerned, is too well known to permit of any freshness; the most that Mr. Seeley can attempt is to show how this friendship affected Mrs. Thrale's happiness, what kindness and patience she exercised towards her guest, and how well she bore herself at the end, when Johnson wrote that violent letter to her with regard to the marriage with Piozzi. On the whole, we think Mrs. Thrale gains the more her circumstances are looked into. She was mated, not by a love-match, with a husband whose treatment of her was certainly lacking at times in respect and delicacy, and she served his interests and tastes with entire fidelity; she did not fail in the obligations which the kindness of the house alone imposed on her, towards Baretti or Johnson, and both of them were inmates of trying temperaments and habits. She was both intelligent in literary conversation and able in financial affairs, so that she assisted her husband in his business difficulties as much as in entertainment to his friends. When Mr. Thrale died, her own nature asserted itself more independently, and finally she married the man she loved, Piozzi; and because he was an Italian and a musician the world was scandalized, her old friends made brutal attacks on her, the press laughed at her, and altogether she was made to suffer whatever society can invent in the way of annoyance in such a case. The story of her life with Piozzi, her various books, and her long social career after her return to London, is the freshest portion of the volume; and whether Piozzi or herself be looked at, the result is wholly honorable to them. She owes her remembrance, of course, to her relation with Johnson, but she was herself a remarkable woman, of very diversified talent, full of energy and feeling, and successful in what she undertook. Mr. Seeley has brought out her qualities admirably, using old material, it is true, but revamping it; and he has added, as usual, a number of admirable portraits of Reynolds, Baretti, Garrick, and others which are an ornament to the book.

The Philosophy of Fiction in Literature: An Essay. By Daniel Greenleaf Thompson. Longmans, Green & Co. 1891.

Mr. Thompson writes in a style half-way between the philosophical and the literary upon the well-beaten topic of the right method of fiction. He asks wherein the interest of a novel lies, and then proceeds to show what part in its composition is taken by the merely reproductive and the merely creative faculties of the mind. He summarizes the naturalist theory as expressed by Zola and Guy de Maupassant, and illustrates his position from the critical writing of the latest French and English essayists; and at the end concludes that the idealists have the best of the argument—largely because the realists are found to use ideal methods to a certain degree. There is nothing very novel in the discussion, and perhaps attention would not be attracted by it were it not that, toward the close, the author enters on the question of the propriety of fiction including in its survey the erotic motives. His view is conservative, but at the same time sufficiently frank, and in our judgment more than sufficiently tolerant. He says that American fiction, however we may blind our eyes to the fact, has already lost the purity that once characterized it; and while he does not confuse his mind with any illusion as to the real ground of the popularity of these works of our later days, he seems disposed to accept the facts of popular taste and to allow more latitude of subject and treatment of what has been hitherto tabooed among respectable readers. We note the expression of these opinions, in a work professedly philosophical and openly moral in its claims, as a sign of the drift of the times. That many novels hitherto considered immoral are in circulation among us, though little noticed by the press, is an open fact. The justification of them by criticism is yet to come, and to this point the author has not arrived; but the tone of his remarks is an indication of the extent to which old standards are becoming relaxed, and, if we are not at fault, this relaxation is in reality much greater in the minds of the reading public than has yet appeared in the printed expression of literary opinion. The influence of French criticism, following French novels, may perhaps account for Mr. Thompson's views.

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Black, H. C. Treatise on the Law of Judgments. 2 vols. West Publishing Co.
Brugmann, K. A Comparative Grammar of the Indo-Germanic Languages. Vol. II. B. Westermann & Co. $5.
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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 12, 1891.

The Week.

TREATIES of reciprocity have a natural tendency towards free trade on an enlarging and widening scale. It was for this reason that the treaty of reciprocity with Mexico was favored by the advocates of tariff reform some years ago, and it was for the same reason that it was shelved by the protectionists in the House of Representatives. It is for this reason that reciprocity with Canada, whether on a large or small scale, has been generally favored by the former and generally opposed by the latter in time past and is so now. The arrangement made with Brazil does not carry any such implications for us, because the articles admitted free of duty to our ports are already free independently of the new arrangement. Coffee, the chief article of export from Brazil to this country, has been free of duty for nearly twenty years. On the other hand, there is nothing in the new arrangement to prevent us from putting a duty on coffee or sugar, or any other Brazilian product, if our revenue requirements should make it necessary. The arrangement runs "on and after April 1, 1891," but has no fixed period of continuance. Accordingly, it is terminable by either party upon reasonable notice. It amounts, therefore, to the free admission by Brazil of certain products of this country which are now taxed, and to the admission of certain other articles at a reduction of 25 per cent. on the general Brazilian tariff without any action on our side. There is nothing to prevent Brazil from extending the same advantages to any other country that does now or may hereafter admit her products free of duty. Therefore we cannot say how much advantage we shall gain by the arrangement.

The idea that this country has been losing some $60,000,000 a year by trading with Brazil, which has been sedulously maintained by high public authority at Washington, finds an echo in an interview with one of our merchants published in the *Times* of Friday, in these words:

> "In my opinion every product on which the 25 per cent. reduction is made can now be sent profitably to Brazil from America. At present the United States pays Brazil over $70,000,000 annually and only gets $9,000,000 in return. I think that in three years Brazil will be paying us in return for our manufactures and products over $25,000,000 a year, and that great sum will be in active circulation throughout the commercial veins of the country."

According to this calculation, we shall still be $45,000,000 out of pocket each year, and although this will be better than our former plight, we may well ask how long we can stand it. Phrenologists ought to take some steps to find out why the Yankees will go on trading with the Brazilians at such a fearful sacrifice, when there is not a tribe of dwarfs encountered by Stanley in Central Africa, or of full-grown savages by the most enterprising explorer in Borneo or in the bush country of Australia or in the hill country of Thibet, that would continue it six months after their chieftains had shown them that they were losing money by the operation. Mr. Blaine has been promising us a prosperous trade with South America, but if he cannot do better than to cut our losses down from $61,000,000 to $45,000,000 per annum, then thank you for nothing. We lost, according to him, $49,000,000 in 1889 in our trade with Cuba, and, we suppose, had the same ruinous experience last year.

Friday was a very disastrous day for the free-silver-coinage advocates. They were voted down 8 to 4 in the House Committee, and were defeated in their efforts to have their bill made a rider to the Sundry Civil Appropriation Bill. The outlook for the passage of the bill by the House is now more dubious than ever—so dubious, in fact, that Mr. Bland, one of its most strenuous advocates, says he considers the bill as already dead. He made the amusing declaration, on leaving the Committee meeting in high dudgeon, that the bill had been "smothered" by the action of the Committee in allowing delegations from various commercial bodies in all the largest cities of the land to appear and make arguments against it. That is the first time we remember to have heard of a measure being "smothered" by publicity. It is very evident that what is "smothering" it to its death is the aroused intelligence of the country, which is rapidly awakening to a proper sense of the financial disorder which a descent to the silver standard would bring about.

Mr. Michael D. Harter, Congressman-elect from the Fifteenth District of Ohio, has been interviewed on the silver question by the Canton (Ohio) *News-Democrat*. Being asked what would be the effect of free coinage of silver, he said that it would drive $600,000,000 of gold money out of circulation and contract the currency to that extent, and that "this would mean general bankruptcy compared with which 1857 and 1873 were years of prosperity and periods of abundance." Being asked whether free coinage would not be an advantage to some people, he replied that it would be a benefit to all holders of silver bullion, because every person holding 75 cents' worth would wake up and find that he could pay 100 cents of debt with it; but since not more than one man in 10,000 of the population has a silver mine, or any silver bullion, the bill would be the worst kind of class legislation to benefit a few at the expense of the many. Asked, further, if free coinage of silver would not benefit the debtor class, he said that the debtor class consists mainly of the employers of labor, who owe wages to their workmen, while the creditor class consists of the millions who have wages due to them, or deposits in savings banks and in building associations, and life-insurance or other claims payable in money, all of which it is now proposed to scale down from the gold standard to the silver standard, *i. e.*, 20 per cent. Mr. Harter said that he did not know one owner of a silver mine, or one holder of silver bullion, in his district, but he did know of 160,000 men, women, and children who were vitally interested in getting pay for their work and for their claims of every sort at the rate of 100 cents on the dollar, instead of 80 cents. Being asked what would be the effect on the Democratic party if it were identified with free coinage, he said that the party would lose all the Eastern States that it carried last November, and that the free-coinage issue "would not bring into the Democratic column a solitary State in the Union" to make up for those losses. Mr. Harter is a Democrat, a manufacturer, and a tariff-reformer of pronounced views. He was elected to Congress last fall by nearly 3,800 majority in the district where Senator Sherman has his residence. His voice will be heard even more distinctly when he takes his seat in the next House.

The amendment of the Copyright Bill in the Senate is most unfortunate, not only because the change is not an improvement, but because it promises to postpone for possibly two years the national recognition of property in books and the national condemnation of the practice of robbing foreign authors. It is of vast importance to obtain this, even if the form in which it is obtained should be very imperfect. Large numbers of publishers among us justify this practice to their own consciences by the plea that the law does not forbid it. If it were forbidden by law, even by a very poor law, the reign of morality in this particular branch of business would be restored, and the legislation on the subject could receive subsequently any such improvement as experience might call for. It will not do, however, to despair as yet. There is not much time left to pass the bill as last amended, but there is time, and it ought to be diligently used. There is no great interest in the matter in this Congress, but there will certainly be less in the next—a fact worth remembering just now.

The Pension Appropriation Bill was passed in the Senate on Thursday. It appropriates for pensions for the year $133,173,085; for fees and expenses of examining surgeons, $1,500,000; for salaries of eighteen pension agents, $72,000; and for clerk hire, $400,000—a total of more than $135,000,000. During the discussion, Mr. McPherson inquired of Mr. Allison whether the amount appropriated in the bill would be sufficient for the year. Mr. Allison replied that he believed it would be, but admitted that there might be a deficiency of

five, six, eight, or ten millions. In other words, the expenditures for pensions during the year must reach at least $135,000,000, and may rise to $145,000,000. Nineteen years ago the annual appropriation for pensions fell short of $35,000,000, and General Garfield, as Chairman of the House Committee on Appropriations, said: "We may reasonably expect that the expenditures for pensions will hereafter steadily decrease, unless our legislation should be unwarrantably extravagant."

The rapid progress which the Senate is making in doing the public business since the attempt to pass the Force Bill was dropped shows that there was not the slightest necessity of a "gag rule" for any other purpose than to get that partisan measure through. An attempt was made to cultivate the idea that the Senate must abolish the system of free discussion in order to perform its necessary work, but there was never any sincerity in the claim, and its absurdity is now apparent to everybody. The only effect of the long controversy over this question is that the Senate must work harder from now until the 4th of March than it would have had to do if so much valuable time had not been wasted by the Republican Bourbons.

Senator Ingalls's speech explaining his attitude toward the Force Bill was chiefly remarkable for the attack which he made in it upon Messrs. Reed, McKinley, and Lodge. These three Republican leaders have been especially free in their censure of Mr. Ingalls because of his refusal to play the part of Czar in the Senate and crowd the Force Bill through that body in the same way in which Speaker Reed crowded it through the House. Now Mr. Ingalls "gets even" by saying:

"It was related that the streets of Jerusalem had been kept clean by every man sweeping before his own door, and he commended to the self-constituted guardians of the consciences of their associates (outside of the Senate Chamber) that they should observe a more frugal, prudent, and guarded husbandry of their disapprobation. Those leaders who had conducted the most powerful political organization known in American history to the most stupendous and overwhelming disaster received in its annals, might well pardon those who were disposed to doubt the infallibility of their judgment."

This is an entirely moderate estimate of the results of the Reed-McKinley-Lodge leadership; but what gives Ingalls a deeper sense of the "stupendous and overwhelming" character of the "disaster" is undoubtedly the part which he played in it. As he looks at "Judge" Peffer, with his "gruffly hoarse but low-toned voice, issuing from a sea of long dark beard flowing nearly to his waist," it is small wonder that his language towards Reed and Co. becomes "iridescent."

The Special Committee which Speaker Reed "packed" with great care and great disregard of precedent in such cases, for the purpose of not finding evidence in support of the charges against the Commissioner of Pensions, Gen. Raum, have concluded their labors, and are about to present a majority report declaring that they have been entirely successful, and that no really damaging evidence against Gen. Raum was able to get a hearing in their presence. The Democratic minority intend to present a quite different report, but of course the House will pay little heed to that, and will adopt the "whitewashing" verdict. At the same time we doubt if there is an intelligent person in the country, who has followed the inquiry, who will be influenced at all by the majority's finding. We observe that several Republican newspapers are saying that this finding will be a great disappointment to Democrats and Mugwumps, since they are responsible for the assault upon the Commissioner, and will be humiliated by its failure. This view is based upon a misstatement of the facts. The leading assailant of the Commissioner was the Washington correspondent of the New York *Tribune*, who was ably and bravely sustained in the editorial columns of the paper. There are no signs yet that the whitewashing verdict has produced a change of attitude in this high Republican quarter.

A bill which seems to be in some respects a closer application of the principles of the English Corrupt-Practices Act than the New York law is, has been introduced in the Minnesota Legislature. It is the first American bill of the kind, we believe, which imitates the English requirement of a limitation for campaign expenditures. It limits the amount expended by candidates for State offices, United States Senate, and Congress to $1,000; that by candidates for offices in cities of over 15,000 inhabitants to $500, and that by candidates for offices in all smaller cities and towns to $250. It requires both pre-election and post-election publication of expenses, which is a new departure. It provides that fifteen days before election each candidate shall file a sworn statement with the proper officer, "showing in detail all moneys or other considerations contributed or expended by him, or promised to be paid directly or indirectly by him or through another person in aid of his nomination." After election, successful candidates are required to file similar statements of all expenses incurred in both nomination and election. The author of the bill, Senator McMillan, proposes to amend it to make it more stringent, and the first amendment ought to be one requiring sworn statements of expenditures in detail by all campaign and other political committees as well as candidates, for the failure to have such a requirement in the New York law has been shown in practice to make its evasion a comparatively easy matter. Senator McMillan is said to contemplate a provision forbidding candidates for United States Senator to incur any expense, and another making it a misdemeanor for any newspaper to sell its influence to any candidate.

Senator Saxton has given this State an opportunity to take the lead in a most important reform by proposing an amendment to the Constitution providing for the judicial settlement of all contests for seats in either house of the Legislature. As his bill is, we believe, the first formal step of the kind which has been taken in this country, though the subject has been discussed for many years both in relation to State Legislatures and Congress, it is worth while to quote its main provision in full. His bill is in the form of a concurrent resolution, proposing the amendment of section 10 article 3 of the Constitution, and making it read as follows, the added portion being italicized:

"Sec. 10. A majority of each house shall constitute a quorum to do business. Each house shall determine the rules of its own proceedings, and be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members, and shall choose its own officers. *But the Legislature may provide by law for judicial proceedings in the courts of the State to determine questions relating to contested seats in either house, and that judgment in such a proceeding shall be conclusive as to the election and qualifications of the person in whose favor it is rendered.* The Senate shall choose a temporary president when the Lieutenant-Governor shall not attend as President or shall act as Governor."

The provision which is embedded in all our constitutions, national and State, that each legislative body, Senate and lower house, shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members, was taken from the English, and dates back to the time in which there was no other place in which a power so susceptible of abuse could be lodged.

Aside from the partisan aspect of the matter, the expense attending the present system is enormous. According to Speaker Reed, during the last eight Congresses $318,000 has been paid for contests in the House, an average of nearly $40,000 a year. In addition to this a vast amount of time is consumed in the hearings which ought to be devoted to the public business. As to the transfer of the power to the courts, there is no question that the only way in which this can be done is by means of a constitutional amendment, as Senator Saxton proposes. In both national and State cases this must be done. Speaker Reed, who has earned the distinction of being the most partisan Speaker the American House has ever had, favors the transfer, declaring that our present system is "unsatisfactory in results, unjust to members and contestants, and fails to secure the representation which the people have chosen." He thinks that if Congress were to authorize settlement by judicial tribunal, and this tribunal's decision were to be acquiesced in by Congress for a few years, "there would spring up such a consensus of opinion that ever afterwards the House would cease to do more than record the decisions of the tribunal." He thinks that if the proposed bill for the relief of the Supreme Court could be passed, the number of circuit judges would be so increased as to enable the tribunal to be formed of them, and this would probably afford the most desirable material. In the various States the higher courts would have to be drawn upon, and there is no reason to fear

that their influence and standing would be in any way impaired by the duty.

A telegram from London informs us that the exports of cutlery from Sheffield to the United States have fallen off one-half since the passage of the McKinley bill. This is rather more than the American manufacturers of pocket-cutlery, who met in this city a few weeks ago to decide how much they should gouge the public, anticipated one year ago. These patriotic gentlemen held a private convention before the McKinley bill was reported from the Committee of Ways and Means, to decide what rates of duty they should ask for. Long experience had taught them the trick of asking for double what they expected to get, because former Committees of Ways and Means had been moved by conservative notions, and had generally assumed that all sorts of grabbers would put their demands higher than they ought to be, and had accordingly reduced them about 50 per cent. But, much to the surprise of the cutlery-men, McKinley gave them all that they asked for. Some of them were then ashamed that they had asked for so much, but all were alike astonished at the ease with which the money of the consumers had been voted to them. Fifty per cent. ad valorem would seem to be a sufficient tax on the public for their pocket-knives. That was the rate before McKinley took the job of lifting up the Republican party tariffwise. The McKinley rates are as follows:

Pen-knives, pocket-knives, and erasers, or parts thereof.	Rate.
Valued at not more than 50 cents per doz.	12c. per doz. and 50 per cent.
Valued at 50c. to $1.50 per dozen	50c. per doz. and 50 per cent.
Valued at $1.50 to $3 per doz.	$1 per doz. and 50 per cent.

These are the rates that were asked for by the cutlery-men. What they expected to get, and would have been entirely satisfied with, were specific duties of 6, 25, and 50 cents per dozen in addition to the former ad-valorem rate. The situation in which they now find themselves is excellently planned for the formation of a Trust.

The French protectionists have reached the McKinley state of mind and are demanding complete isolation from the outer world, and as much dearness as the law can give them. Apropos of the proposed denunciation of the commercial treaties with a view to a revision of the French tariff, M. Bourgeois, the French McKinley, attacked the Government for making certain reservations in its denunciations, and for proposing to retain in the treaties the "most favored nation" clause, which he pronounced "damnable" (*maudite*). France, he said, was, in matters of trade, fully sufficient unto herself, and he asked scornfully what had she "to do with abroad," and showed how greatly the domestic exceeded the foreign trade. In fact, with one's eyes shut, one might, in listening to his speech, have fancied one's self hearing the familiar drone of the Reed-McKinley organ. He was, it is true, repeating a good deal of the stuff which was talked by his party in the canvass before the last election, but wisdom has increased since then. M. Ribot, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, overwhelmed him in an eloquent speech, in which he protested vigorously against the notion that any nation could in this age of the world live alone, and warned the Chamber that the industries of exportation can only live by allowing abundant importation. He carried the Chamber against Bourgeois by 450 to 10—a terrible defeat for the ultras.

Twelve francs per hundred kilos is said to be the rate of duty intended to be put on pork by the French Chamber, in lieu of the prohibition heretofore decreed against the American product. This rate is equivalent nearly enough to one cent per pound, and is quite as good as prohibition for all purposes of protection to the French swine-herds and pork-butchers. We suppose that everybody in this country—at all events, every supporter of the McKinley Bill—will be entirely satisfied now. Surely Minister Reid ought to be, for he expressly told M. Ribot that we had no complaint to make against any rate of duty that the French Government might impose, but only against the imputation put upon our meats by the decree of prohibition.

The fall of Crispi, largely on a measure of taxation, shows that the financial question is more central in Italian politics than might have been inferred from the subordinate place assigned it in the speeches before the last elections. Even as it was, the Prime Minister was pushed pretty hard by some of the Radical debaters, and the solemn assurance that there should be no increase in taxation was forced from him in defence—an assurance that returned to plague him afterwards. A prominent feature in the speeches of one of his opponents, Cavalotti, was what was called a "workingman's budget." It set forth the earnings and expenses of an actual family of four hard-working people in Florence, and showed what a fearful proportion of the total income had to be turned over to the Government in the shape of taxes. This budget was carefully worked over, and the data of indirect taxation verified, by Signor Vilfredo Pareto, who published his results in the *Journal des Économistes*. The family's entire earnings amounted to $476, and its outlay for the year came within $5 of that sum. But of this outgo of $471, no less than $113 had to be paid in taxes, direct and indirect, or 23 per cent. of the entire expenses of the family. The share of the royal treasury was $69, the city took $24, the province $2, and the remainder, or about $18, went into the pockets of protected manufacturers and agriculturists. As may be inferred from this last specification, Signor Pareto has no manner of doubt that a protective tariff is a tax, and one of his columns is made up of the various assessments levied upon this family of laborers by landed proprietors and manufacturers. Indeed, one of the greatest merits of this "budget" as an economic study is the careful working out to reasonable approximations of the indirect taxes in the form of tariff discriminations, to which the food and clothing of the poor in Italy are subject. For example, this specimen family laid out $41.20 on clothing; but that sum included a tax of $7.41, of which $1.28 went to the State and $6.13 into the pocket of the protected manufacturer. In like manner, the family paid out for bread $77.40, in so doing turning over to the State $7.22, to the city $2,69, and to the protected producer $8.85. Some of the heaviest taxes, such as those on sugar, rice, and petroleum, are purely for revenue, as no domestic product comes into competition.

Such a showing as this of Signor Pareto's—and he works it out in detail for twenty-two articles of consumption—suggests the burdens under which Italian labor has to stagger, makes intelligible the expanding Italian emigration, and shows what misery at home Italy's new policy of foreign aggrandizement is causing. It is highly instructive to turn from the lot of workingmen in protected Italy to examine the state of the case in free-trade England. Fortunately, we have at hand an analogous English workingman's budget printed in the *Nineteenth Century*, in 1888, by Miss Miranda Hill. This was for a man and wife and five children, and showed expenses of about $385. The significant thing is, that, taking all the articles included in this English family's list of yearly purchases, and confronting them with the English laws of taxation, it turns out that taxes of all kinds amounted to no more than 4 4-10 per cent. upon the outgo, or less than one-fifth the Italian rate. There is no doubt that an American workingman's budget, drawn up on a similar scale and with similar scientific accuracy, is a desideratum. The idea is certainly well abroad now that tariff laws are tax laws; but this is too often a vague idea. If a veracious showing could be made of the average earnings and expenses of a typical laboring man's family, and of the proportion of the expenses which might fairly be set down to the protective tariff, it would be a most effective document for the campaign of 1892.

King Humbert has succeeded in finding a new ministry, with an old Garibaldian and Radical aristocrat, the Marquis di Rudini, at the head of it. It is made up of very heterogeneous material, of some men of much experience, and of some of none at all; but even if it were homogeneous, the chances would be against its lasting very long. Retrenchment is absolutely necessary to save Italy from ruin, and retrenchment seems incompatible with the maintenance of the Triple Alliance. In order to hold her place in it, Italy has to maintain an army and navy about twice too large for her resources. As soon as Rudini begins to cut down, he will come into collision with Germany and Austria, who will bring pressure to bear on him through the King.

LAW AND THEFT.

One of the oddest and most unfortunate phenomena in the history of the copyright discussion is the appearance every now and then, when the Pirates are ready to throw up their hands and ask for quarter, of some moralist or theologian to cheer them up and encourage them to make some further resistance, by proclaiming that the poor men have done nothing wrong, and that we must not call them hard names or despitefully use them. One such instance was afforded by the uprising of Dr. Crosby to justify, or at least palliate, the Rev. Dr. Funk's operations against the 'Encyclopædia Britannica.' We now have another in the uprising of Mr. Freeman, the English historian, to protest against the harsh language used by some English writers towards the House of Representatives for failing to pass the Copyright Bill last session.

Touching Mr. Freeman's protest, in his letter to the Philadelphia *Press*, against the use of bad language towards the House of Representatives or towards the Pirates, we have nothing to say. The strength of one's language is partly a question of taste and partly a question of expediency. We ourselves thought the epithets bestowed on the House of Representatives by some English periodicals unjust as well as unwise. But what concerns us now is the reasons Mr. Freeman gives for deprecating vituperation. One of them is that all property, and especially literary property, is the creation of law, and that copyright is "a purely artificial privilege," and that, therefore, it is highly indecent to speak of persons who publish other men's works without paying for them, as "thieves" or "pirates." That the historian of English liberty should offer the world, in such a cause, the plea that property is the creation of law is very curious, because there is hardly a step in the creation of the present English Constitution, from Magna Charta down, which was not a protest, in some shape, against the doctrine that a man's moral right to his goods and chattels is at all dependent on the provision made by law for his protection in the enjoyment of them. The great doctrine that taxation without representation is a thing to be resisted with the sword if necessary, rests on the very proposition which Mr. Freeman denies. When Hampden refused to pay the ship-money because he had not voted it through his representatives, seven of the twelve judges decided against him, and his refusal was therefore illegal; but he persisted in it, nevertheless, to the death, and all Englishmen now hold his memory in reverence therefor. The amount was trifling, but, as has been finely said, if he had paid it he would have been a slave.

Property, in truth, in its moral aspect, is no more a creation of law than justice is. It was created, as justice was, by the appearance of a second man on the globe. On each of the two there then promptly descended that great moral obligation which the friends of copyright now seek to have embodied in legislation —the obligation not to steal and not to covet his neighbor's goods, his ox or his ass, his man-servant or maid-servant, his wife, "or *anything that is his.*" This obligation existed before either parliaments or kings, before even the Ten Commandments. It arose out of the very nature of things. Mr. Freeman confounds, as do thousands of inferior men, the question of right with the question of security. Law cannot give a man a moral right to the product of his labor, nor can it take it away from him, a good illustration of which rule is to be found in the institution of slavery. The law deprived the negro of all legal rights, but it could not touch any of his moral or natural rights. What the law does for property is to give it security. It can by denying security, as in the case of literary property, make it worthless, but it cannot lessen the owner's right to it. It cannot diminish the moral guilt of stealing it from him. What the apologists of Pirates mean, therefore, when they talk of the law as a "creator of property," is simply that no man can without the help of the law get from property the sum of those pleasures which make it valuable. This may be true; but how can this fact excuse in the forum of morals the man who avails himself of this absence of legal defence to appropriate as much of his neighbor's goods as he takes a fancy to? Is it possible that when Arabs strip travellers in the desert, the offence is not robbery, but a failure of the law to create property in watches, guns, and camels in that particular region?

Mr. Freeman, in like manner, when he comes to speak of copyright as "a special privilege," confounds plagiarism and piracy. This is the most fertile source of misunderstanding in the whole discussion. In nine cases out of ten, a Pirate put on the defensive defends himself against not the charge of piracy, but the charge of plagiarism; and, in nine cases out of ten, moralists who take up the cudgels against the existence of literary property try to show the innocence not of piracy, but of plagiarism. What is a plagiarist? It is, says the dictionary, a man "who purloins the words, writings, or ideas of another and passes them off as his own." Now, it is no easy thing to convict a man of this offence unless he makes long textual extracts. The ownership of an idea, and even of forms of expression, is generally very difficult to trace. The same idea often occurs to hundreds of men at the same time, and often finds very similar expression at the hands of hundreds of different authors or writers. Therefore defenders of literary property have never attempted to set up the doctrine of "property in ideas" which opponents of copyright are so fond of attacking. They have never maintained that it is or ought to be unlawful to use a thought uttered by one man for the moral or mental culture of another man, or of forbidding the reproduction, in one man's book or speech, of as many ideas of other men as he can collect or recast to suit his purpose. Authors or writers who do this a good deal, undoubtedly incur discredit by it with their fellows and the general public. It greatly damages a writer's fame to be rightfully accused of want of originality, or of imitation, or of getting materials at second hand. But no one has ever proposed to punish or restrain this sort of misappropriation by law. No one has ever contended for the infliction on the purloiners of other men's ideas of any penalty but ridicule or disgrace, although their name is legion and their depredations ruthless and notorious; and yet a very large proportion of the Pirates and their apologists expend all their strength in showing that one man may lawfully appropriate another man's ideas for his own use or behoof, or even present them to the world as the product of his own brain

What the champions of copyright, both national and international, assail is, not the appropriation of one man's ideas for another man's use and behoof, *but the sale of one man's ideas and forms of expression in open market by another man in competition with the author.* This is "piracy." This is what we ask to have stopped and punished by law. We do not say to Pirates, You shall not take the Blacks' Encyclopædia to your home and prepare articles and speeches or even books out of its rich stores of information, and, if you are dishonest enough to do so, give them to the world as your own, or absorb as much of the facts and ideas as your mental powers will permit. What we say is, You shall not, while denying the right of property in it in the hands of the original author or compiler, treat it as property in your own hands, and offer it for sale in competition with the man whom you are plundering. We do not know how much reflection Mr. Freeman gives to questions of jurisprudence, but we feel sure that he will see at a glance that a man who treats as merchantable goods in his own hands something he has taken away from another man, is estopped from denying that it was property in the hands of that other man. Anything capable of being property in one man's hands must be property in the hands of every man who has come by it honestly. That Funk can take from Black something which Black has made, and open a store for the sale of it, and deny Black's moral right to it, on the ground that the law has made no provision for Black's protection in the enjoyment of it, is a doctrine of such monstrous mien that, to be rejected, it needs but to be stated.

Property in books might be further defended against selling Pirates by an appeal to the Golden Rule, but it is not necessary. It ought to be sufficient to close the mouths of all moralists on this question by asking them how they would *feel* if, after having spent thousands of dollars and years of labor on a book, a perfect stranger were to step in, reprint it, and begin to undersell the original owner in the open market. An honest answer to this question from the first Pirate one met would settle the question in the eyes of all moralists. But, as we have said, the contention that goods in which A is doing a roaring trade were not property in the hands of B, who manufactured them, and from whom they were taken,

when set up by A, perishes at once through its absurdity. One does not need to draw on the finer feelings of one's nature to dispose of it, and we are quite sure that no honest man who looks at it in this light has ever listened to it without finding plenty of abusive epithets rise to his lips.

WOMEN AND MEDICINE.

No more important event for women has happened for many years than the decision of the Board of Trustees of the Johns Hopkins Medical School—under the pressure of a gift of a hundred thousand dollars from the women of the country—to open its doors to women students. It may be considered the turning-point, for this country, of the fate of women as physicians. It is not that there are not already women physicians who are thoroughly well educated (in foreign schools), and who have found the large and lucrative practice which their talents have deserved; and it is not that all women who practise (any more than all men) will hereafter be required to take the post-graduate courses of the Johns Hopkins school. But the secret of women's rank in medicine, *as women*, depends upon the ability of the best women to hold their own by the side of the best men; when that is gained, the women of humble talents will fall into rank beside the men of humble talents, and it will be a question of the skill of a particular practitioner, and not, as now, of a particular sex. Until that is done, the woman physician herself cannot help feeling that it is the first part and not the second part of her descriptive title that rises large in the consciousness of those who discuss and fix her standing in the scale of accessible medical attendants. It is, therefore, for its effect upon the position of women in medicine in general, even more than for its effect upon the knowledge of the women who shall enjoy its unapproachable facilities for instruction, that the opening of the Johns Hopkins Medical School forms an era in the progress of women towards the assumption of their natural responsibilities and duties.

The *Century* for February contains a remarkable series of open letters in which the subject is viewed from various different points of view. The things principally dwelt upon, aside from the one which we have already mentioned, are the facility with which coeducation in medicine is carried out in Europe and in the West, and the special advantages which women, if well educated, will have over men in many special kinds of medical practice. On the former head, Dr. Osler gives the results of his observations last summer in the Swiss medical schools, at four of which women are now attending on the same terms as men, and into one of which, that of Basle, they were admitted after the Faculty had asked for and obtained a definite statement from the University of Zurich as to the feasibility of coeducation in medicine. As is well known, the Paris Faculty throws open laboratories, dissecting-rooms, class-rooms, and hospitals, without any condition except the possession of the necessary qualifications; and women have studied side by side with men, since 1866, in Italy, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Belgium, as well as in Switzerland and France. In this country there are thirty-eight medical schools, of one kind and another, open to both sexes. As Dr. Folsom well says:

> "With more than a score of women in a dozen States filling medical appointments which are by law open to their sex only; with the number of the women doctors in this country now reaching the thousands, and with a demand for their services so great that, even if inadequately trained, they only too readily find employment; when women are admitted in Europe to opportunities for medical education on the same terms with men, it seems almost a work of supererogation to explain and defend such facts, or to attempt to reason why they should or should not be."

On the subject of the peculiar adaptedness of women to the medical profession, several of the writers make very pertinent remarks. People in health are apt to forget of what immense importance to the patient is the *Stimmung* in which his doctor leaves him after his daily visit; a woman's quick comprehension of and active sympathy with physical, and still more mental, suffering are sources of alleviation of which it is difficult to overestimate the importance. Dr. Susan Dimock was wont to say, in her lectures to her pupils: "If I were obliged in my practice to do without sympathy or medicine, I should prefer to do without medicine." But if a woman's delicacy and penetration are of consequence with ordinary patients, they are absolutely indispensable with women in insane asylums and penal institutions and reformatories. To quote the words of Mrs. Josephine Shaw Lowell:

> "To a depraved woman no man dares to show tenderness or pity; he must feel and show to her only the moral repulsion which her degradation arouses in him. Should he long to help her, to lift and succor her, he is powerless, and he cannot show her even the common pity of one human being for another who is suffering; she will not understand it, and it can do her no good, but only harm." But "the entrance into her life of an absolutely pure-minded woman, who is also strong, intelligent, and kind, is a revelation to her; when such a woman shows herself full of tender pity, the elevating influence is wonderful."

It is rather remarkable that not a single one of these writers has a word to say on the question whether the quirls of a woman's brain have any peculiarities which necessarily unfit her from profiting by the most advanced medical instruction. It may, perhaps, be considered that that question was settled once for all some twenty years ago, when, after the death of Dr. Susan Dimock, above referred to, in the wreck of the *Schiller*, at the age of twenty-eight, Dr. Bowditch said of her: "I found her one of the most accomplished physicians I have met"; and Dr. Samuel Cabot: "In her short life, she acquired, in the face of many obstacles, an amount of medical knowledge and of surgical skill such as but few possess. Her skill and self-command in operating no one can appreciate who has not witnessed it."

Not the least interesting piece of information communicated in these letters is that contained in Cardinal Gibbons's graceful recognition of women in their new rôle. In the course of it he says:

> "It is perhaps not sufficiently understood that there is no obstacle in ecclesiastical or canon law to the education of women for the medical profession. Among the persons inhibited by the Church from pursuing the profession of medicine are included priests, monks, and clergymen generally, but not women."

The fiat has gone forth that in Baltimore it is not immodest for women to study anatomy and physiology together with men. Undergraduate coeducation the Trustees may perhaps be expected to hesitate over for some little time to come, but the question of admitting women to post-graduate courses (as we pointed out in these columns upon the occasion of the opening of Clark University) is a totally different matter. No women go through with such difficult work as they presuppose (and no men either) unless they have minds thoroughly occupied with serious questions, and unless they are of an age at which they can be safely trusted to take care of themselves. Must the women of the country form a separate organization and raise a separate large sum of money in order to effect their entrance into the adult schools of instruction of each of the great universities, or will some boards of trustees be found who will be willing to take such eminently wise action upon their own motion?

ECONOMIC METHODS IN GERMANY AND FRANCE.

THE recent debates in the Prussian Diet and the German Reichstag concerning economic matters, and the floating of the new French loan, are of interest alike to students of finance and of that modern science known as the comparative psychology of nations.

The Prussian budget for the fiscal year 1891 to 1892 was submitted to the Diet by the Minister of Finance, Dr. Miquel, in a speech of studied soberness. On its face it is by no means a discouraging exhibit. As in the past ten years, there is no deficit, and no new loan will be called for during the present year. The expenditures are estimated at 1,720,800,000 marks ($413,000,000) and the surplus at 33,600,000 marks. But there is a falling off of 65,000,000 as compared with the surplus of last year; the just demands of Government officials for increased salaries are only partially met in the present budget, and the Minister calls attention to the fluctuating character of the income from the Government railroads, which has sunk from 42,000,000 in the preceding year to a little over 5,000,000. This falling off is partly due to the inundations which visited Prussia during the past year, but in a greater degree to the increase in wages and the price of coal. Herr Miquel had already last November, in his speech on tax reform, dwelt on the insufficiency of the average surplus of even the last ten prosperous years as compared with a national debt of nearly 6,000,000,000 marks, and he again warned the Diet against entertaining too optimistic a view of the condition of Prussian finances. He pointed out that the direct taxes, which ten years ago yielded 150,000,000 marks, had since then increased only to 156,000,000, purposely ignoring the great gain in the revenue from indirect taxation,

and, as is supposed, paving the way for an increase of the direct-tax rate.

Simultaneously, the debates in the Reichstag on the proposed abolition of the corn duties furnished an instructive commentary on the general economic policy of the Government of the German Empire. Germany has for months been negotiating with Austria-Hungary about a new commercial treaty, involving a reduction in the import duty on corn. The entire abolition of the duty was demanded by the Freisinnige and Socialist parties, and, until recently, was stoutly resisted by the Conservatives. The German Chancellor himself, in alluding during the debates to the necessity of concluding commercial treaties with Austria and Italy, referred to France and Russia as the countries which still maintain a policy of commercial isolation, and plainly intimated that he was by no means hostile to a reduction of the corn duties, the abolition of the sugar bounty, and other measures tending to lessen the cost of the necessaries of life. He thus furnished considerable encouragement to the National Liberals, whose leader, Herr von Bennigsen, some time ago declared that the conclusion of a commercial treaty with Austria would lead to the abandonment of the rigid protection policy of Germany. Indeed, not only Liberal papers like the *National Zeitung*, but Conservative organs like the *Post*, which was formerly the mouthpiece of Varnbüler and Kardorff, the chief apostles of protectionism, have sounded the death-knell of the economic policy of Bismarck, still upheld by him through the *Hamburger Nachrichten*.

"Protective duties," says the *Post*, in an article which has excited general attention, "are a rude weapon, precisely as a blow with the fist is. But if one is attacked and receives a blow, he must retaliate with one. Therefore, countries which indiscriminately and from purely selfish motives use protective measures against us, must be treated by us in the same manner. On the other hand, in regard to countries with which we are in intimate economic contact, and with which we are politically on good terms, everything should be done to promote, as far as possible, unrestrained commercial intercourse. We cannot keep up a commercial warfare with the whole world, nor is the rest of the world determined to wage war against us as do the United States and our neighbor east of us. We shall never succeed in promoting the interests of agriculture solely by complete or partial protection."

After an exciting four days' debate, the motion for the reduction of the corn duties was rejected in the Reichstag by a majority of 210 against 106, but the defeat of the Freisinnige and Social Democratic parties was more apparent than real, inasmuch as it is expected that the Centre party will vote for the commercial treaty with Austria in due time, having rejected Herr Richter's motion only in order to strengthen temporarily the Government. The present heavy majority for the retention of the existing duties will enable the German Government to demand of Austria important concessions in the matter of freight rates before granting the asked-for reduction of the import duty on corn to three marks and fifty pfennigs.

While Germany is thus evidently preparing to adopt a more liberal economic policy than she has pursued for many a year, the tremendous financial success recently achieved by the French Government is incidentally interpreted as a refutation of the arguments of the extreme French protectionists, whose excessive demands had caused the Government serious embarrassment. The preparations for the issuing of the loan were made with that desire for dramatic effect which the French carry even into their financial operations, and which contrasts so forcibly with the German method of dealing with similar problems. The floating of the loan was to be, if possible, an even more striking demonstration of the financial strength of France than was the subscription to the loan of 1886, which was covered twenty-one times over. The Government asked for 870,000,000 francs in 3 per cent. rentes, and was offered 14,500,000,000 francs, or sixteen and a-half times the amount of the loan, several institutions rather absurdly subscribing each more than the total amount of the loan. Thus, the Company of the Paris Agents de Change subscribed three times the amount of the loan, depositing 453,000,000 francs as security; the Crédit Lyonnais twice the amount, depositing 297,000,000, etc. The price at which the loan was issued was 92.55; and fully 2 per cent. more might have been obtained, had the Government not been willing to forego the difference in order to insure to the fullest extent the success of the loan. And this patriotic consideration overcame all the prudent misgivings of those who foresaw the frightful stringency of the money market consequent upon the withdrawal of the enormous sums that accompanied the applications. So great was the strain on the Bank of France that, according to the *Temps*, the bank was for a moment in actual danger of having either to suspend its discounts or draw on its cash reserve.

The exultation over the success of the loan is not in the least dimmed by the publication of the French budget for 1891, which shows 3,164,900,000 francs of expenses against 3,165,300,000 of receipts, and estimated advances of 58,000,000 to the railway companies, which will go to swell the floating debt, thus adding to a national debt which exceeds the gigantic sum of 30,000,000,000 francs. There is, nevertheless, in the abounding faith of France in her resources, in the eagerness of all Frenchmen, high and low, to evince their patriotism by placing their savings at the disposal of the Government, something which fills the German breast with envy. The Munich *Allgemeine Zeitung* justly says that, after making due allowance for the French liking for show and patriotic demonstration, there remains in France a clear perception of the wants of the average capitalist and of the best interests of the country.

"With us," that paper says, "until recently the opposite conditions prevailed. The issuing of loans long ago decided upon was delayed until the most favorable opportunity had passed, and capitalists, if they interested themselves at all, found neither pleasure nor profit in the transaction. In France the national wealth of the country and the solidity of her securities are placed in as bright a light as possible, while we dwell as much as possible on the dark side. Both methods are fraught with danger. In France, the inevitable reaction, brought about by possibly trivial causes, must result in serious losses to the holders of *rentes;* in Germany, Government securities can never claim the rank and value to which they are entitled."

THE MONUMENTS OF SOUTHWARK.

LONDON, December, 1890.

ONE wanders through Southwark now, as I did the other day under the guidance of one of the historians of the borough, with a kind of forlorn consciousness of the days associated with Chaucer and Shakspere, to say nothing of John Harvard. I was the guest the other afternoon of Canon Boger, the head of St. Saviour's School, and he led me to a bay window in the front of the master's house on the street named after Archbishop Sumner, and drew my attention to some ancient and lofty trees overtopping the ridge-poles of the neighboring houses, and said they were the last relics of the times when all this region was the garden of the palace of the Bishop of Winchester. Southwark is now in the see of Rochester, and in the midst of the rebuilding of the nave of St. Saviour's Church, the old St. Mary Overy's, the good bishop—not unknown to us in America from his visits there—would interest all Harvardians in the shrine that the probable baptism of John Harvard within its walls has sanctified in their memories. It is certain that the St. Saviour's School, which formerly stood adjacent to the church, had in those early days the father of John Harvard among its governors. Amid the changes which Southwark has undergone, so that most of the ancient landmarks are obliterated which connect it with names already mentioned, the school at which Harvard may have been a pupil, and which Queen Elizabeth founded, disappeared, and the building which it now occupies, nearer Southwark bridge, is already dingy with the damp and smoke of sixty years. But changes are not at an end. The forms have dwindled in occupancy under the increasing remoteness of the habitable regions of such families as furnish its pupils, and the time is not far distant when the school will have to remove to the suburbs to follow its pupils. The master's household is a bit of educated gentleness in the midst of incongruous surroundings, and the change must come.

St. Saviour's Church, with what there is left of it in the choir, shows the very beginnings of Early English architecture, before the Norman had lost its influence; and at the present moment this almost sole conspicuous surviving landmark of the Southwark of Harvard's day is undergoing restoration at the hands of the nineteenth-century builders. The nave, as I have said, is being entirely rebuilt, and when the work is done it is expected that the new See of South London will be constituted, and the old St. Mary Overy's will be the new Cathedral. The church was locked when we got to it, but a call at the sexton's house gave us the key; and as the heavy bolt of the north-transept door flew back and we pushed back the baize door within, we were at once at the side of the tomb of John Gower, with its recumbent effigy, his pillowed head being crowned with a laurel wreath. Thus St. Saviour's is associated with the very beginnings of English literature, as well as with the memory of that Englishman who gave the first practical impulse to the founding of education in New England. If the strange rudimentary English of Gower had little to attract that young scholar of St. Saviour's—as we may well believe him to have been a pupil of the school of which his father was a governor—there was a later literature as well as a later history associated with St. Saviour's and the

Bankside that a youth intended for the Church perhaps even then, and maybe possessing budding Puritan principles, may not have been unconscious of; while those evidences which lay about him might have given some strain to his devotional instincts. In the rear of the choir he may have wandered in that retro-choir which we can see to-day much as it was in those days of Bloody Mary when a Consistory Court condemned to the stake those Protestant martyrs whom Sir Gilbert Scott has so conspicuously commemorated in the Gothic monument which the stranger looks at with interest in Oxford. The upholders of the mimic scene were quite as striking figures in the boy's memory of what in Southwark he may have seen and must have heard. He could hardly have remembered the "forenoone knell of the great bell," as the church records tell the story, when Edmund Shakspere, in 1607, was buried in St. Saviour's, and when it is fair to suppose that the dead player's brother William was among the mourners. Indeed, this Church of St. Saviour's must be reckoned—if we are not too iconoclastic—among the three historic buildings, now standing, which the great dramatist may have seen. These are the Hall of the Middle Temple, where "Twelfth Night" was first acted, and where one of the benchers took me recently; Crosby Hall, mentioned by Shakspere as Crosby Place, a stately mansion of the fifteenth century, near Bishopsgate, where I remember once some of the officers of the British Museum took me to lunch in the restaurant which has been made of its fine old hall; and this Church of St. Saviour's, with its many dramatic memories, for here also are buried Fletcher and Massinger, the last called a "stranger" in the records of burial.

I strolled about the neighborhood of the church with my mentor, to see the site of the house where Harvard lived, that of the home of Shakspere, and that of the old Tabard Inn, where the Canterbury pilgrims gathered. Everything is changed, and recent structures, with their utilitarian purposes, confront the seeker for memorials. The old White Hart Inn, with its courtyard and crazy galleries, where and in the adjacent rooms the vilest poverty displayed its sickly rags, stood till within a very few years. We did find one of these old inns left in part, and, on one side of what was once an ample court, there was a range of galleries, still standing and not altogether fallen into disgrace; for the George Inn, as it is still called, harbors the marketmen who come in to sell their vegetables in the open ground on one side of St. Saviour's.

Where Shakspere's Globe Theatre stood is now a bit of property appertaining to Barclay & Perkins's great brewery, whose extensive building has done a good share of the destruction of old landmarks in this neighborhood. When one looks at the big property thus represented, one may think that its business manager might strut with some of the importance that we are told the great Doctor Samuel Johnson had, when, as the executor of Thrale, the brewer, he disposed of what is the nucleus of this vast estate. Hereabouts one sees at every turn some old name of Shaksperian flavor—the Bank End, the Bear Garden, the Falcon Dock; but the busy trains of the Southeastern rushing overhead dispel every lingering association.

There is yet a chance to save one's impressions in the house of an occasional antiquary. My guide took me to the establishment of the leading citizen of Southwark. In his private office he had varied his business energies with a study of the antiquities of the borough. The walls of a large room were hung with old prints and old drawings of all the landmarks, of historic association, which have now disappeared, and one could find great help there in rehabilitating the Southwark which had been known by Gower, Chaucer, Shakspere, and John Harvard.

There seems to be fair reason for supposing that the map of the New England coast which Capt. John Smith had made in 1616 was on board the *Mayflower*, and that it helped the Pilgrims to understand where they were when, beating about among the breakers off Nauset, they turned north and found a haven under the lea of Cape Cod. There was some improvement in this map in successive editions, with changes showing the settlements after Boston was founded, and when the interest in the young Puritan colony of Massachusetts Bay was attracting the attention of so many in the Puritan Emmanuel College of Cambridge. There was no other map likely to have been studied by those longing and expectant emigrants, for there is no certainty that the map made in manuscript by Gov. Winthrop and discovered a few years ago in the British Museum ever secured a general acquaintance among those smitten with the fever of emigration. There are two or three of these earliest manuscript maps, figuring our New England coast and unchanged by an engraver's fancy, which I shall make it a point to see before long. The most interesting bit of paper, perhaps, to a student of the broader aspects of American history is that to which Major directed the world's attention, several years ago, as being a sketch of the outline of the American continent, drawn by Leonardo da Vinci, and which is preserved among the drawings of that master at Windsor in the Queen's library. I saw it some years ago, when the late librarian of the Queen, Mr. Woodward, was alive; but since then there have been some dissentients to Mr. Major's judgment, and the connection of Da Vinci with it has been denied. For this reason I wish to see it again, and now that the Queen has left Windsor for Osborne, I hope to have the opportunity. Another is what is known as the "Figurative Map," preserved in the Dutch archives, and which embodies the results of the Hollanders' exploration of the New England coast, just about the time when Smith sailed and rowed along the reaches of the shore to make the sketches upon which he founded his map. I know the map well enough from the facsimile which was made for the State of New York a good many years ago; but the student well knows that he studies a facsimile with much more satisfaction after he has seen the original. The third is this map of Winthrop. I have not yet asked to see it at the Museum. There have been two glass negatives of it sent to America—one through the agency of Mr. Waters, and the other I myself sent for while I was engaged on work that required the seeing of it. I suppose the chance of new discoveries about it is small, but there is the back of the sheet to be looked at, the water-mark, and perhaps some parts that were obscure in the negative. The map was evidently folded to be sent to England in a letter, and I have always been in hopes that the accompanying letter may be hidden under a wrong entry in the manuscripts catalogue of the Museum.

That Harvard should have known Smith may not be probable, for Harvard was still a student at Cambridge when Smith died in 1631 and was buried in St. Sepulchre's in London; but his name had been for some time one of romantic interest, and there was some truth in the epitaph that was put above his grave, that the grim King had at last conquered one who in his time had conquered many kings. It is a pleasure to know that the dilapidation which has now rendered the inscription almost unreadable, is to be stayed at last, since the vestry of the church have within a few days voted to restore the monument.

JUSTIN WINSOR.

SOCIALISTIC TENDENCIES.

PARIS, January 21, 1891.

ALL the speeches from the throne, all the declarations of the Premiers of Europe, have been unanimous in declaring that the peace of the world has never been so well assured. Surely, the famous precept, "Si vis pacem, para bellum," has never been so well obeyed. If the love of peace may be measured by the degree of preparation for war, then we can really be said to love peace with a vengeance. The political world has been quiet during the last year, and political questions have been completely put in the shade by social and economical questions. So far, socialism has been chiefly a revolutionary and destructive force; there were, it is true, some schools of socialism which professed that society could be peacefully and systematically reorganized, and had elaborate plans for the happiness and the salvation of the world. These schools are nearly forgotten; few people care nowadays for the doctrines of Saint-Simon, of Fourier, of Considérant, etc. The modern Socialist is above all a revolutionist: he thinks less of building than he does of destroying. If a new society can be formed, let it be on the ruins of the old. Such are the instincts of the French Communist, of the men who fought during the Commune and tried to burn all Paris; of the Russian Nihilist, who sees no remedy for the evils of his country but assassination; of the Socialists who fought in Spain against the Republic as they would have fought against the monarchy.

Revolutionary socialism is a mysterious force, which endangers the political and social fabric of all countries. It has negative rather than positive doctrines; its army is formed of all those who think that they have been robbed of the natural inheritance of man. As long as Prince Bismarck was in power, he fought this revolutionary socialism with the determination and boldness which is in his character; he knew better than anybody how easily the German character absorbs ideas, how ready it is to generalize, and to what extremes it can carry a principle, whether right or wrong. Socialism had made, notwithstanding all the repressive laws, great progress among the German population, and its progress was not unconnected with the sufferings which are necessarily caused by the obligation of military service. Since the retirement of Prince Bismarck, we have been told to satiety that this retirement had no other cause than the temper of the Chancellor, his dictatorial habits, his impatience of opposition; but it is certainly not a little singular that his withdrawal coincided with the repeal of what are called the socialist laws. The Socialists can have now in Germany a party organization, committees, caucuses, newspapers, lecturers; they can agitate the country, collect money, encourage the strikes.

The young Emperor thought it expedient to adopt a course which Prince Bismarck would not adopt; he came forward with the boldness of youth and attempted to conciliate the Socialists instead of disarming them. You remember how he convoked a conference at Berlin, and asked the advice of the conference on some of the questions which are discussed eve-

ry day by the Socialists, and among others on the limitation of the hours of work. The conference, hastily summoned, composed of men who were strangers to each other, having no very definite object, and feeling that its decisions could have no sanction, was merely academical; it minimized its work, and left no real trace. But what remains, what is not forgotten, what has agitated the whole working class in Germany and in other countries, is the appearance, in the person of the Emperor of Germany, of a new sort of socialism, of State socialism.

Political economists have always struggled against the interference of the State in all private contracts, in all matters which are not strictly bound up with the preservation of the State. "Laissez faire, laissez passer," has been their motto. Political economy had its founders in a land of liberty, in England; it made converts in France, in Italy, in other countries, among the men devoted to the cause of civil and political liberty. State socialism is considered by political economists as one of the worst forms of oppression; but the pure doctrine of political economy is not just now in the ascendant—it is suffering a terrible eclipse. Democracy does not seem to be favorable to its axioms and principles; and the reason of it is obvious—universal suffrage brings to the surface, as representatives of the people, men who are condemned to represent local and provincial interests. Those interests are blind, they are jealous, they ignore the general and really national interests. The farmer of the Beauce wants his grain to be protected, unaware that France can import grain at Marseilles and export it at Havre or Dunkirk, and that the great current of traffic going from the Black Sea to the English coast, through the French territory, is a great source of wealth. The same may be said of every industry—of the wine trade, for example. It is a curious fact that the French Chamber, elected by universal suffrage, is becoming more widely protectionist every day. Well, protection is a form of State socialism, and it is not to be wondered at if State socialism gains where the spirit of protection does. In Germany the ground is well prepared; the State has since the war bought nearly all the important railways—all those which are called strategic; the State long ago organized the system of compulsory insurance—why should it not try to regulate the relations of labor and capital?

State socialism now confronts revolutionary socialism. Will the former destroy the latter, or will it simply favor its progress? State socialism aims to be one of the supports of the State, to work in the interests of the nation. The Emperor of Germany will certainly not abandon the principle of universal and compulsory military service, but here State socialism finds itself at issue with revolutionary socialism, for the chief character of the latter is internationalism. Herr Bebel does not speak of Alsace-Lorraine in the same way as the Emperor. The real socialists do not care for armies—they represent them as the tools of despots; they speak to each other across the frontiers. In the land of promise which they dream of, the Vosges, or the Rhine, or the Black Forest will not separate hereditary enemies. How can revolutionary socialism, which is international, be reconciled with State socialism, which is eminently national? It is difficult to imagine. So far State socialism, where it has been tried, has produced deplorable effects. The interference of the State with the management of railroads, for instance, has not produced the happiest results, It has produced an artificial state of things, which in the end has been detrimental even to the interests which it professed to defend. In the long run, liberty cures its own wounds; oppression never does.

We are threatened now with a third kind of socialism, with what might be called Christian socialism. The Catholic Congress of Saragossa distinctly asked for the intervention of the State in the relations of labor and capital. The Congress of Liége in Belgium formulated the same doctrines. In England we have heard them promulgated by Cardinal Manning. In France M. de Mun and a few others are the ardent promoters of this new sort of socialism. The Pope is engaged upon an encyclical on the subject of the social question; he has already written two by way of preparation for this encyclical, which, if I am well informed, will be more precise and doctrinal. Instructions were given some time ago to all the nuncios, and they have been furnishing the Pope with documents and statistics relating to the labor question. A confidential note of the Cardinal Secretary of State gave the nuncios an indication of the fundamental ideas which were to be contained in the forthcoming encyclical, with orders to sound the governments to which they are accredited on the probable effect which the encyclical might have. Naturally, the communications which the nuncios have made on this subject have not had an official, not even an officious, character. It would have been contrary to the traditions of the Holy See. The nuncios were merely to talk on the subject in a discreet manner.

It is obvious that the nuncios, having a diplomatic character, had in a measure their observations to make on the effect which the encyclical (or at least some of its passages) might have where they reside. It is said that, in the primitive text, the encyclical contained a rather warm eulogy of the Emperor of Germany, on account of the solicitude which he has shown, since he ascended the throne, for the welfare of the working classes, the Pope and the Emperor finding themselves this time in complete unison. But the special and perhaps too flattering mention of a sovereign to whom the Pope seemed to give a preponderating place among his brother sovereigns has, it seems, been considered as out of place in a document which will be addressed to the whole Catholic world. Catholicism is a universal religion as Socialism is a universal doctrine. All countries, whether they are democratic or not, seem to be imbued with vague aspirations and instinctive desires.

At the root of the present difficulties is the fact that the religious sentiments of the people are everywhere less acute than in former times. The contrasts between social classes are greater than in the past. The sense of resignation is gone, the spirit of discontent and revolt is becoming universal. The press acts like those resonators which magnify sound. Every day brings from all quarters of the globe some tale of misery, of horror, of cruelty; the many ideas which had not found a definite formula are becoming more distinct since they can be expressed in a word. The struggle for life is one of these terrible words which have rapidly won popularity. Mankind, as a whole, is probably neither more nor less happy than it was in ancient times; but it is more conscious. Religion found a divine solace for all sufferers, but it seems as if this solace had lost some of its power. Must the promise of a heavenly paradise be replaced by the promise of a terrestrial paradise? Christian socialism can no more change the earth into a paradise than State socialism or than revolutionary socialism. But it is surely a singular trait of the times that from such different quarters efforts should be made in the same direction; and it is painful to think that these efforts are all misdirected, and that the hopes held out to mankind can never be realized.

THE HOUSING OF THE POOR IN NAPLES.

LONDON, January, 1891.

"NEW Torments and New Tormented" is the title of an article in the *Nuova Antologia* by Pasquale Villari, Professor and now Senator—author of the life of Macchiavelli, of Savonarola, etc., but whose chief title to his well-earned reputation as an Italian citizen and patriot will ever be his 'Lettere Meridionali,' which, published in the *Opinione*, the organ of the then dominant Moderate party, called public attention to the vast untold, undreamed-of misery in Naples. At the time of its publication I was engaged in exploring underground Naples and persuaded by my friend to publish the results in a local paper, the *Pungolo* of Naples. Villari himself, with other friends, republished my letters in a small volume entitled 'La Miseria in Napoli' (Florence, 1877). As the motive of my researches was merely to collect facts and ideas as to the causes of prostitution, and to assist a well-known philanthropist in his inquiry into the causes of agricultural distress, I hesitated as to the publication, well knowing that for a British-born subject to talk of misery elsewhere would be to court the taunt, "Physician, heal thyself." But the Professor's pertinacity equals his modesty; he went to London two months after his visit to Naples, and wrote me a long letter, in which he described his visits to the worst quarters of London accompanied by a policeman in plain clothes, to the East End slums, to the low streets round the docks, always urging on his guide to take him to the "worst, the vilest, and most criminal quarters of London known to him." The policeman did this to the best of his ability, taking him into the worst huts and hovels and dens that he knew of, and also to some of the worst lodging-houses, where the beds are let at 1d. per night.

"Well," he wrote, "though I cannot affirm that I have seen the worst misery of London, I can say I have done my best to do so, and I can on my honor assure you that I am convinced that the poor of Naples are infinitely and beyond comparison worse off than the poor of London. If in London the poor die oftener of starvation than the poor of Naples, this is owing to the worse climate, not to their greater misery. If the climate of Naples was that of London, a far greater number would find peace in the tomb, ceasing from a life which is worse than death. . . . My judgments, being human, may err; but, I repeat, great, immense is the misery of the poor in London; yet I am persuaded that those who affirm that the poor of London are in worse conditions than those of Naples, either do not know the poor of London or the poor of Naples."

This letter, the fact that two home ministers supplied me with credentials to the Prefect and heads of police, of sanitary authorities, of prison directors, urging on them to assist me in seeing all and in examining accounts, etc., encouraged me to spend some six months in one year and three months four years later in underground Naples, in the galleys, the prisons, the so-called charitable institutions, in the hospitals, in the houses of the four classes of the then licensed prostitutes, and, accompanied by policemen and volunteers, in the worst lodging-houses and streets at night, in the fondacos and the grottoes. After each visit I wrote my experiences. None were challenged. One statement denied was after-

wards proved to be a fact. Many others, searchers and writers, put the results of these inquiries on record, the municipality began to bestir itself, then the members of Parliament; but until King Cholera asserted his despotism, it was not generally believed that Naples was really worse off than other large and densely populated cities. Are there any cities where thirty and forty families live in one underground natural grotto, whose only access is by a staircase hewn in the rock, where there is no well, no drain, no window, no ceiling save the rock, no pavement save the alternate rock and mud, where no partition divides one family from another, where all the operations of humanity from birth to death are carried on in public? we used to ask. "Well, no, perhaps not; but we don't believe that there are any in Naples, either." If the doubting Thomases were willing to come and see, they were convinced, and often joined the band of pleaders.

At last the municipality took a few of the worst places in hand, turned out the dense mass of human beings (who all, be it remembered, paid rent for their grottoes, or cellars, or doorways, or gutters), and, after spending huge sums for the right of expropriation, for demolishing, for compensation, they rebuilt some large blocks of houses, well lighted, well ventilated, well drained as far as drainage was possible in Naples. And the first time I returned, the then Mayor of Naples, a hearty, genial, benevolent man, invited me to visit the "grand new quarter." After viewing it, and inquiring the rent paid, I asked what had become of the "old inhabitants." "Oh! of those we know nothing," was the answer. "When we turned them out, we gave some of them a week's rent, and, of course, they found other lodgings." Some of them I tracked, and found that they had done so, but that their last state was worse than their first, because, not only were their places of residence worse, many of them being doomed to the nightly lodging-houses, but they had been obliged to remove so far from their work that they were reduced in many cases literally to starvation. The horrors that were revealed by the invasion of cholera stirred the hearts of the nation. Naples was to be *disembowelled*. The National Parliament voted fifty millions immediately, and promised other fifty—this in the year 1884–1885. Naples was to be supplied with pure water, was to be drained; the poor of Naples were to be housed in airy, decent dwellings. The city has been benefited decidedly by the introduction of the waters of the Serino (at an enormous cost, thanks to the system of contracts adopted), but pure, fresh water in Naples is a luxury and at the same time a necessity which cannot be too dearly paid for. The attempt to drain Naples is a far more difficult task, owing to the old system of sewers introduced by the Bourbons. The drains received at one and the same time the rain-water and all the contents of the cesspools; and as their inclination was insufficient the filth was not carried down and into the sea, but generally stagnated in the adjacent streets, filtering into the wells, and in reality causing the putrid fever for which Naples has been so maligned. It would be absurd to pretend that the accumulated errors of ages could be corrected in a few years. If only such attempts as have been made are honest, it is so much gained; but the dishonesty of contractors is so proverbial that, without a very sharp system of impartial inspection on the part of the Government and of the local authorities, very few Neapolitans would like to stake much on the results.

What a mere visitor to Naples can see at a glance is, that the city is being transformed: new public gardens, new, grand streets, new blocks of splendid buildings, have arisen as by magic. In some portions of the city the level of the soil has been raised. Not only the money voted by Government is being spent, but the province, the municipality, numerous societies, and, of course, the old house-owners are busily building and beautifying. In two single years the Società del Risanimento has demolished 88,261 square metres of houses; and when we remember that some of these consisted of five, eight, even eleven stories, we may calculate the displacement of human beings that has taken place. Prof. Villari puts the question:

"While we see new palaces, ample streets, elegant shops, splendid restaurants, and cafés-chantants, what has been done for the poor and for their habitations? No one imagines, I suppose, that the nation has made such great sacrifices for the wealthy classes, and for the embellishment of their city?"

In the next paragraph he answers it, and as he has been silent on the question for the last half-dozen years at least, satisfied to have set the movement going, hoping probably against hope that a beginning of the solution of the question of "misery" would be made, his answer, after personal reinspection, is terribly significant:

"This is the black spot. It will seem an exaggeration, but I am certain, as are the greater part of the Neapolitans with whom I have conversed, not only that the conditions of the poor have not been ameliorated, but that they have grown from bad to worse. One of the most arduous problems in all great cities has always been and is the housing of the poor. Never, so far as I know, has that problem been solved by private speculation. At Naples, especially, where space is so scanty, the ground so dear, the population so dense, the populace so poor, it is simply ridiculous to hope that private speculation could, on the very smallest scale, solve the problem. It is materially impossible to construct tolerable houses for the poor at prices which they can pay, and at the same time repay the builders. And where are there commercial societies that will build at a loss? What happens is well known. The poor do not enter the new buildings—they remain in their hovels; and when, as now happens, these hovels are demolished by the pickaxe, then the poor herd re-den (*rintanano*) in ever-increasing numbers in the hovels that remain, thus making their conditions worse; or many families crowd into one room in the new buildings, which become *fondaci*, often worse than those demolished, because, being dear, more people must be crowded into less space.

"The most elementary duty of humanity, the commonest prudence, therefore, ought to have convinced those who have studied the problem of the necessity of making a special contract with the Società del Risanimento for the housing of the poor, ceding a portion of the 100,000,000 of capital as dead loss, fixing the rent to be paid at lowest prices, and adding other favorable arrangements for the benefit of the poor. But whether it was owing to the haste, after such long waiting, or the vain hope that the Society, having gained so much on one side, would be willing to lose on the other, this proposition, which was made by one of the counsellors of the Neapolitan municipality (Parlati), was rejected. It was stipulated that houses for the poor should be built, but as a part of the speculation. Thus, the Society that assumed the works placed on one side the interests of the poor, on the other the interest of the capital employed in the works. If we add the gains of the contractors and the sub-contractors, the inevitable consequences will appear clear to all. The bad financial condition of the corporation is no excuse. When the nation voted its millions to ameliorate the hygienic conditions of Naples, it meant some of those millions to be used exclusively for the poor, for whose benefit the law was exclusively passed."

Villari then comments on the error committed in building a sort of workmen's quarter to house the plebs:

"Waiving the discussion as to the opportuneness, from a social point of view, of segregating the working classes from other classes of citizens, the system can only have a chance of success in cities which possess great factories and a real working-class population earning decent salaries. . . . But when you have to deal with the *maruzzaro*, the *carnacottaro*, the *pizzaiuolo* (shell-fish, cooked-meats, and cake-sellers); . . . with an infinite series of microscopic trades which don't deserve the name of industries; with a multitude which lives from hand to mouth, selling edibles, string, pitch, fishermen's nets, earning a halfpenny for some trifling service—the transferring all these poor creatures from the scene of their labors is simply to deprive them of the simplest possibility of existence. To say to the people of the districts of Mercato, Porto, Pendino, who precisely in those poorest quarters leave their children in some hole or other and ply their trades in the street in the open air, 'Go and live in another quarter,' is an irony, an insult to their misery. Yet it is for this population that a roof must be found; it is the problem of housing these people that had to be solved, and the solution of which is not commenced."

The Professor, whose residence as chief of the Superior Institute is at Florence, shows how the same problem presented itself in the City of Flowers when the old market was demolished. Then a society of benevolent persons was formed, $150,000 subscribed, and eighty houses for the poor completed, while other forty are being erected. The municipality of that city puts down $16,000 annually for the purpose, and I can add from personal knowledge that the assessors of the corporation always manage to find a room or rooms at the same price paid for the poor in the houses from which they have been ejected. And it is to public charity that Senator Villari appeals for housing the poor of Naples. He devotes the rest of this eloquent article to descriptions of the quarters personally inspected by himself, not omitting the maledictions invoked on the heads of the demolishers.

Hitherto such subjects as the sanitary conditions of Naples, the introduction of water, the exclusion of sewerage, this vital question of the housing of the poor, have been debated with all the bitterness and acrimony of party politics. It was not sought who would do the work best at the lowest price, but the friends of which political party should get the job. Again, the burden of the expenses ought to fall on the house-owners and the receivers of ground-rents; but it seems all the world over that this class of proprietors are more tenderly dealt with than any other class. Take the action of the London County Council, from which, fortunately, politics are excluded: the enormous scheme for the demolition of houses thickly built over fifteen acres of land in the Bethnal and Shoreditch District has been voted by the majority under the first part of the new bill for housing the poor, and the entire expense consequently falls upon the County Council, ultimately upon the rate-payers. The owners of the houses condemned and the receivers of the ground-rent, who have been for years untold and from generation to generation receiving rack-rents for many places quite unfit for human habitation, will be the real recipients of the sums voted. Had the Council instead seen fit to bring their scheme under the second part of the new act, the house-owners would have been compelled to repair, to pull down buildings run up in back-yards, and at their own expense render the dwellings fit for human habitation.

I visited the whole quarter with the kind, able, and thoroughly devoted head doctor of the County Council, and could not help exclaiming several times, "Ah, if you could only transport a few of these condemned houses to Naples!" Then he explained that the decision to bring the area under the first

part of the Act was arrived at owing to the enormous death-rate of the entire district. Of course, he said, we could force this and that landlord to do his duty, but the district is fouled, and there is no help but in total demolition. Any one comparing the housing of the poor in London to-day with even twenty years ago cannot fail to be astounded at the improvements. These are owing vastly if not mainly to the Peabody legacy, and now people are beginning to see that it does pay to build decent lodgings for the poor. I am surprised to find magnificent blocks of houses with one good room, with grate, large window, water, and use of closet with key, for three shillings a week; three rooms, all with fireplaces, cupboards, picture-rails, gas, water, sink, and closet on the landing, for seven shillings per week. Take, for instance, the Shaftsbury Park buildings: all these conveniences are to be had, with washing-houses, hot and cold water, and drying terraces on the roof. The inmates must obey certain regulations, one of which is that they may not underlet, may not take lodgers; thus overcrowding is avoided.

I do not, therefore, despair of Naples. The sad feature there is that wages are so low and employment so uncertain that it is useless to talk of any scheme that shall add one centime to the expenses. There, also, of charity organized by religious bodies there is none. I never once met a priest by the bedside of the sick or the dying save when summoned with the viaticum; you never see them in underground Naples. Nor do ladies, with rare exceptions, employ themselves among the poor. We may fain hope that the new law on charitable institutions may be brought to bear on their case, and, as there is no poor-law in Italy, appeals to individual charity ought to receive more response than they do. Prof. Villari will assuredly have awakened in many an answering chord, for no one can dispute his facts or accuse him of exaggeration or of "sensational" pictures. J. W. M.

Correspondence.

HOAR VS. HOAR.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: In the *North American Review* of February, 1879, Senator Hoar has an article on "The Conduct of Business in Congress," which is excellent reading in the light of recent events. Speaking of the elevation of the Whigs to power in 1841, he says:

"Mr. Clay was leader of the Whig party in Congress. His lordly and imperious nature chafed under the incessant and vigorous attacks of his Democratic antagonists on the one hand, and the refusal of the executive branch of Government to submit to his dictation on the other. . . . In regard to every one of the great subjects of legislation, the Whigs attempted to exercise national powers which had never been used or had long lain dormant. The Democrats encountered every measure with the charge that it violated the Constitution, and that it was legislating for the rich against the poor."

After speaking of the limitation and closing of debate in the House, Senator Hoar proceeds as follows:

"As soon as the new rule had been adopted in the House, and the peaceable submission of the majority ascertained, Mr. Clay gave notice of his purpose to introduce it in the Senate. Fortunately for the Senate, fortunately for the country, he encountered a very different spirit from that which prevailed in the lower branch. . . . Mr. Clay flinched before this resolute resistance, and in a day or two abandoned his project. The Democratic leaders did not overrate the injurious consequences to public liberty of the suppression of debate and amendment at the will of the majority. The suppression of these in one branch of the National Legislature renders infinitely more important their preservation in the other. Mr. Clay and his associates seem to have been acting under the pressure of temporary exigency, and to have given little consideration to the grave and far-reaching consequences which their scheme involved. It is probable that the debate would have so fully exhibited the evil effects of the previous question on the Senate that Mr. Clay would have lost his slender majority before the vote; if not, the attitude taken by the Democratic party towards the rule would have assured its early repeal."

The Senator closes his article with the lament that "the House is losing its freedom of debate, of amendment, even of knowledge of what it is itself doing." Yet under the fear that the intelligence of the North has repudiated his party, he is willing to bring all the evils he has described on the Senate, and also override the constitutional rights of the States, in order to haul enough negroes from the swamps of Louisiana to bolster up the G. O. P. for another four years. The Senator's prophetic eye must have been looking forward to Reed when he wrote: "If we could in some way secure a Speaker who should be absolutely independent of party, it would be a great gain."

When Senator Hoar wrote the article in question, he evidently considered himself a statesman. But since he has assumed the rôle of a politician, he must be convinced that it is much better for the politician to follow the example of the "silent Senator" from Pennsylvania and never give expression to embarrassing truths. T. F. Hamblin.

Lewisburgh, Penna., January 31, 1891.

HONEST FARMERS, AND OTHERS.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Your correspondent, Mr. Jessup, as well as some other writers who, in one paper or another, have commented on my recent communication (No. 1333 of the *Nation*) on the subject of farm mortgages payable in gold, have apparently assumed that my letter was prompted by hostility to the farmers, and I have been served with a number of admonitions, like Mr. Jessup's, that the farmers are a very worthy class. Having myself been brought up on a farm, I should be the last person in the world to question such a conclusion. Nor, I submit, ought it to be considered an evidence of hostility that one calls their attention to the fact that they are making, or are liable to make, a bad bargain.

As to the moral aspect of a legislative scaling-down of obligations, no doubt many debtors are in favor of coining eighty cents' worth of silver into a dollar and paying their debts with it, who are not consciously dishonest. It is only by applying the legal rule that one is presumed to foresee the natural consequences of his own acts, that such people can be called dishonest. This may be a violent presumption to apply to the modern farmer—many things seem to indicate that it is; but when any one claims for the farmers an exceptional degree of honesty, I am forced, at least so far as regards public and official honesty, to differ from him. The claim that farmers are more honest than other classes of the community, and that if the Government were turned over to them we should have, at all events, honesty, even if we had some incompetency, is familiar, but it is cant.

As is well known, the Farmers' Alliance, at the recent election in Minnesota, secured a plurality of the Legislature, and, by a combination with the Democrats, is now in full control of both houses of the Legislature. Since they came into power the air has resounded with the noise of radical reforms and the introduction of "honest" methods of administration. "Corporate greed" was to be throttled, the "money power" was to be downed, and all the wicked devices of railroads, lawyers, and other knaves were to be checkmated at last. With regard to lawyers, it is a cardinal principle of the Alliance that no lawyer can enter the kingdom of heaven, much less an Alliance lodge. Now see how virtue fell! On the 2d inst., in the House of Representatives, there came up for consideration a bill to prohibit the acceptance of free passes or other gifts from railroads by members of the Legislature. This method of bribery has been in vogue from time immemorial in the Western States; but I never heard an intelligent man claim that the practice was anything less than virtual bribery. This bill was defeated in the House by a vote of 32 to 37. Of those voting, thirty-five were farmers, of whom nineteen voted for the bill and sixteen against. Of eight lawyers who voted, six were recorded for the bill and only two against.

Then a truce to this talk about the preëminent honesty of farmers. Farmers do not differ essentially in moral fibre from other classes of the community. Honest people are those who scorn bribes, be they farmers, merchants, or even lawyers. Howard L. Smith.

St. Paul, Minn., February 5, 1891.

EUROPEAN PEASANTRY AT THE WEST.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: In the *Forum* for February there is an article in which Prof. Rodney Welch complains of a tendency of the farming population of some Western States, notably Illinois and Wisconsin, to sink to the level of a European peasantry. The Professor's observations are hardly in accordance with the facts. True it is that there are entire counties in these States which are settled almost exclusively by immigrants from Europe and their immediate descendants. But it is not true that these immigrants form a peasantry in the European sense. Any one who sees the peasant immigrants upon their arrival in this country and observes the same people ten years after they have settled on their new homesteads, will notice the difference. Furthermore, the regions to which Prof. Welch seems principally to refer were settled forty and more years ago. During that time these immigrants, being intelligent and mostly comparatively well educated, have acquired considerable knowledge of American institutions, and it is most emphatically untrue that they are citizens in nothing but name, as the Professor asserts. Although they use their mother tongue in their homes and churches, their children rapidly acquire a preference for the English language, and the old folks themselves are constant readers of the weekly editions of the great German papers published in the large cities. These papers are quite as good as the weekly editions of the English papers, and a man cannot read them for years without becoming pretty familiar with things American.

Prof. Welch complains of the tendency of farmers of New England antecedents to leave their farms, and takes it for granted that this tendency implies a deterioration of the condition of agriculture. The truth is, that the German who succeeds the New Englander is a much better farmer than the latter. When he acquires possession of the land, it is generally in poor condition, for the former owner cared

exclusively to get the largest immediate returns, but was unmindful of the danger of ruining the fertility of the soil. These worn-out lands are often restored to almost their former productiveness by the skill and industry of their new owners. It is true, the latter is a plain farmer and not a "country gentleman." But no more was his Yankee predecessor, whatever Prof. Welch may say to the contrary. The race of country-gentlemen never existed in appreciable numbers either in New England or in the Northwestern States.

It must be owned, also, that the German farmers do not send so many of their sons to college as their Yankee neighbors do. But this is not an unmixed evil, as it may be one of the causes why the tendency to move into the cities, while by no means absent, is not so large among Western farmers of German extraction as it is among those of New England parentage. ERNEST BRUNCKEN.

MILWAUKEE, WIS.

AN EARLY PORTRAIT BY HARDING.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Among the incidents of my childhood, so remote as to seem a figment of imagination, is one of having gone with my father to a studio in the little village of Edwardsville, Illinois, early in the third decade of this century, when Indians were my playmates, and buffaloes might have been seen any day on the streets, yoked with oxen, bringing the scant produce of the pioneer farmers to the "store" to barter for supplies. The studio—an unfurnished upper room in the town tavern—was Harding's, a biographical notice of whom appears in your number of the 22d inst. My father sat to him, and the portrait was sent to his sister in Kentucky. Some years afterwards my mother visited this sister with her little girl, two and a half years old, took her into the parlor and showed her several portraits of members of the family. When she came to this one of Harding's, the child exclaimed, "Why, that is my papa!"

I have studied *con amore* all of the public and many private galleries of Europe, from Seville to St. Petersburg, and I do not exaggerate when I say that for fidelity of expression and flesh tints—my father had a florid complexion—this piece of frontier work would not suffer by comparison with those of far more renowned artists. F. W. T.

LOS ANGELES, CAL., January 30, 1891.

Notes.

HARPER & BROTHERS have nearly ready 'Sir Robert Peel' in their series of biographies of Queen Victoria's prime ministers.

D. Appleton & Co. publish immediately a translation, by Mrs. Mary J. Serrano, of Valera's novel, 'Doña Luz.'

Fords, Howard & Hulbert will bring out the novel written in collaboration by George Cary Eggleston and Dofores Marbourg, entitled 'Juggernaut: A Veiled Record.'

A novel by Francis Howard Williams, 'Atman; The Documents in a Strange Case,' is in the press of Cassell & Co.

Worthington Co. announce for immediate publication 'Adventures on the Mosquito Shore,' by E. G. Squier. This is the sub-title of a work now some thirty-five years old, 'Waikna.'

Robert Clarke & Co., Cincinnati, have in press reprints of Withers's 'Chronicles of Border Warfare: A History of the Settlement by the Whites of Northwestern Virginia,' etc. (1831); Haywood's 'Civil and Political History of Tennessee,' from its settlement to the year 1796 (1823), and the same author's 'Natural and Aboriginal History of Tennessee' (1823). Also a new work, 'Beginnings of Literary Culture in the Ohio Valley,' by W. H. Venable.

An older work, Miss Edgeworth's 'Stories for Children,' has just been added to Bohn's Standard Library (New York: Scribner & Welford). The type and print are excellent and the price very moderate.

Macmillan & Co. begin the issue of the third edition of the invaluable Cambridge Shakespeare, edited by William Aldis Wright, in nine volumes octavo, with a beautifully printed page in large clear type, making this the most agreeable to the eye of any we have seen in the long series of editions of Shakspere. The edition aims only to fix the text, and is free from notes of any other sort than such as give the history of emendation and conjecture in the briefest form. It thus presents the textual labors of all editors in connection with a text of its own, unrivalled for sound judgment and thorough editorship. It will be issued in quarterly volumes, at the very moderate price of $3 each.

'A Dictionary of Idiomatic English Phrases,' by James Main Dixon (T. Nelson & Sons), owes its origin to the experience of its author as a teacher of English in Japan, and derives its character from that fact. The phrases are such as would be puzzling to a foreigner learning the language, but the greater part present no difficulty to a native. The author divides them into classes—good prose, conversational, familiar, and slang; and with his classification one might find much fault. By "familiar," he says, he means phrases "used in familiar conversation, but not admissible in polite society"; and under this head we find, for example, the Latin phrase "Cui bono"! What the author's standard of "polite society" is, one cannot very well determine, but it is certainly a strangely fastidious "society" that taboos such expressions as "to get one's sea-legs on," "a fish out of water," "fie," "dog-cheap," "in the dumps," "he will be the death of me," "to let the cat out of the bag," "to toe the mark," "Uncle Sam" (but "John Bull" is down as "good prose"), "Jack o'Lantern," and many other phrases almost as old as the language. Unless we are to talk without metaphors of the proverbial sort at all, and without short expressive phrases born with our tongues, it is hard to say how conversation is to go on by such standards in "polite society." The author's citations, we observe, are largely from the current works of his generation, and show no thorough acquaintance with historical English. The book seems to be of most value for the foreigner who desires explanation of idiomatic expressions, but can be of little service to those who have learned to speak English as a mother-tongue.

In 'Japan: A Sailor's Visit to the Island Empire' (New York: J. B. Alden), an American, Capt. M. B. Cook of Friendship, Maine, gives his impressions of a recent and evidently very enjoyable visit to constitutional Japan. The three chief cities and the two larger ports seem to have comprised his itinerary, so that little outside the familiar track of all travellers was seen. He has utilized his reading of American and other books on Japan, but in his didactic chapters is not especially interesting. More pleasurable are his impressions of the people and their outdoor life and amusements, and of the gentle charm of the native ladies whom he and his party met indoors as well as out. His picture of the promulgation of the Constitution in 1889 and the characteristic popular celebrations is very spirited. One cannot easily tire of a well-told trip to Kioto, and the Captain tells a good story of the pleasant people and things in the "Blossom Capital" and its neighborhood, rich in legend and historical association.

We have received four parts of an illustrated subscription work, 'The Picturesque Mediterranean, its Cities, Shores, and Islands' (Cassell Publishing Company). Well-known artists have in the main well executed the wood-engravings of the most salient features, a full-page illustration prefacing each subject; and equally well-known writers furnish the instructive and attractive descriptive text, which is interspersed with smaller cuts. Part first contains an adequate and not too long description of Gibraltar, together with Tarifa, Tangiers, Ceuta, and the Pillars of Hercules. Smyrna and Marseilles follow at greater length in the second and third parts, the descriptions being thoroughly in the spirit of those places. In the third and fourth parts Corsica, and a portion of the less well-known southern Syrian coast, with its great past, are pictured and well described. The article on Corsica agreeably and forcibly brings to mind the many fascinations of that island. One wonders why it is that this charming spot is not more favored by the large class of health and change-seekers always yearning for new fields within easy reach. There is here an abundance of grand scenery in mountains, valleys, and slopes looking on a lovely sea; a wild, luxuriant vegetation; fairly good roads; and an absence of those fashionable restrictions and excessive living rates common to the dusty resorts of the Riviera. There is also the freshness of rugged nature and a comparatively unchanged and picturesque people; and withal out-of-door possibilities dear to the roving Anglo-Saxon. Nor are good hotels lacking in the larger towns.

Mr. Herbert Ward's 'My Life with Stanley's Rear Guard' (Charles L. Webster & Co.) tells very simply the story of his connection with the Emin Pasha Relief Expedition. It consists mainly of extracts from his note-books, with here and there explanatory paragraphs. He adds nothing new to the sad history, as he was not in the camp at the time of the cannibal feast and Maj. Barttelot's murder. This officer's incompetency, however, is very conclusively shown, but of Mr. Jameson a very pleasant impression is given, as well as a pathetic account of his death. The closing pages are devoted to a reply to Mr. Stanley's personal charges. Some of these are shown to be unfounded, and the rest are met with an explicit denial. Incidentally Mr. Ward throws some rather unfavorable light on the affairs of the Congo Free State. He refers to the "appalling" number of deaths among the officers and European residents, and to a refusal to permit him to go on a steamer by the officer in command, who explained that as he should have hostile operations with the natives in several places, "witnesses would be undesirable."

Neilson's 'Trial by Combat' (Macmillan) is a volume of a kind unfortunately too uncommon in English literature — a painstaking monograph on an interesting subject in the development of social and legal institutions. It would have been better, perhaps, had the author limited his title to the judicial duel in Great Britain, for his introductory chapter on the origin of the wager of battle and its use on the European continent is necessarily but a condensed sketch of a matter admitting of almost unlimited development, and the body of the work is devoted to the vicissitudes of the legal duel in England and Scotland. In this

Mr. Neilson relies upon the original sources, and gives us the results of much research in MS. records as well as in the printed authorities. He has a keen eye for the picturesque incidents in which his theme abounds, his learning is wholly devoid of pedantry, and his style is lively, so that while the volume is a serious contribution to the history of British legal antiquities, it has ample attractions for the ordinary reader as well as for the historical student.

Dr. W. G. Harris's 'Spiritual Sense of Dante's Divina Commedia' (Appletons) is in the main a lecture delivered at the Concord School of Philosophy in 1886, and is conceived in the comprehensive-of-all-truth style which characterized the School's work in general. The patient and acute reader will find in it the moral and theological aspect of creation considered as a system of divine philosophy and grasped in its totality at once. As a commentary on Dante's poem it will appeal mainly to those who are more at home in commentaries than in poetry.

All that proceeds from the pen of Signore Pasquale Villari, the biographer of Savonarola and Machiavelli, is welcome, and we take pleasure in announcing the appearance of his volume of 'Saggi storici e critici' (Bologna, 1890), a collection of his occasional writings, reprinted mostly from the *Nuova Antologia* and *Rivisto Storico*. There are also two essays from the 'Encyclopædia Britannica,' one on Rimini and the Malatesta, and the other on the municipal government of Rome during the middle ages, which condenses in attractive shape an immense amount of curious research. To American readers the most interesting portion of the book is a disquisition on the institutions and society of the United States, based on the work of Prof. Bryce, with occasional reference to De Tocqueville. Of course on such a subject Professor Villari cannot speak from personal observation, but none the less noteworthy is the impression produced on a thoughtful Italian of the highest culture by the discussion of the numerous problems suggested by the development and present condition of our republic. It is needless to add that his views are fair and moderate, though he naturally sometimes fails to appreciate the causes which conduce to the buoyant hopefulness in the future so characteristic of our people.

In the pursuit of notoriety for his *Review of Reviews*, Mr. W. T. Stead has got out a cheap album, filled with process cuts, entitled 'Portraits and Autographs' (New York: Chas. E. Merrill & Co.). Mr. Stead's own portrait, a permanent photographic print, serves as frontispiece, and is the best of the collection. The medley is extreme. Balfour faces Parnell (or, rather, Parnell turns his back on Balfour), and the 136 embrace also Boulanger and Mme. Blavatsky, Gladstone and Salisbury, Huxley and Gen. Booth, Bradlaugh and Canon Liddon, Ignatieff and Henry George, Carmen Sylva and Philippa Fawcett, Mark Twain and John Burns, Josephine Butler and Marie Bashkirtseff, Goschen and Jules Verne, the Pope and John Morley, Henry M. Stanley and Henry Drummond, Zola and Tolstoi, Newman and Rubinstein, Queen Victoria and Frances Willard, Renan and Dr. O. W. Holmes, etc., etc. The group is as interesting as it is mixed, and is worth the enhanced American price (one dollar) against eighteen pence.

Mr. James Parton's 'Captains of Industry' (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.) is a "second series" of forty-eight brief biographies, mostly of Americans, from Gov. Edward Winslow, "the business-man of the Pilgrim fathers," to Amos A. Lawrence, "a solid man of Boston." A few women are enrolled among the "captains," as, for instance, Marguérite Boucicault, the head of the famous Bon Marché of Paris, and Mrs. Coston, the energetic widow of the inventor of the Coston night signals. The sketches are written in the easy, entertaining way which characterizes all Mr. Parton's work, the salient points of interest in the careers described being seized upon with unerring accuracy. The principal, though not the only, lesson taught is the value of industry as a means to success. Few of the "young Americans," however, for whom the author tells us the book is intended, can read it attentively without being impressed with the higher truth that there is a nobler use for money than the amassing it for one's own selfish gratification.

We had occasion recently to mention a valuable monograph on the railroad bridge over the Thames River by the chief engineer, Mr. Alfred P. Boller. His example has been followed by Mr. William R. Hutton, chief engineer of another notable structure, the Washington Bridge over the Harlem River. The handsome quarto volume bearing this title has been put on the market (Leo von Rosenberg, 35 Broadway). The photographic illustrations of the bridge at various stages are very numerous and exhaustive, and not a few are extremely beautiful. The details of construction are shown in a large array of mechanical drawings. The frontispiece shows the central pier, with its immense iron arches springing from either side, contrasting with the all-stone arches of the High Bridge aqueduct in the distance—a contrast of two ages of the builder's art, most interesting to all who travel up or down the shores of the Harlem River. The Washington Bridge was substantially completed in two years and a half.

Several mechanical works are on our table. A 'Text-Book of Mechanics' (D. Van Nostrand & Co.), by Prof. Thomas Wallace Wright, is in all respects worthy of commendation. Its chief merit, however, consists in the very full illustration of each special subject by a number of good and well-chosen examples. There is no other way to teach mechanics thoroughly. Mr. Harold Whiting's 'Short Course of Experiments in Physical Measurement,' Part II. (Cambridge), is one of a large class which have for their object instruction by experiments to be performed by the student himself. It is one of the best and perhaps the most original, much of the apparatus described having been devised by the author. In spite of its numerous competitors, the book deserves and cannot fail to receive a cordial reception. The part before us embraces only Sound, Dynamics, Magnetism, and Electricity. Mr. W. Cawthorne Unwin's 'Elements of Machine Design,' Part I. (Longmans, Green & Co.), forms one of the well-known "Text-Books of Science" series, and the volume before us is the eleventh edition of the work, which first appeared only in one part, but which is now to be extended to two and perhaps to a third. The scope of such a treatise is, of course, very wide. In the words of Reuleaux, the province of machine design is to show how the parts of the machine are to be proportioned so as to resist deformation. The opening chapter relates chiefly to materials; the others to the forms which these materials must take to subserve specific purposes. The remarkable popularity of the work attests its usefulness and excellence.

In the *Harvard Law Review* for January, Mr. John T. Hassam sets forth the advantages of the Australian System of Land Transfer. While it may be conceded that these advantages are considerable, it must be said that under our municipal governments or even State governments the examination of titles could not be wisely intrusted to public officers. Certainly no one would seriously contend that in the city of New York this extremely difficult and technical business should be turned over to Tammany Hall, and the government of none of our large cities is such as to invite this confidence. Much that the system aims at is now obtained through the title-guarantee companies, and their insurance policies afford ample security. From Mr. Hassam's account we do not see that anything would be gained over existing methods upon the devolution of title through descent, devise, or chancery proceedings, while it is an axiom that Government business is more expensively managed than that of private persons. Nor does Mr. Hassam explain what is to be done with our complicated system of liens upon real estate, which, however vexatious to the conveyancer, is yet apparently indispensable to the maintenance of the existing system of credit.

The *Scottish Geographical Magazine* for January contains a suggestive paper by Prof. Robert K. Douglas, the well-known Chinese scholar, on the commercial relations between Great Britain and China. After a sketch of the various steps by which foreign trade has been brought to its present condition, he shows how little has really been effected in changing the convictions and views of the Chinese as regards Europeans. The marked decline of British trade is then dwelt upon, the returns of the Imperial Maritime Customs showing that since 1866 "our direct trade has declined rather more than one-fourth, while the American trade has increased 40 per cent. and the value of the Continental trade has multiplied twelve times over. In other words, while in 1866 the value of the Continental trade was only one-thirtieth that of ours, last year [1889] it was more than one-half." It may be added here, that in the same time Continental trade, as compared with American, has increased from one-fourth as much to a volume nearly twice as great. This great increase, which has been mostly within the last four years, 1885–1889, Prof. Douglas ascribes mainly to the better commercial education of the Continental merchants and their clerks, especially in the various schools of Oriental languages subsidized by the Governments of Germany, France, Russia, and Austria, but not by that of Great Britain. He also calls attention to the trade springing up between Tonquin and Yunnan, probably the richest province in the Chinese Empire in mineral wealth, with a view to showing the absolute necessity of establishing a connection with Burmah if England is to reap any advantage from this desire for trade on the part of the Yunnanese.

The opening article in the last *Bulletin* of the Société de Géographie is upon the dispute between France and Brazil in respect to the boundary of French Guiana. This is, perhaps, the oldest diplomatic question yet unsettled, the first official negotiations in regard to it having taken place in 1700. France claims a strip of territory running from the ocean about six hundred miles to the Rio Branco, the larger part of which is the "Hinterland" of English and Dutch Guiana. If this claim should ever be established, it would make her possessions nearly four times as great as they now are, with an addition to her coast-line of two hundred and fifty miles, bringing her boundary nearly to the mouth of the Amazon. According to this article, the region in question consists mostly of prairie, well-fitted for European colonization, and with a climate

like that of Algeria. A glance at the accompanying map shows that the boundaries of the other European colonies in Guiana are equally unsettled, France and Holland contesting a considerable tract, while England claims territory from both Venezuela and Brazil. This is followed by an interesting account of Assini, one of the negro kingdoms of the Ivory Coast under French protection.

We have already described the special large-scale map of Western Asia Minor prepared by Dr. Heinrich Kiepert, and published in fifteen sheets by Dietrich Reimer, Berlin. The second instalment, consisting of Plates 3, 4, 5, 8, and 13, has just come to hand after a delay caused by the prospect of fresh data from Turkish sources, which in the end proved of no great significance. So far as these affect, however, the sheets already issued, Dr. Kiepert gives particulars which will enable any one to make the necessary corrections. The third and final instalment is promised by the end of April.

F. W. Christern sends us the first two issues (December 15, 1890, January 1, 1891) of a novel periodical possessing immediate interest and permanent value for reference. This is the *Revue Encyclopédique*, conducted by Georges Moreau (Paris: Librairie Larousse), and bearing the sub-title, "Recueil documentaire universel illustré." It professes to build on Larousse's 'Grand Dictionnaire,' furnishing a continuous supplement to that great work. In form it is a large quarto, the page in two broad columns, with a handsome variety of type, clear even when small. Illustrations are numerous and admirable. The arrangement is by departments—Music (by Arthur Pougin), Drama (H. Castets), Fine Arts (various hands), Book Reviews, with Law, Politics, Public Works, Medicine, Botany, History, Geography, etc., etc. The biographical sketches and portraits of men and women of the day are very noticeable. All this is ingeniously indexed in a four-page *Index-Journal*, which carries, besides, an independent assortment of current notes, news, and extracts, often articles of no mean length, in alphabetical order. One valuable feature of this *Index-Journal* is an explanation of neologisms, *e. g.*, *streptocoque* (a microbe), *lupus*, *folkloriste*, *Deakiste*, etc. The conception of this magazine seems to us to leave nothing to suggest.

A link between the past and the present has been broken by the death in London of Mrs. Drummond, widow of the famous Under-Secretary, Thomas Drummond, who fell a victim in 1840 to his labors on behalf of the people of the country he had adopted as his own. Mrs. Drummond was the ward of Conversation Sharp, the Miss Kinnaird of Wordsworth's letters to Rogers. She it was who copied out for her husband the letter to the Tipperary magistrates which drew down upon him the hatred of the upper classes in Ireland and the animadversions of the *Times*, because it contained the declaration that "property has its duties as well as its rights." She was a stanch Home-Ruler, particularly attached to John Dillon. Her house in Hyde Park Gardens was the resort of many and various friends who will sincerely mourn her loss.

At the Boston Museum of Fine Arts an exhibition of illustrated books, water-colors, sketches, engravings, etc., by William Blake is now in progress. It will close on March 15.

—Nearly eleven years have elapsed since we noticed the second edition of Maj.-Gen. George W. Cullum's standard work, the 'Biographical Register of the Officers and Graduates of the United States Military Academy.' It then ended with the graduating class of 1867. Meanwhile the author has attained and passed the great age of eighty, and has had the strength and courage, not only to revise his work and extend it to date, but to pass it through the press in a wholly new setting of the type—an ordeal which would appall a much younger man. The new edition fills three large octavo volumes, and issues from the press of Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Gen. Cullum has adhered to his resolution to end the military details of his sketches with the Rebellion, in the case of those who forsook the flag; but he allows place for the civil occupations of ex-Confederates since the close of the war. At the end of vol. iii. is to be found an account of the early history of the West Point Academy; and here, also, are given lists of battles and actions in which the graduates took part, in wars, foreign and domestic, including Indian engagements; a useful list of forts, arsenals, and military posts, past and present, with their location; and a table of civil occupations. In these peaceful pursuits farmers and planters lead (228), civil engineers come next (217); 185 followed the law, the civil service absorbed 170, 158 turned authors, the State militia borrowed 145 officers, 131 found employment as professors and teachers, 121 in mercantile life. It would be superfluous to praise this monument of industry and devotion to the author's Alma Mater. Another hand may continue the 'Register' hereafter, but no one will retraverse the ground so laboriously covered by Gen. Cullum.

—Mr. George Shea has printed a pamphlet with the title, 'Some Facts and Probabilities relating to the History of Johannes Scotus, surnamed Duns, and concerning the genuineness of the Spagnoletto Portrait belonging to the General Theological Seminary of the United States' (Cambridge: Riverside Press). Three other portraits of Duns Scotus, he says, are known, one at Windsor, one in the Bodleian, and one at Merton, and these are all admitted to be copies. The New York picture came from the shop of Mr. John Chaundy in Oxford; Mr. Chaundy had it from a gentleman who "understood that it had been brought into England from the south of France," and this gentleman's family believed it to be the original Spagnoletto. This, it must be confessed, is a somewhat indefinite pedigree. Mr. Shea adds that "the painting is recognized by connoisseurs as a genuine Ribera." Here is the gist of the question. The genuineness of the portrait can be decided on only by experts. We cannot rest on the opinion of unknown "connoisseurs"; if some acknowledged Spagnoletto authority should examine the picture, his decision would carry weight, but for the present, it will be generally felt, opinion must be reserved. The figure of Scotus, as represented in the photograph, is striking, and it will be pleasant if it should prove to be an original Ribera. The sketch of the great schoolman's life in the pamphlet is not carefully done. The author says, for example (p. 17): "So rapid was his advance that in his first year at the University [of Paris] he was appointed Regent of its Theological School." But the title "regent" belonged to any Master of Arts who chose to teach; and though there was a theological "Faculty," and the Sorbonne was in existence in 1304 (when Duns went to Paris), it is doubtful whether there was "a Theological School," for colleges had already been established, and in all of them theological instruction was given. The statement (p. 15) that "upon a vacancy occurring by the removal to Paris of his master, William Varron (A. D. 1301), Scotus was appointed to the chair of Philosophy," has too modern a tone. There was then, properly speaking, no "chair of philosophy" at Merton College; any master might lecture on any or all of the subjects of the curriculum (in which the philosophy of the time was, of course, prominent), and had to trust to his ability to attract pupils. A similar looseness of expression occurs in Mr. W. J. Townsend's 'Great Schoolmen of the Middle Ages.' Why so much space should be given to Erigena, who had nothing to do with Duns, is not clear. Mr. Shea has, however, done well to call attention to the portrait, and it is to be hoped that the authorities of the Union Theological Seminary will submit it to a competent expert who may enlighten us on the question of its genuineness.

—The three articles by Prof. E. P. Morris on the Sentence-Question in Plautus and Terence, which appeared originally in the *American Journal of Philology*, have now been reprinted in a single pamphlet of 116 pages. It forms a most valuable contribution to our knowledge of a syntactical subject that has never before received the attention which it deserved. The mere collection of the 3,000 questions occurring in these two authors would have been in itself a work deserving of the highest gratitude. But they are further arranged and discussed under separate headings, according to their nature as well as to the interrogative particle which introduces them, and, when this has been done, the history of the interrogative sentence, from its earliest stages, is thoughtfully considered. The whole work is done in a most scholarly fashion, and the author richly deserves, and will doubtless receive, the thanks of all students of the classical languages. Writers of new Latin grammars and revisers of old ones will find many things of interest to them in these pages, and will in future have facts and not theories upon which to base the rules which they lay down. To such, Prof. Morris's views upon the particle *an* are especially commended.

—"Nullumst iam dictum, quod non sit dictum prius," says Terence; and this truth may be brought home to any Englishman who wou'd take credit to himself for inventing the term "Disunited States," uttered in the darkest days of the Rebellion. If, on the other hand, he wishes to shift the responsibility, he can do so by alleging a quotation. The name is at least a hundred and six years old; it occurs in the *Annual Register* for 1785 (London: Robinsons), under the heading "Principal Occurrences," p. 52. We read, in July:

"On the 24th inst. Dr. Franklin embarked at Havre, and on the same day landed at Southampton; whence, after taking some refreshment, he embarked for the isle of Wight, where a vessel lay ready to convey him to America. It is said, his presence is there much wanted, to heal the dissentions that universally prevail throughout the disunited states. The singularity of his course has, however, given rise to much speculation."

—No Queen since Mary Stuart, whom she closely resembles, has been so worshipped by blind admirers as the unfortunate sister of George III., Caroline Mathilde. Historians, novelists, and poets have united to assert her innocence and to condemn the heartless cruelty of her enemies. It is refreshing, therefore, to read in the latest work on this subject, C. Blangstrup's 'Christian VII. og Caroline Mathilde,' a cool, impartial, and critical account of this sad episode in Danish history. The author, who has already published several historical sketches of considerable value, has carefully prepared himself for the present task

by consulting all authorities, printed and unprinted, within his reach, many of the latter of which were only recently made accessible. After an admirable sketch of court life in Europe in the middle of the eighteenth century, Blangstrup proceeds to give a painfully minute account of Christian's childhood and youth, under the severe training of the brutal Reventlow. We here find the clue to his later disgraceful and unhappy life. Separated by indifference and etiquette from his parents' care, and treated with a harshness and lack of sympathy that seem almost impossible, the boy's natural intelligence was almost entirely destroyed, while his fondness for unseemly indulgence was rapidly developed by his miserable companions. The efforts of his tutor, the excellent but weak Reverdil, were of but slight avail in counteracting the temptations surrounding the young prince. The combination of heredity and environment was too strong to be overcome. The account of Caroline Mathilde is the chief source of interest in the book to all but Danish readers, and perhaps even this exception need not be made. Here the author is weakest as regards the early life of the English Princess. A fuller inquiry into Caroline's antecedents and English contemporaries would certainly have aided much in explaining her character. The description of her career after her arrival in Denmark is, on the other hand, as detailed and graphic as the materials would permit.

—Of the Queen's guilt, Blangstrup expresses not the slightest doubt. He even attributes the parentage of the little princess to Struensee. But, while concealing nothing, he brings out clearly all the extenuating circumstances connected with the event. The first of these was the utter indifference of the King, which was more than returned. Christian, who was thoroughly imbued with the spirit of the times with respect to matrimony, frequently declared that he regarded marital fidelity as quite foolish and plebeian. Even when the intimacy between the Minister and his Queen could no longer be disregarded, his theory remained unchanged. The Danish court, furthermore, belonged at that time to the most corrupt and licentious in Europe, and it was quite impossible for the young Queen, with her lively disposition and frivolous temper, to remain unaffected by her daily surroundings. Both by her own frequent expressions and by the cowardly confession of Struensee, she had for several years regarded the latter with feelings warmer than she had ever entertained for her husband. The romantic view of her life is the result partly of the Queen's personal charms and unhappy fate, partly of the unpopularity of her opponents. Romance aside, however, no one will deny the truth of Blangstrup's remark that "her name is among those that cannot be mentioned in Denmark without rousing sad thoughts."

MAGELLAN.

Ferdinand Magellan. By F. H. H. Guillemard. [The World's Great Explorers.] London: Geo. Philip & Son. 1890. 8vo, pp. 356.

FERNÃO DE MAGALHÃES, son of Pedro de Magalhães of Sabrosa, was born in the year 1480, on a day not now discoverable. His family was noble and of the oldest in the kingdom of Portugal. Little is known of his immediate family or early youth, but it has been found that he was made a page of the Queen-Dowager Leonor, widow of Dom João II. In his fifteenth year he became a servitor of the King, Dom Manoel, a monarch eminent for the services he rendered to the maritime interests of Portugal, indefatigable in promoting discovery and navigation, and in spreading Portuguese influence in the Orient. Expeditions towards this end were constantly being fitted out, and in 1504 Fernão applied for leave of absence, bade adieu to court life, and enlisted as a volunteer in the great armada of Don Francisco d'Almeida, at that time preparing to sail for India.

Almeida's fleet was the largest that had hitherto set out for that promised land. Circumstances had shown that the time had come for the appointment of a resident official who should hold the reins of government with a strong hand. To Almeida, as first viceroy of India, fell the task, herculean in difficulty, of organizing and ruling countries and peoples as yet almost unknown to their conquerors; and nobly he fulfilled it. His name, overshadowed by the greater glory claimed for his successor, Albuquerque, is unfamiliar to many of us, but few if any have left the East with cleaner hands and a record more unsullied. Associated with "many gallant men and cavaliers experienced in war," Magellan could not well have begun his Indian experiences under better auspices or with better comrades.

The expedition sailed in March, 1505, and, after various adventures, arrived off the bar of Quiloa, on the coast of Mozambique. Here they were badly received, and without loss of time the city was carried by storm, a fort erected and garrisoned, and in August, 1505, the fleet started for Mombaza, somewhat further north. Here was one of the most important trade centres of the African coast, strongly fortified, and garrisoned by ten thousand Arabs. After severe fighting, this place also was taken, but so politic were the conquerors that victors and vanquished soon became firm friends. Thence the fleet sailed for Archediva near Goa, where it arrived in September, and, after reducing the obstinate rulers of several adjacent provinces, part of the ships were loaded with pepper and spices and despatched to Lisbon, where they arrived May 23, 1506. On the voyage the hitherto unknown eastern coast of Madagascar was discovered.

The Moorish Powers determined to take advantage of the weaker state in which the withdrawal of the fleet had left the Viceroy, and resolved to equip a great armada which should attempt the conquest of the very stronghold and seat of government of their enemies. This plot was revealed to the Portuguese by an Italian traveller, Ludovico Vartema, who escaped from Calicut. The naval battle that ensued, off the Malabar coast, was one of the most celebrated fought by the Portuguese in India, and resulted in the overwhelming defeat of the assailants, who lost more than 3,600 men, against seventy or eighty Portuguese killed and two hundred wounded. Among the latter was Magellan. On his recovery he was sent to Sofala, leaving the Viceroy apparently well established in his power after the crushing defeat inflicted on the Orientals. On his return affairs were changed. The Sultan of Egypt had joined forces with the adversary to defend his Eastern commerce threatened by the Portuguese establishment. A naval force under Dom Lourenço, the son of Almeida, had been defeated, and the wounded commander sank with his shattered vessel, after desperate resistance. In December, 1508, Albuquerque arrived to succeed Almeida, but the latter declined to give up his command until he had avenged himself. Magellan is supposed to have been with him on the *Holy Ghost*, commanded by Nuño vaz Pereira. The fleet of nineteen ships descended upon Dabul and destroyed it so completely as to give rise to a Moorish proverb, "May the vengeance of the Franks overtake you, as it overtook Dabul." Next at Diu the Portuguese encountered a force of more than a hundred sail, which, after desperate fighting, was defeated with the loss of three or four thousand men. This dear-bought victory cost many killed, and again among the wounded was found Magellan. But the power of the Portuguese in India was fairly and indisputably established.

In August, 1509, Magellan sailed with Diego Lopez de Sequeira for Malacca, where the ship arrived in September, and by the carelessness of the commander the whole expedition was nearly betrayed to their ruin. Magellan's courage and presence of mind did much to retrieve the disaster. By the rescue of Francisco Serrão, he established a bond of friendship which at a later time rendered possible the great voyage of circumnavigation that has made his name immortal. Into the Indian service of Magellan, romantic and successful as it was, including the capture of Malacca, the discovery and conquest of the Spice Islands, it is impossible to go further at this time. But we may note that the establishment of Serrão at Ternate, and the information of richer countries beyond sent by him to Magellan, formed, it may be safely conjectured, no slight inducement to that voyage which proved the final undertaking of this illustrious navigator, and upon which his reputation in these days is chiefly founded.

About 1512 Magellan had returned to his native land, where he remained for nearly a year, officially a member of the King's household, but not necessarily resident in it. It was the custom that the gentlemen of this connection should receive a stipend, which, though merely nominal in value, served as an index to their rank and position. Osorio tells us that "each person was esteemed the more noble according to the amount of salary that he received." In July, 1512, Magellan was promoted, receiving a stipend of 1,200 milreis, equivalent to about three dollars and a half a day, in the modern value of the coins, but having a much greater value in those days. In 1513 he formed one of an expedition against the Moors of Morocco, where he was so wounded in the leg by a lance as to remain ever after somewhat lame. A year later he became involved in difficulties which resulted in loss of the royal favor and the refusal of desired advancement. The situation was such that it was evident that, so far as his king and country were concerned, his career was over. He was unemployed, and likely to remain so.

Barros has recorded that, shortly after this time, Magellan wrote to Serrão in the Moluccas to tell him that he would be with him soon, "if not by way of Portugal, then by way of Spain." There can be no doubt that for a long time, possibly ever since his Malaccan experiences, the project of reaching the Spice Islands by the western route had been impressed upon his mind. That it was this project which he laid before Dom Manoel is almost certain. All we know is, that his plans met with a cold refusal. At seven and thirty, a born leader of men, of varied Oriental experience, a master of the art of navigation, his mind filled with his project, he found himself condemned to a life of obscurity and inaction. To a man of Magellan's character and training but one course lay open, and that course he took. Bidding adieu for ever to Portugal, he publicly denaturalized himself, and, passing into Spain, entered the service of the Emperor Charles V. This action drew

down upon him a perfect storm of abuse and invective, the more unjust because such was common usage at the time; Columbus, Cabot, and Vespucci being three of many instances.

Hardly a quarter of a century before, King João II. had regarded Columbus as a boasting and ridiculous adventurer. Now Magellan learned from his successor that "he might do as he pleased." The discovery of the New World and the circumnavigation of the globe are the two greatest achievements of geographic history, but Portugal, which had both within her grasp, cannot claim the glory of either. Magellan could scarcely have met with kinder or more influential protectors than those who welcomed him to Seville. Here he married, in 1517, Beatriz Barbosa, the daughter of his friend and host. Passing over the long series of preliminary struggles, it may be said, in brief, that on the 23d of February, 1518, an agreement was signed which bound the navigator to the service of the Emperor on the projected vogage. It is to be noted that Magellan has become Spanish even to his signature. Fernão de Magalhães has ceased to exist, and we make acquaintance for the first time with Fernando Magallanes.

In spite of Portuguese intrigues, promises, and threats, and a thousand other difficulties, on the 20th of September, 1519, the little fleet cleared the river and set forth on its memorable voyage. For an account of the first circumnavigation the reader must be referred to Dr. Guillemard's scholarly and readable volume. It must suffice to state here that on the 21st of October, 1520, Magellan discovered the strait which bears his name. In defiance of hunger, scurvy, mutiny, and losses by treason and stress of navigation, he pressed onward across the broad Pacific, and, on the 6th of March, 1521, sighted the Ladrones Islands. On the 18th the first of the Philippines was discovered. On the 27th of April, at Mactan, near Sebu, Magellan lost his life in a conflict with the natives, brought on by too great confidence in his own unaided judgment. His son died in September, 1521, and in March of the succeeding year the wife Beatriz followed him. Though the navigator bears a reputation for untarnished honor, and was charged with no act of cruelty in an age of cruelties, his memory was execrated in his native land as that of a traitor. His wife's connections, after the death of her father, were deprived by the Spanish crown of the heritage which would naturally have come to them, and cried, from the depths of poverty, for justice, but in vain. Such was the gratitude of princes.

The book is well printed, and illustrated with a wealth of engravings and maps of such a quality as is only too rare. Giving as it does not only a picture of the navigator, but a delineation of the little world in which he moved, it will be welcome alike to the student of history and the lover of adventure.

RECENT FICTION.

Two Loyal Lovers. A Romance. By Elizabeth Winthrop Johnson. F. A. Stokes Co.

Her Great Ambition. By Anne Richardson Earle. Boston: Roberts Brothers.

Gilbert Elgar's Son. By Harriet Riddle Davis. G. P. Putnam's Sons.

With Fire and Sword. By Henryk Sienkiewicz. Translated from the Polish by Jeremiah Curtin. Boston: Little, Brown & Co.

Ekkehard. By Joseph Victor von Scheffel. Gottsberger & Co.

THE historical romance 'Two Loyal Lovers' serves no true purpose. It has too bitter a flavor for entertainment; and while the incidents and characters are doubtless true to life as it existed in the South more than a quarter of a century ago, the recalling of them in this form, merely for remembrance, is hardly an excuse for being. History and biography afford more fitting memorials. In a note at the end of the volume the author claims that these records are "too precious to be put aside under any lazy pretences of 'forgetting and forgiving.'" But as the labor of reconstruction is an existing and a necessary one, in which North and South must join, it may be well to bear in mind an old proverb, "The mill will never grind with the water that is past."

One would naturally expect, from the title 'Her Great Ambition,' to be introduced to a heroine possessing rather more than the average woman's force of character. Disappointed in this, we turn to meet the other *dramatis personæ*, whose action may have thwarted the heroine's ambition—that of becoming a great artist; but with one exception, and that not a notable one, they are flimsy creations. The whole thing lacks color, not only in the portrayal of the characters, but in the geographical outlines, which have an exasperating vagueness; like the conventional drop-curtain in a provincial theatre, the mountains, valleys, and streams might belong to almost any quarter of the globe. The author seems to be trying to revive the fast-dying sentiment that a woman with an ambition for art in any form must necessarily lose her power for personal affection; but with a heroine whose inherent weakness of character is the principal cause of her failure, and who does not even know whether she tried to end her troubles by drowning, or accidentally fell into the river, the only resource left is to marry her off as speedily as possible and say nothing more about her great ambition.

A quotation from "Twelfth Night" on the title-page,

> "I am all the daughters of my father's house,
> And all the brothers too,"

gives the keynote of 'Gilbert Elgar's Son,' for Robin Elgar was the daughter of a Maryland farmer who, fond of fox-hunting and good-comradeship, had allowed his once fine estate to fall into decay. His lament for a son who would restore "Airlie" to its former flourishing condition kindles in the susceptible heart of the girl an intense desire to take the place of the brother who had died before her birth. This desire, in a nature like Robin's, henceforward shapes her action; and she takes a relative called "Cousin" Dick by courtesy, living on an adjoining estate, as her ideal. She rebels against the little country school, and by good fortune falls into the hands of a man of original ideas, from whom she receives a training usually given only to boys. Sharing her father's outdoor pursuits, she becomes an exceptionally expert horsewoman, and, with superb health of mind and body, is well-equipped when the necessity arises, through the death of her father, to take a son's place beside her invalid mother. There was need for all Robin's well-trained energies, and with sound judgment she lays out her course, and toils unremittingly side by side with her men, sowing, reaping, harvesting. Meanwhile Cousin Dick, who has been abroad for many years absorbed in scientific pursuits, learns, through a chance meeting with a recent visitor at his old home, of the situation of his kinswomen, and, acting upon a chivalrous impulse, returns to pay off the debts and take the helm. But his offer of pecuniary aid meets with a sturdy refusal, and in despair he offers himself, to be indignantly rejected.

The story abounds in pleasant pictures of country life in the part of Maryland settled by the Friends. The description of a gathering of the neighborhood "Horticultural" at Airlie is interesting. The young hostess, as womanly as the gentlest of dove-colored Friends, is unexpectedly called upon to "say something" in place of an absent essayist, and gives modestly and naturally her own blank-verse translation of the Georgics; while her hard-won success as a farmer is warmly commented on by the farmers present. One wishes that the author had omitted the well-worn arguments on taxation without representation, introduced towards the end of the book. The story of such a woman as Robin Elgar, with powers so well trained to carry out a heroic purpose, does not need to be bulwarked by argument.

'With Fire and Sword,' by "the first of Polish novelists," has already, we are told, won a wide popularity in Europe. Mr. Curtin's able and spirited translation is now before the public, and has assuredly done for the work whatever is to be done towards fairly presenting it to American readers. The novel deals with an exciting episode in Polish history, the dreadful rising in 1648 of the Cossacks, under Hmelnitski, against the Commonwealth of Poland, Lithuania, and parts of Russia. The Cossacks joined forces with the Tartars, and the allies carried desolation into Poland in a series of fearful battles, of which that of Berestechko, which terminates the present book, though a victory for the Poles, caused "the victors themselves to be terrified at their work." This period of the rebellion, lasting over four years, constitutes the first act of the long drama created by Hmelnitski, which, after victories and defeats, culminated in the downfall of the Commonwealth.

The campaigns of the terrible Hmelnitski and the no less terrible Prince Yeremi Vishnyevetski of the Commonwealth form the subject of Sienkiewicz's romance. A beautiful princess, many times taken prisoner and as many times freed by knightly rescuers, furnishes the needful *ewig Weibliche*. Around the figures of the two commanders, which gleam luridly from the canvas, stands a group of wonderfully well-defined knights and warriors. Most prominent of all, Zagloba—sot and braggart, "an evil tongue but a golden heart," befriended by the Fates, his every act of cowardice turned into seeming heroism, whining at danger, but facing it for love of friend and country; swearing, swilling, toasting, whimpering, but ever accomplishing; wit and bully, a Falstaff for greed and swagger, a Prospero for tender care of the beautiful Helena—is a creation of which any author might be proud, and from whom, notwithstanding the gruesome places through which one has accompanied him, one parts with affection and regret. The deeds of these knights in the bloody adventures of war and the equally bloody adventures of rescue fill in the historical outlines. A score of minor characters are painted with fidelity and skill, each one bristling with the rude and vigorous life of the time.

It would be unreasonable to expect a pastoral to be made out of a story of revolt among a half-civilized mob in the seventeenth century; but we frankly confess that to us the book seems unnecessarily loaded with horrors. If history did impale its war-victims on stakes, at least the author might have spared us the sight. Fire and sword are in fact domestic pets beside the atrocities with which every page reeks. We shall also, at the risk of ap-

pearing weakly Anglo-Saxon, venture to remark that 776 pages of closely printed octavo devoted to battles, to the drinking of "gorailka," and to adventures compared with which those of 'The Cloister and the Hearth' are kindergarten tales, smack of overplus, and are at times distinctly tedious. Yet many an eye will moisten for brave Podbipienta; and in hinting at the possibility of a tear on the eight-hundredth page of an historical romance we consider that we have borne eloquent testimony to the power of this author.

'Ekkehard,' long dear to the German heart, and read throughout the length and breadth of Germany, wherever a library, or a fireside, or a school-room abides, has found its way to our shores in an excellent translation, put into two convenient little volumes—a well-advised sop to the Cerberus of American incapacity to endure the long, the large, the much. If we cannot quite feel that it is worthy to be the national novel of a great people, the classic which it is almost a blasphemy to have translated, it must certainly be said that it ranks as an agreeable story—or collection of episodes strung with skill and taste upon a thread of history—and that we have a pictorial presentment of the tenth century, with figures alive with tone and energy. Cowled monks talking in Latin, writing pompous manuscripts and guzzling sour wine; cloister pupils making double-rhymed hexameters; merry goose-maidens; Hunnish warriors and ladies fair, make up the personages in a pretty drama that shows to "the very age and body" of this time "the form and pressure" of that. The warm, human heart of the tenth century is brought very close to that of the nineteenth; its virtues and faults are not widely different, though the former are practised on simpler, narrower, straighter lines; and the latter ride rough-shod and spare not. The author has happily "amalgamated heaven and hell," which Carlyle reprehends, but which is essential to a true picture of life in any century. The saints sin, the sinners play the hero. These are real human beings, leading real lives, for all their musty learning and barbarous customs. Nor has the poet, in becoming an historian and an analyst of human motive, forgotten to be a poet. The fair light of fancy plays upon his pages, now and then flashing into a veritable moment of poetry. If we say that we think Waltari's great epic poem might better have been postponed to a separate volume, we are only saying that fiction may well illustrate the literary history of a century, but should hardly be the text-book. If we say that there are several climaxes in the closing pages, and that the story dies hard, we are only saying that a sense of climax is not part of the German birthright. If we say that it is amusing to compare with Sienkiewicz's 'Fire and Sword,' in its utter absorption in the subject, the personal note which sounds—both through Von Scheffel's preface, and later, when he takes leave of his "dear reader," alluding to the headaches of composition—we add directly that a poet who did not pipe a personal note would be as unpleasant an anomaly as a new-fashioned grandmother.

Studies in Literature. By John Morley. Macmillan & Co.

THIS final volume of Mr. Morley's miscellanies adds the uncollected pieces of a literary character not included in the works issued some time ago. The subjects are partly special, such as reviews of Victor Hugo's 'Ninety-three' and Browning's 'The Ring and the Book'; partly of a general nature, such as the lecture on "Aphorisms" and on "The Study of Literature." Some of these papers have been already commented upon in these columns, but few of them stand out among the author's writings with any relief. The most striking by far is the keen, destructive criticism of Sir Henry Maine's 'Popular Government,' in which Mr. Morley expresses the danger even so acute a generalizer runs when he separates himself from the concrete conditions of politics. The burden of the criticism lies in its illustrations of the extent to which ideas, without a basis in fact, may lead to errors in the conception of what democracy as a political system is, and what are its historical sources and practical supports. For Sir Henry Maine's statements as well as for his theoretic views Mr. Morley shows what can only be called a polite contempt. A more interesting paper in its personal relations is that on "French Models," in which the author quotes the characterization of himself by a political opponent as "The Saint-Just of our Revolution," and proceeds to defend himself from the charge (not confined to this ludicrous instance) of following after "French Models." The whole is more piquant reading than usually is the case with him, but its more useful part consists in his discussion of the relation of history to politics, of ideas to reform in the doing, and in general of the scholar's equipment to the public man's necessities.

The correspondence of Mr. Macvey Napier gives him opportunity to make some remarks of a helpful nature on the duties and trials of an editor as he himself found them; and the concluding paper is his "Valedictory" on leaving the *Fortnightly*, in which also he found occasion to speak his mind about editorial problems, and in particular about signed and unsigned articles and the advance in the open discussion of public questions. Upon the former point he writes with his usual moderation, and shows the advantages and disadvantages incident to both anonymity and publicity. We will not refrain from quoting what he says upon a matter recently mooted among ourselves:

"The old talk of 'literary bravoes,' 'men in masks,' 'anonymous assassins,' and so forth, is out of date. Longer experience has only confirmed the present writer's opinion, expressed here from the very beginning: 'Every body who knows the composition of any respectable journal in London, knows very well that the articles which those of our own way of thinking dislike most intensely, are written by men whom to call bravoes in any sense whatever would be simply monstrous.'"

The passage goes on admirably for a page, and we recommend it as a just expression of what an editor who on the whole inclines to signed articles in magazines (allowance being made for exceptional cases), thinks may be urged against reviewers. As a whole, the volume is more profitable for political than literary thought, but the love of letters and a wide acquaintance with them are diffused through all the essays, and the even style is admirably adapted to the sound matter, neither having any real brilliancy.

The Conflicts of Capital and Labor. By George Howell, M.P. Macmillan. 1890.

THE rate of modern progress is strikingly illustrated by this book. When the first edition was published, in 1878, trade unions, as Mr. Howell says, "were denounced in the press, on the platform, in the pulpit, and in Parliament; not occasionally, but constantly, persistently, and virulently." Now they are regarded with favor or with indifference; at all events, without apprehension. Society has other bugbears wherewith to terrify itself today, and is, perhaps, even beginning to look on the trade unions as bulwarks of conservatism. Nor is this without good reason, for there are manifest indications that the communistic and socialistic elements find certain features in the present constitution of these bodies very much in the way of their revolutionary plans. The fact is, that the great unions have passed out of the militant stage, and have become to a great extent mutual-insurance companies, and as such have become possessed of large funds. They are thus in position to carry on war if necessary, but at the same time they have strong inducements to remain at peace.

The strength of these inducements appears from an examination of the balance sheets of the principal trade unions. In the year 1876 seventeen of these bodies, with a membership of 212,000, had an income of £384,000, and expended £338,000, having a surplus of £616,000. In 1889 sixteen unions, corresponding to a great extent with the seventeen previously referred to, and with but slightly increased membership, received £530,000, spent £378,000, and had a surplus of £556,000. Mr. Howell estimates the total number of workmen combined in trade unions at not less than 1,500,000, their annual income at £2,000,000, and their accumulated surplus at the same figure. This surplus, however, is maintained in a shape available for immediate use, being kept on deposit in the joint-stock and savings banks. It is obvious that such funds as these, while of great service for insurance against ordinary vicissitudes, would soon disappear in a general industrial war.

If we examine the history of the most prominent of the unions, the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, the progress of peaceful aims becomes more apparent. Taking the twenty years, 1869-89, we find that the number of members has risen from 33,000 to 60,000, the income from £82,000 to £183,000, the expenditure for sick benefit from £17,000 to £30,000, the superannuation allowance from £8,000 to £40,000, the accident benefit from £1,600 to £2,177, the funeral payments from £5,600 to £8,289. The donations to men out of work happen to be in 1869 nearly £60,000 and in 1889 only half that sum, but this item varies irregularly, and we can only say that it tends perhaps on the whole to decrease. It seems, therefore, that this society finds itself in the position of other life-insurance societies of long standing, obliged to provide for increased numbers of maturing claims. The regularity of its receipts is of increasing importance to its success, and it is obvious that a strike will not be hastily entered upon by men who see that their insurance may be imperilled by such action. Mr. Howell calls attention to a common and very serious misunderstanding of the meaning of "donations to men out of work," or "the out-of-work fund." This benefit is distinct from pay to men on strike, and has amounted in the case of the Amalgamated Engineers to the enormous total of £1,500,000 during the last thirty-nine years. It may be added, as of possible interest to the holders of policies in American life-insurance companies, that the total expense of this society for rent and salaries of officers is about £350 a year.

Although the temper of society has changed, Mr. Howell's book retains the acrimonious tone that was excusable, if not altogether justifiable, when the first edition appeared. He would have greatly improved it had he omitted the imprecatory passages, and especially had he refrained from his futile onslaught upon political economy. Of that science he knows little,

and he allows himself to be infuriated by the hostile screeds of its false prophets. It is not so very certain that political economy has a message to be delivered to the trade unions, but if it has, it will confine it to their effect upon the production of wealth. We are not aware of the existence of any conclusive evidence upon this point; nor is it a simple matter to prove that these unions have altered the distribution of wealth. They may have increased the wages of some laborers at the expense of others; they may have in some places increased wages at the expense of rent; but that they have increased the wages of laborers as a class is at least unproved. What they have done that will be generally admitted to be laudable is to insure their members against some of the more grievous ills of poverty, the miseries, prospective and actual, of failure of work, of health, and of life, when there is none to help and nothing to alleviate. They have enabled laborers to secure the fair competitive value of their work in cases where the pressure of immediate necessity would have put them at a disadvantage in bargaining with their employers.

In spite of the intensity of Mr. Howell's feeling, we are impressed not only with his honesty of purpose, but with the general fairness and soundness of his views. We cannot admit the validity of his plea for those unionists who refuse to teach apprentices, on the ground that they would raise up competitors by so doing. It is the old fallacy that the introduction of machinery lessens the work to be done—a fallacy which Mr. Howell as a rule avoids. Nor can we agree with him as to the need of long apprenticeships. Adam Smith exploded this idea long since, and the increased intelligence of workmen renders it wholly inadmissible. But in most other respects we believe that Mr. Howell's views will commend themselves to all dispassionate readers, and his book will be accepted as the leading authority upon the subject of which it treats. We must except from this latter statement the introductory portion, which is devoted to the history of the earlier guilds—a subject requiring a broader scholarship than that of this author.

As to the matter of State aid, Mr. Howell's tone is thoroughly manly. All that he asks for workmen is liberty of combination for the purpose of securing for themselves the best terms that are economically possible. The idea of establishing a universal working day of eight hours by act of Parliament he repudiates with scorn, and so, it may be added, do those other leaders of the workmen who have done most for them in the past. Mr. Howell's book was published before the recent action of the Congress of Trade Unions, but he was evidently aware of the tendency to call in the aid of Government that has temporarily, at least, prevailed, and impressively predicts the evil results that will follow from it. Should this tendency continue, the unions will presently be involved in conflicts with one another, and the individual unions will suffer from dissension among their own members. Their history has been an interesting and not altogether inglorious one, and Mr. Howell has done well to preserve its details; but it may be doubted whether he would be grateful for the wish that he might be spared to carry the story far into the future. He has seen the rise of the trade unions, and has promoted it. It would be sad should it fall to him to chronicle their decline.

New York in the War of the Rebellion. By Frederick Phisterer. Albany: Weed, Parsons & Co.

THE statistical statements upon which Col. Phisterer has been engaged for many years have now appeared in this bulky volume. The author is already well known by his volume of 'Statistical Records' in the Scribner series of Campaigns of the Civil War, but the present work, although confined to the record of the State of New York, is much more elaborate. It gives the lists of members of the successive Legislatures from 1861 to 1865, and the war legislation passed by them; the cost to the State in lives and money; a list of all officers who died; a list of over two thousand engagements in which New York troops participated, and, for the important actions, a statement of each New York organization present, and the number of killed, wounded, and missing, and, finally, a brief history of each regiment and battery, with a list of the engagements in which it was present, and its losses in each. Much of the information which it contains is to be found in publications of the Federal Government, but it does not appear that anything is here repeated except what is necessary to make a complete record for the State of New York. On the other hand, there are some important omissions. For instance, a complete list is given of all general and staff officers and officers of the regular Army, Navy, and Marine Corps—all officers, in short, who were appointed by the President; but no names are given of regimental officers except the first commander. The reason alleged for this omission is that these names were printed in the report of the Adjutant-General of New York for 1867. But this is a document not easily accessible, and it is certainly more important to know the names of the commanding officers of regiments at successive periods of the war than to know the names of additional paymasters, boatswains, and sailmakers appointed by the President. In Whitelaw Reid's 'Ohio in the Civil War,' the names of all regimental officers are given as part of the regimental histories, and but very little additional space is required for them. What also seems to us a serious defect in a work of this kind is the lack of any general index. In the 'Records of the War of the Rebellion,' published by the War Department, an elaborate index accompanies each volume, and all students who have had occasion to consult these volumes know how invaluable the index is, and how nearly useless the work would be without it.

Notwithstanding these defects, Col. Phisterer's book will always remain the standard source of all statistical information relating to the part taken by the State of New York in the Civil War. It is a most honorable part, and it is well that it should, once and for all, be placed on record. New York furnished one-sixth of the Northern armies, and contributed one-eighth of the death-roll. With a population of less than 4,000,000 in 1860, and 764,000 males between the ages of eighteen and forty-five, this State sent to the war 400,000 individuals, of whom, in round numbers, 8,000 served in the militia, 16,000 in the Regular Army, 46,000 in the Navy and Marine Corps, 4,000 in the United States Colored Troops, and 15,000 in the United States Volunteers, leaving 311,000 in the State Volunteers. Of these latter, 48,066 died, about 13,000 of them killed outright, 7,000 from wounds, and 28,000 from sickness. Another 48,000 were wounded but recovered. The cost to the State in money, exclusive of amounts refunded by the Federal Government, was $160,000,000.

From such a mass of statistics many conclusions of much interest to the military reader can be drawn, but space enables us to mention only one or two of them. The figures just quoted show that, in war, sickness is more to be feared than the enemy. Among the 311,000 individuals there were killed in battle 4.17 per cent.; died of wounds, 2.32 per cent.; died of disease, 8.96 per cent. The total deaths were 15.45 per cent., and the percentage of those who were wounded but recovered was 15.62 per cent., making a total of 31.07 per cent., or nearly one man in every three, either killed, wounded, or died of disease.

We next observe that the men were well led, for the proportion killed in action and died of wounds was slightly greater among officers than among the men, the proportion for officers being 7.10 per cent. and for enlisted men 6.45 per cent.; but on the other hand the officer fared better in sickness than the enlisted man, for the proportion of deaths from disease was, among officers, 2.33 per cent., and among enlisted men 9 34 per cent.

The relative danger of service in the three arms is shown by the fact that while the proportion of deaths from disease was nearly the same in all three, yet in battle or from wounds the cavalry lost 3.13 per cent.; the artillery, 4.09 per cent.; the infantry, 6.89 per cent.—thus proving once more the well-known principle that the infantry bears the brunt of the battle. But if the cavalry does not lose heavily, it is seldom away from the enemy, and only for brief intervals does it cease skirmishing with him. For instance, the First New York Cavalry in forty-four months of constant service met the enemy in no less than 224 encounters, exclusive of picket duties, and passed only seven months without an engagement of some sort. There were 1,910 individuals in the regiment, and of these only 46 were killed or died of wounds, 122 died of disease or other causes, and 111 were wounded, but recovered. Seven-eighths of the regiment were uninjured. Their fellow-soldiers in the One Hundred and Twenty-first Infantry, in a service of equal duration, had a very different experience. This regiment participated in only 30 engagements large and small, but among them were Fredericksburg, Marye's Heights, Gettysburg, the Wilderness, Spotsylvania, Cold Harbor, Petersburg, Cedar Creek, and Appomattox. It numbered 1,380 members from first to last, and of these 226 were killed or died of wounds, 120 died of disease or other causes, and 454 more were wounded, but recovered. Only two-fifths escaped unhurt. The losses of this regiment were exceptional, but there were several others in which one man of every two was either killed, wounded, or died of disease.

Dressage méthodique du cheval de selle d'après les derniers renseignements de F. Baucher, recueillis par un de ses élèves. Paris: J. Rothschild. 1891. 8vo, pp. viii, 198.

To those to whom the name of Baucher suggests only the thought of the "High School," this volume may be something of a surprise, dealing as it does mainly with the way of training a horse so that he shall be "easy and pleasant to ride and regular in his gaits." It is true that directions are given for producing the fancy gaits which are the stock in trade of the average trainer, but we are expressly told that all these are entirely unnecessary. The author, concealing his titles of General and Baron under what no doubt seems to him worthy of greater respect—"one of the pupils" of the master whom he followed even in his last days, after the terrible accident which put an end for ever to his practical training of the animal that he so thoroughly understood—gives us in the title of the book one of the most striking characteristics of that master when he says that the notes from which the

volume is formed are "after the last teachings" of Baucher. For though, or rather because, Baucher was so good a teacher, he was always a learner, and a learner from the animal that was his pupil. He was an original thinker, and in this book we have not only directions for doing certain things, but a real philosophy of training which, let it be said in passing, would apply as well to the training of a child as to that of a horse. The author could in no other way have borne so strong a testimony to the nature of the animal to whose study he had given so much time. Witness these statements: "Whenever we have succeeded in making one position very familiar to the horse, it is always at the expense of the facility with which he takes others." "Give the *position* which ought to produce the movement desired. Do not seek first the movement, which ought to be a consequence of the position." "Do not urge him; give the position and let the horse act for himself." "The horse understands at once the difference between your laying down the reins on his neck and your holding them by the ends. . . ." Again and again he impresses it upon his student to secure obedience by simply making it impossible for the horse to disobey. He warns him in the first stages of the education to be content with the smallest appearance of obedience, and to reward at once, and give rest for a while. The first lesson is to secure lightness of the mouth, but as soon as we feel that the jaw relaxes never so little, we are to yield our pressure. The effect of the steady eye of the trainer is insisted on. There is nothing finer or really more philosophical than this: "After each smallest punishment given, the rider, calm and entirely devoid of anger, is to *study what is going on in the mind of the horse.*" Again: "After each different movement has been obtained, let the animal rest for several minutes, if it be necessary, until the preceding movement no longer *resounds in his organism.*" As the training proceeds, "we must try to *feel* if he is *about to take* a false position." And he tells us that, after all, the means for obtaining any desired gait comes rather from the acquired instinct—if one may be allowed the expression—of the horseman than from any theory. No Englishman could ever have said this. It seems necessary to give these quotations in order to communicate the spirit of this most admirable book.

The author begins with definitions of the technical terms which his master was in the habit of using, and then goes on to the great principles which generated his whole practice. Briefly stated they are these: "Dominate in order to teach. Teach by rendering wrong action impossible. Then give back the horse to himself." How to do these things is set forth in the pages which follow, by means of all the beautiful accuracy of the French language, so that any one who rides may read: "Go very slowly if you wish to secure rapid progress." "Let him believe that he is his own master; that is the way to make him our slave." "Constant repetition and avoidance of irritation are the keys to success." How Baucher studied the smallest detail and its effect upon his pupil is seen in the way in which he speaks of the whip as "dispersing the forces" which it is the necessity of the rider to collect. It is only when the forces of the horse concentrate against the will of the rider that the whip is to come into play at all, and then instantly, sharply, and only once. The lashing of the tail, like a fault in a child, is to be turned to account to produce just the motion that is required. To transmute that wasted energy into a good forward movement is the art of the master. "All sudden action breeds uncertainty in the gait."

It is difficult to criticise this book because of its very fulness. It is overrunning with suggestions of the most valuable kind. The very phrases are picturesque, and seem to be alive; as, for instance, where we read of "imprisoning the horse between bit and spurs so as to render him, at the very first, incapable of resistance to our will." Baucher's great theory, that hands and legs must never be used together, is shown to be no cast-iron rule, for both at the beginning and at the end of the training it is allowable. The casual observer who supposes that every horse is at least symmetrical in his own action, will find room for some new ideas in relation to individual peculiarities also, and may thereafter produce perhaps better results in his amateur efforts, and may be led to take the blame on himself, and not to charge it to the horse, when he finds himself unable to secure a desired result.

In this work we have no carelessly thrown-together collection of suggestions, but a complete system of training in which every part subserves every other, and no stone is laid without being the intended foundation for some other division of the structure. When we add that the book is a pleasure to read because of its beautiful paper and typography, and that the tiny illustrations which close every chapter are simply delightful and of endless variety, we complete the praise which it deserves both as to matter and method. An excellent table of contents facilitates reference to any subject, even to the smallest details. For the benefit of those who do not read French with ease, it were much to be desired that we should have at the hands of some first-class workman a complete translation of the book; and with the present growing interest in riding, it would seem as if this would be, from the point of view of the publisher, no uncertain venture.

Le Ordalie: Studio di Storia del Diritto e Scienza del Diritto Comparato, da Federigo Patetta. Turin: Fratelli Bocca. 1890.

In the history of the evolution of the social organization and of the development of law, there are few subjects more interesting and instructive than the system of judgments of God—the judicial ordeals by which men have sought to determine disputed questions by referring them to the decision of the supernatural powers. In almost innumerable forms, and in almost all stages of civilization, save the very lowest and the highest, human reason has thus sought to release itself from responsibility and to relieve itself from doubt. It is seen to-day in the customs of many savage tribes, it is traced back to the most ancient records of the civilized races, its disappearance from European codes is a matter of but a few centuries, and every now and then some startling occurrence shows that it still lingers in popular superstition.

The activity of modern investigation has within a few years accumulated an immense mass of new material for the history of the custom. Researches into the primitive Oriental religions, the publication of mediæval documents, the reports of scientific explorations in the little known parts of the earth, have all contributed innumerable scattered facts; and Signore Patetta has done a service of no little magnitude to the student in assembling these facts with unwearied industry, and in coördinating and elucidating them in the true scientific spirit. Based as far as possible on the original sources, many of them still in MS., his work is a storehouse of knowledge, intelligently arranged and clearly set forth, and it is indispensable to the student of human institutions and development. The only fault we have to find with it is the absence of an analytical index, which would so greatly facilitate reference to the immense mass of information contained in its pages. No care in the systematic arrangement of the text supersedes the advantage to the hurried scholar of such a key to the treasury.

Recherches sur les Tremblements de terre. Par Jules Girard, Secrétaire-adjoint de la Société de Géographie. Paris: E. Leroux. 1890. 8vo, pp. 198.

It is somewhat difficult to conceive for what class of readers this work is intended. Its title—'Researches,' etc.—would indicate that the author was addressing an audience of scientific men to whom he wished to communicate some original investigations of his own. The book, however, contains no original investigations or observations by the author, and the accounts given of the original work of others are never full and are frequently inexact. Neither is the book quite suited to a popular audience, for a considerable space is devoted to minute details relating to the construction of seismographs (earthquake-recorders) which can have but little general interest.

The ten chapters of the volume treat of a great variety of subjects, from the traditions of the ancients regarding earthquakes to the destruction of buildings and to the dependence of shocks upon the situation of the planets in their orbits. The book is too small to allow this variety of topics to be adequately treated, and the necessary conciseness takes away much of the popular interest, while at the same time scientific precision has not been attained. For English-speaking readers the work of Milne ('Earthquakes and Volcanoes,' International Scientific Series, volume lv.), is much to be preferred, though M. Girard's volume may fill a place in France.

There is still room for a popular treatise on earthquakes and earthquake phenomena. The accounts of eyewitnesses of the great catastrophes are often most graphic, and exhibit human nature under strange conditions. The whole history of an earthquake country is well worth reciting. The scientific side of the matter, too, can be made as interesting as it is important. The problems to be considered relate to the proper registration of the circumstances of a particular earthquake, and also to the proper discussion of the statistics of earthquake phenomena within the limits of a region, a country, or a hemisphere. A suitable treatise would bring out and emphasize the fact that in both these matters there is a sharp line of demarcation between the old and the new. The invention of instruments really suited to the accurate registration of earthquakes was only made about a dozen years ago (by the European scientists in Japan and especially by Prof. Ewing). The examination of earthquake statistics in a scientific fashion was begun by Mallet and Perrey less than fifty years ago, and the methods are not yet in a satisfactory shape.

The difference between the old and new science of earthquakes—between the problem as treated by Humboldt in his 'Cosmos' and by Ewing in his various works—is of capital importance. It should be particularly emphasized in any popular treatise. In the book of M. Girard it seems to have been overlooked.

Anne Bradstreet and Her Time. By Helen Campbell. Boston: D. Lothrop Co.

THE materials for a biography of Anne Bradstreet bear no proportion to the works which she left, and these latter are not of the sort out of which clever writers construct imaginary autobiographies. The author of this not brief life of the colonial poetess has been forced into using histories and records of the settlement in Massachusetts, and of the conditions, political and literary, of the mother-country, in order to make a book extraordinarily diffuse and miscellaneous even for such work as this. All that is known of "the grandmother of American poetry" or of her relatives is told, but besides this we have a view of the times in England and of the men and events of the Puritan colony, and, in fact, of whatever would serve to make a chapter; and as little of it is fresh, and there is no vivacity or effective handling in the rearrangement of the old material, the volume does not lighten the natural dulness that weighs on the subject by itself, and of which the reader is treated to a most liberal supply in the shape of long extracts from the "poems." The best part consists of the pages of Anne Bradstreet's prose meditations which she wrote out for her son, in which one discovers force of mind and a degree of literary faculty. Mrs. Campbell intimates that one reason of her writing this biography was to explain why it was that this country has not produced intellectual women of equal mark to the best of England; but we do not see that she succeeds at all in this, and it is difficult to find exactly where she has applied her mind to it.

The volume would have gained by a less ambitious treatment, by which its matter should have been restricted to the subject of it, and to such illustration of the poetical works that won the esteem of the early clergy as might be deemed readable by a patient man; as it is, there is much more verse than can be relished except by an antiquarian. It is perhaps impossible to depict the character of this striking woman with any real success, but it was not merciful to afflict a memory, already sufficiently burdened with dulness in its own right, with the added weight of a dull biography.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Allen, G. The Great Taboo. Harper & Bros. 40 cents.
Bourget, P. Was It Love? Worthington Co.
Brown, D. W. The American Patent System. 25 cents.
Burgess, Prof. J. W. Political Science and Comparative Constitutional Law. 2 vols. Boston: Ginn & Co.
Doyle, E. Moody Moments: Poems. Ketcham & Doyle.
Emerson, P. H. Wild Life on a Tidal Water. Sampson Low, Marston & Co.
Eustace, Rev. J. M. Notes on Trigonometry and Logarithms. Longmans, Green & Co. $1.35.
Farmer, J. S. Slang and its Analogues, Past and Present. Vol. II. London: David Nutt.
Greswell, Rev. W. Geography of the Dominion of Canada and Newfoundland. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Macmillan.
Gunton, G. Principles of Social Economics. G. P. Putnam's Sons. $1.75.
Halévy, L. Criquette. Chicago: Rand, McNally & Co.
Harper's Bazar for 1890. Vol. 23. Harper & Bros.
Harper's Monthly Magazine. Vols. 80 and 81. Harper & Bros.
Harper's Weekly for 1890. Vol. 34. Harper & Bros.
Harris, W. T. Hegel's Logic. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. $1.50.
Hudson, W. C. The Man with a Thumb. Cassell Publishing Co. 50 cents.
Hyde, D. Beside the Fire. London: David Nutt.
Ingersoll, R. G. Liberty in Literature. Truth Seeker Co. 50 cents.
Jameson, J. S. Story of the Rear Column of the Emin Pasha Expedition. U. S. Book Co.
Keynes, J. N. The Scope and Method of Political Economy. Macmillan & Co.
Kipling, Rudyard. The Light That Failed. John W. Lovell Co.
Kovalevsky, M. Modern Customs and Ancient Laws of Russia. London: David Nutt.
Longstaff, G. B. Studies in Statistics. London: Edward Stanford.
Lovell, Kate. Nature's Wonder-Workers. Cassell & Co. $1.50.
Lucas, C. P. A Historical Geography of the British Colonies. Vol. II. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Macmillan. $1.90.
Masson, D. The Collected Writings of Thomas De Quincey. Vol. XIV. Edinburgh: Adam & Charles Black. $1.25.
Meyer, Dr. H. Across East African Glaciers. Longmans, Green & Co. $10.50.
New Tariff. R. F. Downing & Co. $1.50.
Oliver, Dr. N. T. An Unconscious Crime. Chicago: Laird & Lee.
Page, S. The Chevalier of Pensieri-Vani. Boston: J. G. Cupples & Co. 50 cents.
The Year's Art, 1891. London: J. S. Virtue & Co.
Thomas, C. The Crystal Button. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $1.25.
Thwaites, R. The Colonies, 1492–1750. Longmans, Green & Co. $1.25.
Tolstoi, Count L. Church and State, and Other Essays. Boston: Benj. R. Tucker.
Traddles, Moses. Poems and Sketches. Cincinnati: Keating & Co.
Valdés, A. P. Scum. U. S. Book Co.
Ward, H. My Life with Stanley's Rear Guard. Chas. L. Webster & Co. 50 cents.
Ward, Mrs. Humphry. University Hall. Macmillan & Co. 30 cents.
Whiting, H. Physical Measurement. Part II. Cambridge: John Wilson & Son.
Whitman, S. Imperial Germany. Leipzig: Tauchnitz; New York: B. Westermann & Co. 50 cents.
Whitney, W. D. A Brief French Grammar. Henry Holt & Co. 65 cents.
Wickham, E. C. Horace. Vol. II. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Macmillan & Co.
Wright, W. Aldis. The Cambridge Shakspere. Vol. I. Macmillan & Co. $3.
Yonge, Miss Charlotte M. Two Penniless Princesses. Macmillan & Co.

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 19, 1891.

The Week.

We comment elsewhere on the letter by which Mr. Cleveland has given another signal illustration of his courage. It is brief, but it covers the whole ground, and it defines his position even the more clearly and emphatically for its brevity. After stating his inability to attend the meeting of the Reform Club, the writer says:

"I am glad that the business interests of New York are at last to be heard on the subject. It surely cannot be necessary for me to make a formal expression of my agreement with those who believe that the greatest perils would be invited by the adoption of the scheme embraced in the measure now pending in Congress for an unlimited coinage of silver at our mints. If we have developed an unexpected capacity for the assimilation of a largely increased volume of the currency, and even if we have demonstrated the usefulness of such an increase, these conditions fall far short of insuring us against disaster if, in the present situation, we enter upon the dangerous and reckless experiment of free, unlimited, and independent silver coinage."

This letter continues to be the chief subject of public interest and comment. The silverites have actually quailed before it. They must not be allowed to rally. Advantage should be taken of the opportunity now presented to drive them to the wall, just as the greenbackers were driven when Gen. Grant vetoed the Inflation Bill. A vigorous campaign for sound money should be started at once, having for its object not merely the prevention of free coinage, but the repeal of the present Silver Law, which law will lead to the silver standard in time just as effectually as free coinage itself. The popular education that suffices for the one will suffice for the other also. The present law is simply a drain on the taxpayers for the benefit of silver-mine owners and speculators. If it does not lead to the silver standard, it is sheer waste. If it does lead to that result, it is a great calamity. As long as it hangs over the business community we shall have distrust, stringency, and hard times. Moreover (and this is a result that has not been sufficiently considered), it piles up in one place a mountain of silver that has got to be disposed of some time. The higher this mountain becomes, the worse will be the landslide eventually—the worse for silver-mine owners and silver-using countries in every quarter of the globe.

The comments which the St. Louis *Republic* is reported by telegraph to have made upon Mr. Cleveland's letter are so remarkable, coming from a newspaper with an established reputation for intelligence, as to suggest the fear that the editor was suffering from temporary aberration of mind when he wrote them. After saying that the letter is "merely the private opinion of a single Democrat," and that it is probable that the "whole matter may be settled by free coinage before 1892," the *Republic* adds:

"But if it is otherwise, the entire matter should be left to the Democratic National Convention. On its adoption of a platform of tariff reform and free coinage, it will be Mr. Cleveland's duty to accept both the nomination and the platform if the party demands his leadership. Certainly if such a demand were made on him and he did accept the nomination, he would be above the suspicion of disloyalty. He would waive his own personal opinion, and stand as sturdily for the party on the minor issue as he has stood on its leading issue of tariff reform."

The attitude of Mr. Cleveland, standing on a platform which advocated a financial policy that he had previously denounced as "reckless and dangerous," and saying that since his party wished it he would consent to look upon it as a "minor issue," and waive it, would be anything but "sturdy." Horace Greeley used to "spit upon the platform" and support its candidate, and he himself, a furious protectionist, tried to run for the Presidency on a tariff-reform platform by referring the tariff for settlement to the Congressional districts; but in none of these "double acts" was he very successful. What the *Republic* proposes for Mr. Cleveland is far more absurd than anything Mr. Greeley ever attempted.

The *Commercial Bulletin* pays its respects to those "friends of silver" who are now proposing a new compromise. It is wonderful how many compromises these people can turn out in a single year. They now talk of a bill for free coinage of American silver only, including in this term silver produced from foreign ores treated in American smelters. The *Bulletin* shows that there is no means of determining what is American silver, since the Mexican border is a great unprotected line, sparsely settled, stretching from ocean to ocean, "and crossed by multitudes of roads, while even on the chief railroads inspection of every package coming in could hardly be so close as to exclude all silver. Nor could small vessels on the Pacific or the Gulf be prevented from landing a load of silver at any time in insignificant ports. If the bullion were worth $1.29 on one side of an imaginary line, and only $1.00 on the other side, it would cross in great quantities, and no power could stop it. Neither could a movement of silver from Europe across the Canadian border be prevented. With cars of all sorts crossing every day, and fishing, coasting, and ferry-boats constantly coming and going, practical exclusion would be impossible." This compromise, the Washington correspondent of the Philadelphia *Press* tells us, is fathered by F. C. Newlands, a very rich man, son-in-law of the late Senator Sharon of Nevada. According to the same authority, Mr. Newlands testified before the Silver-Pool Investigating Committee that the expenses of the silver lobby were paid by the owners of silver mines and silver bullion. He also testified that he bought silver bullion for speculative purposes previous to the passage of the Silver Bill at the last session, and that he is now carrying silver bullion.

It appears that the mortgage companies are waking up to the necessity of making their loans payable in gold. A telegram from Kansas to the *Herald* says that the loan agencies are notifying the mortgageors to pay up, and that the latter, when seeking fresh loans, are confronted with a requirement to sign a gold note. Of course it is optional with them to take the new loans on those terms or not; but there is no money to be had in that quarter on any different terms. This new condition has led to a great outcry among the mortgaged, who, by a remarkable perversion of facts and logic, see a gross injustice in a requirement that they shall pay as good money as they receive. Their conception of good faith and equity implies that a man ought to be able to borrow something that is worth 100 cents gold and pay it back at the rate of 80 or 70 or 50 cents of the same standard. They will not hereafter find lenders of the same mind. Two or three years ago the *Evening Post* made an inquiry among the mortgage companies to see how many of them were in the habit of putting the gold requirement into their notes or bonds. Only one such company was found. If the present scare is not sufficient to bring the remainder of them to their senses, they will deserve to be paid in silver at some future time; that is, to lose 20, or 30, or 50 per cent. of their money. In California, where it is supposed that all persons are theoretically silver-men, all contracts for the loan of money, whether mortgages or ordinary notes of hand, are made payable specifically in gold. In politics these interesting people are strongly in favor of silver, but as a matter of business they are more "gold-buggy" than Wall Street itself.

Why Gov. Hill failed to receive the Watterson letter in November last, when it was sent, remains a mystery. The letter has not been returned to the writer through the Dead-Letter Office, and the only explanation of its loss is a possible defect in the postal delivery service at Albany. The suspicion that there is a defect of this kind there is strengthened by the seeming failure of another important letter to reach the Governor within the past few days. Mr. E. Ellery Anderson, Chairman of the anti-free-silver meeting in Cooper Institute, says he addressed and mailed a letter to the Governor, on Friday week, at the same time that he mailed one to Mr. Cleveland, and that the following passage appeared in both letters, accompanying a formal invitation to attend the meeting: "We are deeply impressed with the gravity of the situation, and earnestly hope that in person or by letter you will give expression to your views, and add the weight of your opinion to the movement against the bill for the free coinage of silver." Mr. Cleveland, as the whole country is aware, received his let-

ter and acknowledged it, but Mr. Anderson has up to date had no response whatever from the Governor, not even a formal acknowledgment of the invitation with regrets or anything else. Did that letter also fail to reach the Governor? If it did, the postal service at Albany should be investigated forthwith, and a system of checks and receipts arranged between the Albany Post-office and the Executive chamber.

It is not surprising that Gov. Hill should be unwilling to have it thought that he ever received Mr. Watterson's letter, for it is of a kind which no Presidential aspirant would like to have the public think he had received and read without a protest. That it was written and sent appears to be undoubted, and if the Governor never received it through the mails, he has received it now, and is thoroughly cognizant of its contents. It came to the public attention in the very nick of time to bring out in its strongest light the character of the politician to whom it was addressed. It raised once more the question of Gov. Hill's loyalty to Mr. Cleveland in 1888 at the very moment when the Governor was appointing a typical Hill man in place of an honest man whom he was eager to get out of office because he was a friend of Mr. Cleveland. It is small wonder that the Governor's equanimity was violently disturbed by the coincidence.

The appointment and confirmation of Pierce as Superintendent of the Insurance Department recalls another disgraceful fact in the recent annals of the State, viz., the passage by the Legislature and the approval by the Governor of a bill releasing the life-insurance companies from the payment of nearly a million dollars of back taxes due from them to the State, and at the same time repealing the tax law under which those arrears had accrued. Any agency powerful enough to accomplish that feat might, without doubt, get a pliable Superintendent of Insurance appointed by a pliable Governor and confirmed by a pliable Senate. All the shady Republican Senators voted for Pierce, together with two who are not so classed, but who have added nothing to their reputations by their course in this instance. It is in affairs of this kind that personal character is strengthened or weakened, and it is a loss to the State as well as to the individual when any Senator who has enjoyed the full measure of public confidence is found in bad company. The confirmation of Pierce, although not the worst thing that has happened at Albany in late years, is a very disagreeable omen.

The position in which the vote on the Civil-Service Commission clause in the Legislative Appropriation Bill left the Commission as regards funds appears to be this: Messrs. Grosvenor and Cannon led the attack on the Commission by means of points of order, which finally, with the aid of Mr. Payson in the chair, cut down its appropriation to the exact sum allowed for its work when it was first started. Its working force has been since several times increased beyond the allowance made in the organic act, by vote of the House, as in the case of all other departments, without any technical objection from any quarter. The trio had got the Commission seriously crippled when Mr. Dingley of Maine came to the rescue, and moved an additional appropriation of $36,400, to "give effect to and execute the provisions of the act." Against this the Grosvenor point of order was of no avail, and it was carried, leaving the Commission in possession, if the Senate concur, of an income of $53,700, or $1,500 more than it originally asked for. The view that this last appropriation could not be used in employing additional clerks is pronounced absurd by the best parliamentarians in the House, so that it appears as if the enemies of the Commission had been hoist with their own petard.

This whole matter is a striking illustration of the mischief of allowing discredited politicians to come back after their defeat at the polls and continue to legislate as if nothing had happened to them. Both Cannon and Grosvenor are now acting in the House without the smallest responsibility to any one. The voters cannot now inflict any punishment on them for anything they have done or left undone since November 4, and they will enjoy similar immunity between now and March 4. We see the result in Cannon's conduct. Last year he took the very ground in defence of the Commission which he has this year been assailing, and his exact language on that occasion was read to him from the *Congressional Record* on Friday without producing the smallest impression on him. Why did it produce no impression on him? Simply because he is now for the moment out of politics, and can give way without fear of consequences to all the promptings of his corrupt nature. Both he and Grosvenor think they can do as much mischief as they please, especially mischief which will spite the Mugwumps, reformers, professors, and mollycoddles—classes whom all Republican politicians who suffered at the late election hate with a fervent hatred.

Republican politics in Ohio are in a very mixed condition. One faction of the party is desirous of running Mr. McKinley for Governor, and another faction is still as clamorous for Mr. Foraker as it was before his defeat in 1889. Mr. McKinley's recent speech at Toledo was designed to start a boom for his candidacy, but it seems to have been a failure in that respect. Just what the matter was is not stated, but at this distance it looks very much as if he put too heavy a dose of demagogism into his views for even Ohio Republicans to swallow without protest. After repeating his well-known denunciation of cheapness as nasty and unpatriotic, he came out squarely in favor of free silver, thus committing himself in favor of cheap money—a variety of cheapness to which his party in Congress and in the nation is supposed to be antagonistic. It is small wonder that Ohio Republicans are becoming confused when they see their ablest leader, Senator Sherman, combating free-silver delusions in one branch of Congress, while their leader in the other branch takes the stump and tells them that Mr. Cleveland, in opposing the same delusions, is "dishonoring" one of the precious metals. Neither is it surprising that Mr. Foraker, who was supposed to be dead politically, is coming to life again, for Mr. McKinley's Toledo speech makes even Foraker appear rational.

The long struggle over the Senatorship in the South Dakota Legislature ended on Monday in the election of James H. Kyle, a representative of the Farmers' Alliance. The new Senator will be the youngest member of the body, being but thirty-six years old. He is a native of Ohio, a graduate of Oberlin College, and a Congregational clergyman who has officiated in Utah and South Dakota. He was reared a Republican, but had been growing lukewarm in the faith until McKinleyism drove him out of the party. His colleague, Mr. Pettigrew, it will be remembered, voted with Plumb of Kansas and Paddock of Nebraska against the McKinley Bill on its final passage, and it is safe to count upon both Kyle and Pettigrew as supporters of tariff-reform measures in the next Congress. The changes already made in the Senate show that it will be impossible in the Fifty-second Congress to secure a majority in favor of McKinleyism. These changes transfer four seats from the Republicans to the opposition, and reduce the majority of the former from fourteen to six, which will probably be still further reduced when the Illinois contest is ended.

We scarce expected to be taken in earnest when we remarked, three months ago, on the French customs restrictions upon importation of Dr. Koch's lymph, and suggested that though it had been discovered too late for Mr. McKinley to include it in his anti-civilization schedules, it might yet be possible to exclude the lymph from this country, or at least to delay its entrance and increase the burden of the sick, by taxing it as a manufacture of something-or-other otherwise unprovided for. But, according to the *Tribune*, this has been done. A package of the lymph, "addressed to Dr. Winzen, No. 96 John Street, came through the German mail recently, and was seized by the postal customs officials. The appraisers put a value of $6 upon the medicine, upon which duties of 25 per cent. were assessed. The doctor paid this amount and took the lymph away. There was less than a tablespoonful of the compound."

Mr. Sherman made, in the Committee of the Whole, an amendment to the Copyright Bill which the Senate has since rejected, and which would certainly have been likely to lead to delay, and as drawn would have abolished American domestic copyright, allowing the importation of foreign editions of copyrighted books on paying the regular tariff duties. Nevertheless it is a good amendment in itself. All prohibition of the importation of editions of a book which is not obscene and which has been honestly come by, is in our

day an anachronism. The American publisher is amply protected against foreign competition by the tariff, and if there be any number of persons, however small, who would prefer, for typographical or other reasons, the foreign to the domestic copy, they ought to be allowed to purchase it. We observe that Mr. Vance of North Carolina vigorously attacked all international or other copyright, quoting in support of his contention Tweed's old friend, the editor of the *Sun*, as "a very high authority in matters pertaining to literature," in the interest of the "poor and ambitious boy," in whose hands he wished to place a "cheap book." And yet would it be possible to do a greater injury to a poor and ambitious boy than to furnish him, at the very outset of his career, as one of the instruments of success, with a book whose cheapness was due to its having been stolen? Why should an American boy be more indifferent to the way in which he gets his books than to the way in which he gets his trousers? There are no trousers so cheap to-day as stolen trousers, but what honest man would tell a child that if his trousers were cheap, it made no difference where they came from? Trousers are just as necessary to a boy's success in life as books. No poor boy in America has ever achieved wealth or distinction without trousers. Mr. Vance himself is a shining example of what trousers may do for a man; but he is far from believing that trousers may be obtained in any manner whatsoever, and that the tailor's rights should never stand in the way of the wearer's necessities.

The Republicans in the Connecticut Legislature have at last taken the first step towards a rational settlement of the controversy over the State offices which has been going on for more than a month past. The House of Representatives, which is controlled by that party, has adopted a resolution declaring that, whereas the differences of opinion between the two branches concern the peace, good order, and welfare of the State, and these differences depend largely upon questions of constitutional and statute law, the House declares its willingness to unite with the Senate in the passage of a joint resolution requesting the advice of the judges of the Supreme Court on all the questions of law involved in these differences, and pledges itself, in case the Senate will join in such reference, to take such action, and pass, in concurrence with the Senate, such legislation as may be necessary to carry into effect the opinion of the judges. The Democrats have all along favored the idea of an appeal to the courts, and no reason is visible why the Senate, which they control, should not join in the reference proposed by the House. It is earnestly to be hoped, however, that the Legislature will not rest content with securing a settlement of the pending controversy. This long and discreditable struggle over the State officers is the outgrowth of an antiquated Constitution, and a recurrence of the same trouble will always be possible so long as the provisions of that instrument respecting those offices remain unchanged. If in any Southern State there were a system under which 42,000 voters had 133 members in the lower branch of the Legislature, while 92,000 voters had but 117 members, it would be denounced by Connecticut Republicans as an outrage. It is no less an outrage when such a system exists in Connecticut.

Mr. Hiram Howard has introduced in the Rhode Island Legislature a Corrupt Practices Bill somewhat more stringent in its provisions than a similar one which he advocated in the same body a year ago. It prohibits the contribution of money in any form by any person, agent, committee, company, association, or corporation, to any person or organization of any kind for use in elections, and forbids the receipt of such contributions by anybody for such use. Every candidate for office who expends more than fifty dollars in any way in an election is required to file, within ten days after election, a sworn statement of the use made of it, and the same requirement is made of agents and committees disbursing more than $50. Penalty of violation of the law is fixed at a fine not exceeding $1,000 or imprisonment not exceeding one year, or both. Any person testifying to violations is granted immunity from the penalties, and any person supplying testimony which leads to conviction, may recover in an action of debt from the person convicted the amount named in the forbidden transaction.

A telegram from Bahia, Brazil, to the *World* says that the merchants at that place are by no means pleased with the Reciprocity Treaty negotiated by their Government with Mr. Blaine. On the contrary, they view it with the "greatest dissatisfaction," and intend to use their influence to prevent its ratification. The new Constitution of Brazil has not yet been adopted, and no treaty can be ratified before that event takes place. The Bahia merchants find that they are no better off under the treaty than they were before, since the free admission of coffee, their chief staple, to the United States, has been going on for some twenty years, and the free admission of raw sugar, which begins on the 1st of April, applies to all sugar-producing countries as well as to Brazil. Moreover, they do not see why the United States should have an advantage in trade as against Great Britain. There is no treaty between Brazil and Great Britain containing the "most-favored-nation clause," but there is nothing to prevent the making of such a treaty, or a Reciprocity Treaty in terms like that between Brazil and the United States. The resident English merchants have been greatly stirred up by the Blaine-Fonseca Treaty, and are moving decisively to secure like advantages for themselves.

The Liberal Unionists in England are vigorously engaged in what would be called in American slang "working the morality racket" against the Home-Rulers; that is, they have risen far above the murky political atmosphere, in dealing with the Irish question, and dwell now in the serener air of pure righteousness. Those of them who can get over Parnell's adultery—and they are not many—are particularly afflicted by his admission to the Parnell Commission that he had told a falsehood (which, curiously enough, turned out not to be a falsehood after all) on a certain occasion, with the intent to deceive the House of Commons. "To think," they say, "that we were on the verge of turning over the Government of Ireland to a man who had lied to the House of Commons." But they are very apt to suggest that Gladstone, on the whole, everything considered, is a greater liar than Parnell; and Lord Salisbury the other day at Cambridge, discussing the conflict of veracity between the two about what passed at Hawarden, declared that Parnell was the more worthy of belief. This has revived—we say revived—the old question, "Is Lord Salisbury himself worthy of belief, for has he not done a far more awful thing than lie to the House of Commons—lied to the House of Lords? Think of lying to the House of Lords!" In other words, the wicked Home-Rulers are recalling the fact that in 1878 Lord Salisbury was asked by Lord Grey, in the House of Lords, whether "there was any truth in the statement which had appeared in the *Globe* last Friday as to the terms agreed on between this country and Russia." That statement was that a secret memorandum had been agreed upon between Lord Salisbury and the Russian Minister, settling in advance the chief points in the Treaty of Berlin afterwards concluded, and thus making the subsequent debates at the conference between Lord Beaconsfield and Russia a piece of acting intended to humbug the British public, and give Beaconsfield the air of a valiant defender of British honor. To this question Lord Salisbury answered: "The statement to which the noble Lord refers, and other statements I have seen, are wholly unauthentic, and are not deserving of the confidence of your Lordships' House." In a few days it appeared that the memorandum actually existed when Lord Salisbury said this, and that the *Globe's* version of it was substantially correct. The best of the story has to come. After he had made this insulting speech about Mr. Gladstone, the Manchester *Guardian* recalled the memorandum story, and some one wrote to Lord Salisbury to know if it were true. His secretary answered: "I have to say in reply that you may deny the statement, so far as it refers to Lord Salisbury, without hesitation." As the matter is wholly of public record, this permission to "deny without hesitation" must be meant as a permission to his correspondent to incur, if he pleases, the pains and penalties attaching in nearly all religions to unrepented and unconfessed mendacity. But think of the government of Ireland being now in the hands of a man who has told a falsehood for the purpose of deceiving the House of Lords!

MR. CLEVELAND'S LEITER.

No small scrap of writing in recent years has produced so much commotion and attracted such general attention as ex-President Cleveland's brief letter to the President of the Reform Club on the silver question. It comes before the public at a critical juncture. A bill is pending in the House of Representatives for the free coinage of silver, *i. e.*, to establish the silver standard in place of the gold standard. This bill has been opposed by all except a handful of the Republicans in the Senate, and is now opposed by nearly all the Republicans of the House. It was supported by all except a handful of Democrats in the Senate, and is now supported by a majority, probably a large majority, of those in the House. There is nothing in the last national platforms of the two parties that warrants this distinction. On the contrary, the Republican platform is more silverish than the Democratic, for, while the latter is absolutely silent on the question, the former contains a paragraph suggesting that the Republicans are better friends of silver than the Democrats. That paragraph says:

"The Republican party is in favor of the use of both gold and silver as money, *and condemns the policy of the Democratic Administration in its efforts to demonetize silver.*"

In spite of these public outgivings, the Republican party turns up in Congress as the party demonetizing silver, and the Democrats turn up on the opposite side. Silver, be it remarked, is demonetized as long as it is not received at the mint in any quantity and coined for and on behalf of the persons presenting it for the purpose. Upon this point Mr. Bland is right, and always has been right. Silver dollars are at present a part of the fiduciary currency of the country. They are redeemed by the Government in gold just as the greenbacks are redeemed. They possess an intrinsic value of 80 cents each. The remaining 20 cents is fiduciary. Therefore the Republican national platform really made it an accusation against the Democrats that they had, up to that time, prevented the free coinage of silver. They had prevented what all except a mere handful of Republicans in both houses of Congress are now trying with all their might to prevent. This seems to show again what lying and blackguard documents national platforms may be, when constructed by "scurvy politicians who seem to see the things they do not."

As long as the Democrats were charged with the responsibility of the national finances, they were careful and conservative. As soon as the Republicans got the reins of power they became careful and conservative. They nevertheless passed the law of last July more than doubling the Government's purchases of silver. They did this, however, in order to avoid something worse, for the Democrats, being no longer charged with the responsibility for the safety of the nation in its public and private finances, were crowding them with a free-coinage bill. After all is said, in and out of platforms and in and out of office, the Democrats are more of a silver party than the Republicans. When, as sometimes happens, the Republicans pretend to be more silverish than the Democrats, they are not truthful. And this remark applies to Mr. McKinley's speech at Toledo on Thursday evening, in which he said:

"During all of his [Cleveland's] years at the head of the Government he was dishonoring one of our precious metals, one of our own great products; discrediting silver and enhancing the price of gold. He endeavored even before his inauguration to office to stop the coinage of silver dollars, and afterward, and to the end of his Administration, persistently used his power to that end. He was determined to contract the circulating medium and demonetize one of the coins of commerce, limit the volume of money among the people, make money scarce and therefore dear. He would have increased the value of money and diminished the value of everything else—money the master, everything else its servant. He was not thinking of 'the poor' then. He had left 'their side.' He was not 'standing forth in their defence.' Cheap coats, cheap labor, and dear money; the sponsor and promoter of these professing to stand guard over the welfare of the poor and lowly—was there ever more glaring inconsistency or reckless assumption?"

That speech of McKinley's has the brassy ring of the demagogue as distinct as anything ever uttered by any silverite on either side of politics.

Well, things had come to this pass, that the great gains made by the Democrats on the tariff question were put in jeopardy by the incoming of a new issue. Those Democrats who talk about settling the silver question now, so as not to have it in the way in 1892, are simpletons. They assume that changing the standard of value from gold to silver, and unsettling all contracts and changing the terms of all business undertakings and the purchasing power of wages is a slight thing, that it has no consequences that can project themselves into the next Presidential campaign, that it is a summer cloud that may overcome us without our special wonder. Never was there a more prodigious mistake. The truth is, that a free-coinage bill passed and put into effect now would obliterate every other issue from the political field for years to come. We are not now considering the merits or demerits of the measure in itself. We merely say that it is charged with dynamite to such an extent that the McKinley Bill would disappear from the field of political strife in a twinkling. The Democrats would leave the firm and assured ground on which they now stand to take a leap in the dark.

Undoubtedly Mr. Cleveland had these things clearly in view when he wrote his letter to Mr. Anderson. He has a habit of saying exactly what he thinks on fitting occasions. Aside from the gift of political courage, he has sufficient political sagacity to see that it is most unsafe to drop a good piece of meat in order to dive after something else that appears to be in sight but may turn out to be an optical illusion. There has been much vaporing over this letter in the South and West, but it will be of short duration. The net result will be that foretold by Congressman Peel of Arkansas to a *Tribune* reporter, viz.:

"The letter shows that Mr. Cleveland has lots of courage, and that he has no disposition to deceive any one. The position he takes is not a surprise; it merely clears away the doubts of those who thought he might have changed his views after a more careful study of the question. He holds the same views still. The letter will strengthen him in New York and throughout the East. It will probably do him some damage in the South and West, but his bold stand on the tariff has endeared him to the hearts of the Western and Southern people. They would rather vote for him than for any other living man. They will respect his frankness and courage in maintaining his personal convictions, even if they do not agree with him, and they will probably be for him anyhow."

THE BARRUNDIA DEBATE.

No better statement of the case against the Navy Department could be made than Mr. Dalzell's on behalf of Commander Reiter. Mr. Lodge, speaking on behalf of the Administration, acknowledged that San José was a Guatemalan port, but pleaded that it was not much of a port, as the coast at that point was "straight as a rule." Barrundia's "character was none of the best"—"probably he had led a bad life"; but he was apparently only pursued as a political refugee. It would therefore have been "chivalrous" in Commander Reiter to have gone out and offered him an asylum on board his ship. Moreover, Commander Reiter ought to have been on board the *Acapulco* when the officers came off to execute the warrant, instead of staying in the *Thetis*. He ought to have been roused by the sound of the pistol-shots; and when the *Acapulco* hauled down the Guatemalan flag and hoisted the stars and stripes, he ought to have regarded it "as a signal of distress," although no such signal is known to the signal code. It was "a disgrace to have a man shot down in that way and under these circumstances"—these being the circumstances: On hearing from the Guatemalan commandant that he had come to arrest him,

"Gen. Barrundia said 'Bueno,' and immediately reached for a revolver which was concealed under a mattress in the upper bunk, and fired two or three shots through the doorway between them. The Captain and the commandant beat a hasty retreat aft, taking refuge in an unoccupied state-room. They were followed by Barrundia, firing wildly. He stopped and fired several shots into the state-room where the captain and commandant were concealed. He then apparently ran forward and crossed through the 'social hall' to the starboard side, where he fired forward and aft, then crossed to the port side again and started forward, when he fell. The detectives, as near as I could determine, ran out of the 'social hall' and forward when Barrundia first commenced firing, but some time during the mêlée returned and began discharging their revolvers at him."

That is, it somehow disgraces the American Navy if a man resisting lawful arrest (Mr. Lodge does not deny the legality) on board an American merchant vessel, draws a revolver and begins to run round the ship "firing wildly" at all persons within sight, and finally falls under the return fire of the detectives whom he is trying to murder. We have "never refused asylum to political refugees," and ought not to begin now, but not one of the authorities Mr. Lodge cited on this point makes it incumbent on American commanders to pursue refugees with offers of asylum. Barrundia did not ask for asylum. He refused to see Commander Reiter on board of the *Acapulco*, and yet it was Commander Reiter's duty to go out to sea to meet him and urge him to take refuge with him.

Nothing so ridiculous as this has yet come up in any of these controversies. All the precedents relating to asylum for foreign refugees assume that the asylum is to be asked for. No consul or naval commander has ever before been censured for not inviting a foreign runaway to take shelter on board his ship. Whenever they have been hauled over the coals, it has been either for totally refusing it *on demand*, or for according it too freely on demand. Mr. Lodge quoted our Minister Morris's giving shelter to Frenchmen in danger of their lives during the Reign of Terror in Paris, and the Koszta case at Smyrna, neither of which had the remotest resemblance to the Barrundia case. He cited also a passage from Hall's 'International Law,' showing that captains of men-of-war ought to give shelter to political refugees, but was indiscreet enough to cite also the following qualification:

"He [the fugitive] should not be sought out or invited, but if he appears at the side of the ship and asks admittance, he need not be turned away."

Mr. Lodge's mode of making this qualification is very curious. "This refers," says he, "to political fugitives escaping from the shore. They ought not to be sought out or invited," but the case is very different if they come on ships. In this latter dictum, we need hardly say, he cites neither Hall nor any other authority. There is none. This is all the law he gets into his argument. The rest is commendation of "chivalry" and high spirit and daring on the part of our naval officers. Unconsciously, doubtless, his whole statement was highly apologetic, but in making it apologetic, and thus admitting that the Barrundia case was a doubtful one, with a great deal to be said on both sides, he passed an implied condemnation of the strongest kind on the conduct of the Secretary of the Navy in inflicting a severe and even abusive reprimand on an officer like Commander Reiter, of thirty years' unblemished standing. Naval officers in foreign ports have to be governed by international law or executive precedents and instructions. No other rules for their guidance can be given them. They cannot be sent abroad with general directions to be brave and chivalrous, and to take responsibility enough but not too much, for this would put us in constant danger of war with foreign Powers in some distant quarter of the globe, through somebody's rashness, or irritability, or want of judgment. They have to be, always have been, and always will be, tied down by books and codes, binding alike on the cautious and the bold, the cool and the choleric, on teetotalers and heavy drinkers. Without this our navy would soon be a floating bedlam. The fact that Mr. Lodge has not been able to cite against Commander Reiter a single precedent or usage disregarded, a single rule or instruction violated, is, therefore, an implied censure on the Navy Department, almost painful in its gravity, coming as it does from its own champion. The Department has inflicted serious punishment on an officer of good repute for an offence which it cannot define, or explain, or illustrate, except by a series of generalities and assumptions which could not possibly be used in the government of a military organization. The enlargement of the duty of granting asylum in public ships on demand into the duty of cruising in search of foreign fugitives and forcing asylum on them without demand, is almost a sign of administrative frenzy.

One of the most curious features in the debate was the appearance of Mr. Boutelle of Maine as an uncompromising critic of the Navy Department. He denied the Secretary's right to inflict such punishment as had been inflicted on Commander Reiter except by sentence of court-martial. "He would not have written the letters addressed by the Secretary to Commander Reiter, and if he had written them, he would not have published them before their delivery." He asked whether if the British mail steamer, the *Trent*, had carried Mason and Slidell into the port of New York, en route to England, we would not have arrested them; and whether if a British man-of-war lying in the East River had attempted to interfere, we would have tolerated the interference for one moment; and he closed with the following most rational and weighty remark:

"In conclusion, I desire to say that I have little sympathy with the idea that the principal duty of the United States Government and its navy is to send its ships around the globe to hunt up the political conspirators, revolutionists, anarchists, and nihilists of other countries in order to aid them in their attempts to overthrow established and orderly governments, or to protect them from the just punishment of crimes not only against friendly nations, but against humanity. That sort of business does not seem to me the most glorious to which we can devote the American flag."

This is an observation which ought to have come from Mr. Lodge, considering his training and antecedents, rather than from Mr. Boutelle; but apparently no job the Administration can assign Mr. Lodge now does violence either to his tastes or his principles.

QUAY'S ANSWER.

MR. QUAY has at last answered the charges made against him in the *Evening Post*, nearly nine months after their date. Unfortunately, the answer is a simple denial, such as is made by every malefactor who is not taken in the act. Such denials, as is well known, have no value either in law or in morals. They have to be fortified by the production of some other kind of evidence. Mr. Quay produces no such evidence with regard to any of the more serious parts of the accusation against him.

Did space permit, it would be easy to show the way in which he proposes to make his escape, by printing in parallel columns the two leading charges made by the *Evening Post*, with Quay's answer to each. By those who make the comparison it will be observed that he himself corroborates the leading points in the first charge, namely, his being engaged in a joint stock speculation with Walters, the State Cashier; the abstraction by Walters of a considerable sum from the Treasury to be used in this speculation; the loss of the money; and the borrowing of $100,000 by Quay from Senator Cameron to make good his share of the loss. The only attempt he makes to extricate himself is an insinuation—not an assertion—that Walters took the money without Quay's knowledge or consent; but he does not explain why if Walters, without his knowledge or consent, was guilty of embezzlement, he (Quay) felt bound to make good the deficiency by borrowing an enormous sum from a friend without security. Now Walters is dead. He committed suicide. He cannot throw any light on the transaction. But there are two persons living who can—Senator Don Cameron and Wayne MacVeagh. They were both present at the interview at Quay's house at which the money was advanced by one of them. Neither will speak unless called upon by Quay. Both, we are sure, will do so if called upon by Quay. Why does not Quay require them to tell all they remember of the transaction which took place at his house early in May, 1880, and which is described with some minuteness in the *Evening Post's* pamphlet? They can, if Quay is innocent of all share in that defalcation, set him right at once. Nobody else can. Quay's uncorroborated testimony in the matter is worthless. As long as he refrains from producing them as witnesses, we must consider him guilty of having aggravated the offence of embezzlement by the offence of prevarication.

His mode of dealing with the second principal charge is still more unsatisfactory. It will be seen, by reference to the above pamphlet, that the *Evening Post* accused him of a second raid on the State Treasury, in having when State Treasurer taken $400,000 of the State funds himself, this time without a confederate, in order to enable him to take part in a speculation in the bonds of the North Chicago Street Railroad Company, which were offered to him on favorable terms. The above "sum of money," said the *Evening Post*, "Quay coolly took out of the State Treasury and sent it to Philadelphia, where it was deposited in the People's Bank, the depository of the horse-railroad syndicate, and so paid for the bonds. The President of that bank was and is W. H Kemble (the author of the epigram 'Addition, Division and Silence'), to whom reference has already been made." It will be observed that the *Evening Post* did not say he took "securities" of any description out of the State Treasury. It said he took cash—that is, $400,000 in checks, drafts, or lawful money. Now read his answer to this:

"It is charged that again I used moneys belonging to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania to purchase bonds or stock or both of a Chicago street railway. I was invited by friends in Philadelphia to join in the purchase of street-railway property in Chicago, and did so, borrowing the money upon my own collateral from the People's Bank in Philadelphia. I stood upon the same footing with the other gentlemen concerned, and it was a perfectly straightforward business transaction, and had no connection in any way with any public fund or public interest. The charge that securities belonging to the State of Pennsylvania were used in the transaction is false and impossible of truth. The only negotiable securities held by the State of Pennsylvania are the registered bonds of the United States, transferable only on the books

of the National Treasury by the Auditor General, Secretary of the Commonwealth, and State Treasurer, acting conjointly, after having filed a certificate with the Governor in their official character."

Now, where did he get "collateral" at that period for a loan of $400,000, seeing that such collateral must have been worth at least $440,000?

It is not necessary to pursue this examination further. The other charges are comparatively insignificant. It is not surprising that, after listening to his defence, "the Senate went on with its routine business as if there had been no interruption, and the visitors left the galleries with an air of disappointment." No judgment on this notorious profligate, however, will be full or satisfactory which does not take into account the fact that Mr. John Wanamaker, our Postmaster-General, a leading business man of Philadelphia and proprietor of the Bethany Sunday-school, knowing all about Quay, raised and handed over to him, to be expended without vouchers, the largest election fund ever seen in the United States, and got, apparently in return therefor, a seat in the Cabinet of the President of the United States.

A GAP IN PRACTICAL EDUCATION.

A WIDESPREAD discussion of one of the most important and most difficult problems of education, in elementary as well as post-graduate departments, has lately been provoked by the action of several dissimilar educational bodies in different parts of the country. One line of argument, however, which may be derived from a consideration of facts, has not yet been as fully presented as, from its practical bearings, it deserves to be.

Every one, or at least every one whose sanity upon social topics would pass unchallenged, admits the educative influence of contact and intercourse between persons of opposite sex at some age or other. If not in early or immature periods, at least when years are ripe for it, the influence of the masculine on the feminine mind, or the reverse, is held to be good for each. But, owing to the present largely prevailing system of separate education, and to certain inevitable conditions of society, two classes of women who are already important factors in the community, and who promise to become increasingly influential as time goes on, are practically shut off during the most plastic and some of the most active years of life from opportunities for free and natural interchange of thought and opinion with members of the other sex.

The first of these two classes consists of graduates of women's colleges who immediately upon leaving college become teachers in girls' schools of the higher grades. The women's college necessarily practises, more or less strictly, a system of seclusion for its students. It has a staff of celibate instructors living within its own boundaries. It follows from the nature of the case that students are largely restricted to the influence of the feminine intellect, both within and without the lecture-room. It is not assuming too much to say that such men as find their way as professors to the women's colleges are, with a few notable exceptions, among the most inexperienced of their profession, who are using the post in hand as a stepping-stone towards the first vacancy they can fill in a non-feminine institution. It is, moreover, questionable whether, with the most earnest and honorable intentions, such instructors, themselves probably fresh from unmixed classes of their own sex, can put forth their best efforts and accomplish their best work in classes in which there is not a single member of the order they have been accustomed to. The mind of a man must, under such circumstances, be incapable of the full tone and vigor it would have if he were working at least partially with men.

From the homogeneous mental atmosphere of the college the graduate who is to become a teacher makes but a single step into a class-room of girls. Her associates in teaching are women who, like herself, are debarred even the masculine element of boys, "to bring outside life into the school, to know what is going on in the world, to illustrate the lesson from what happens in the streets and on the wharves." Naturally, young teachers can seldom be fortunate enough to find positions near enough to their homes to be able to enjoy the companionship of fathers and brothers. More generally they are forced to live where they are dependent upon their own resources for recreation and pleasure. However clever and conscientious their teaching may be, it is impossible not to believe that past and present conditions have developed a one-sidedness of outlook, from which pupils, in their turn, must suffer in the development of mind and character.

The second class that must be hampered in practical usefulness by the isolation of the sexes in education is that of the women doctors who are trained in medical colleges for women, and who "set up" as practitioners in places where they likewise are dissociated from home ties. Such practitioners, as the friends of medical education for women repeatedly remind us, are constantly called upon to act not merely as physical, but also as spiritual or moral advisers of the young and middle-aged of their own sex. It is evident that in many palpably probable cases they would be better fitted to fulfil the latter function if circumstances had given them a nearer acquaintance with the mental and moral peculiarities of the other half of the human race.

If a man who has adopted teaching as a profession marries, he still goes on with his work. Not so a woman. When she marries, she resigns her post, which is filled by a perpetual supply of celibates. In the case of the male members of the other professions the feminine element is seldom long lacking. Doctors, indeed, proverbially marry young, there being a definitely recognized professional advantage in their doing so. But, matrimony apart, young men are free at any period of their lives to seek the society of women in their own homes. Young women are of necessity without this resource as regards men. It is worth while to consider whether the interests of society would not be better served if more normal and extended culture were given to large bodies of able women by a broader and more consistent system of education.

BALKAN PROBLEMS.

EUROPE is at peace, but the Eastern Question survives to plague European diplomacy, and ominous mutterings from the Balkan Peninsula reach us in fragmentary cable reports of a plot to overthrow Ferdinand of Bulgaria, the serious illness of Alexander of Servia, the fall of his ministry, a rising of Albanians, and the wholesale expulsion of Nihilists from Bulgaria.

Of these, the last report is probably the most significant, as it denotes a change in the attitude of Premier Stambuloff towards the Russian Government, which demanded recently of Bulgaria the extradition of thirteen Nihilists supposed to be plotting against Russia on Bulgarian soil with the knowledge and connivance of the Bulgarian Government. The Russian note was delivered by the representative of Germany at Sofia, as Russia has never recognized Ferdinand's Government, and M. de Giers reinforced his demand by a circular note addressed to the Cabinets of Berlin, Vienna, Rome, and London, calling attention to the harboring of Nihilists by Bulgaria. To this note M. Grecoff, the Bulgarian Minister of Foreign Affairs, returned a verbal answer, whose firmness was explainable only on the assumption that his course was prompted by Austria, in spite of her having joined the other great Powers in formally approving Russia's action. After premising that Bulgaria would never consciously lend her aid to the furtherance of criminal plots against any foreign government, M. Grecoff called attention to the vagueness of Russia's charges, to the fact that several of the supposed Nihilists were entirely unknown in Bulgaria, flatly refused to surrender naturalized and peaceable Bulgarians, no matter what their political antecedents in Russia had been, and neatly turned the tables against Russia by pointing out the well-known fact that the Russian Government not only harbored but rewarded Bulgarian Nihilists, like Grueff, Bendereff, and Zankoff, who had been engaged in the kidnapping of Prince Alexander. The Bulgarian Government, he said, had only one Russian criminal in its employ, the historian Dragomanoff, whose crime, in Russian eyes, consisted in his having published several works in the dialect of Little Russia. If M. Stambuloff has since, after all, decided to surrender the unfortunate refugees who have hitherto enjoyed Bulgarian hospitality, it is very evident that the journey of the Austrian heir-presumptive, the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, to the Court of St. Petersburg, has borne fruit, and that a hint to Bulgaria was the direct result of the *rapprochement* effected between Russia and Austria.

Russia, in winning Austria over to her definition of the term "Nihilist," has thus virtually secured a vindication of her course in the Lutzki affair, which during the last few weeks has been so much discussed in the European papers. Lutzki was a Russian

engineer who had for some time been quietly living in Bulgaria, and who recently went to Constantinople, where he was arrested by Russian police agents and thence transported to Russia without process of law of any kind. In spite of the storm of indignation excited by this violation of international law, Russia has never deigned to particularize her charges against the unfortunate engineer, who, it is announced, has since been sent to Tobolsk. Encouraged by her success in this undertaking, Russia asked Turkey for the surrender of the Mingrelian Prince Nakatchidze, a former associate of Lutzki, and suspected of having been implicated in the railway accident at Borki in which the Czar nearly lost his life. Nakatchidze, in spite of being a naturalized Turkish subject, was arrested by the Turkish authorities, but soon set at liberty, as Russia failed to make out a case against him. That the final expulsion of all Nihilists from Bulgarian territory will incline Russia more favorably towards Prince Ferdinand is, however, altogether improbable. The very successes which his Government has recently achieved, the readiness with which Bulgaria met the demand for the payment of a war debt suddenly sprung upon her by Russia, and the ease with which she negotiated a loan in Vienna, have only served to exasperate the Russian Government, and it will hardly be unfair to connect the reported conspiracy to overthrow Ferdinand with Russia's undisguised hostility to his Government.

Thanks chiefly to the services of ex-Queen Natalie, Russian influence continues to shape, with much less reserve, the destinies of the kingdom over which Alexander, like his father, the profligate Milan, and his great-uncle Michael, was called as a mere boy to reign. Natalie was the daughter of a Russian colonel—M. Ristitch, the principal Regent, now studiously addresses her as "Mme. Natalie de Ketchko"—and she has always shown herself the willing tool of the Russian Government. Her precise status since her divorce from Milan has never been definitely settled. She entertains the bitterest feelings against M. Ristitch, whom she charges with having been instrumental in procuring Milan's divorce; and she has refused to avail herself of his offer to allow her to pay two or three visits annually to her son, during which time she should reside in the royal palace and be treated with royal honors. She defies the power of the Regents, and continues to reside in Belgrade, holding court in an ostentatious manner, and demonstratively acting as the patroness of a Pan-Servian ladies' association, which has branches in all the principal towns of Old Servia and Montenegro, and whose political aims are undisguised. Her injudicious behavior has alienated from her her former political friends, the Progressists, who had sided with her in her quarrels with her former husband.

The fall of the Servian Ministry was brought about by the opposition of the Radicals to the press law which the Minister of the Interior, M. Gyaya, himself a former Radical, urged the Skupshtina to pass. An amusing illustration of parliamentary government, as understood in Servia, was the introduction of a bill by the Radicals requiring Ministers on assuming office to deposit a certain sum as a guarantee of good behavior, the whole or part of it to be forfeited by delinquencies while in office—a crude but well-meant device on the part of the peasant members of the Skupshtina to imbue the Ministers with a greater sense of their responsibility towards the country than they have hitherto shown.

Commercial interests have of late been paramount in the relations between the European Powers and Rumania, the most progressive of the Balkan States. The Government of King Charles, after having introduced the gold standard in the monetary affairs of Rumania and executed a number of important public works, is on the point of concluding a commercial treaty with Austria-Hungary. The personal affiliations of the King and his literary wife, "Carmen Sylva," have been instrumental in ranging Rumania on the side of the Triple Alliance as against Russia; but even in Bucharest, as the *Indépendance Roumaine* pointed out, Russian emissaries are busily at work. Considerable uneasiness has been created in that city by the recent arrival of the notorious Capt. Bendereff, who was the principal leader in the kidnapping of Alexander of Battenberg, and who is now in the military service of Russia. The continued presence in that city of M. Hitrovo, the Russian Minister, whose connection with the conspiracy of Major Panitza and other disturbances in the Balkan States is well known, is likewise a source of alarm to all patriotic Rumanians who desire to see their country freed from Russian intrigues.

To all these signs of Russian aggressiveness in the Balkan States on the one hand and national self-assertion on the other, the lethargy and declining influence of Turkey form a striking contrast. She has of late been meekly engaged in making concessions to the countries over which she once exercised suzerainty, and trying to live in peace with the rest of the Peninsula; now appeasing Bulgaria by the appointment of Bulgarian bishops in Macedonia; now attempting to satisfy Servia, exasperated by the assassination of her Vice-Consul at Pristina, and all the while manœuvring to postpone the payment of the remainder of an old war debt due to Russia. Whether the amnesty granted to the Cretan insurgents will permanently pacify that part of her domain may well be doubted. Nor can reliance be placed on the effusive professions of loyalty to the Sultan emanating from some of the functionaries of Armenia, so lately the scene of bloody riots. Indeed, their right to speak for Armenia at all is totally denied in a proclamation issued and secretly circulated by the "Central Committee for Armenian Reforms," in which this passage occurs: "If the Armenians were invited freely to express their wishes without being threatened with death or banishment, far from signing, they would spurn with their feet, this infamous address presented to the Sultan by shameless traitors in exchange for the imperial favors, and would express full clearly their disdain for and hatred of the despotic government of the Sultan, and their firm desire to throw off its odious yoke."

GENERAL SHERMAN.

Gen. William Tecumseh Sherman came of the well-known colonial family of that name which was settled at Boston before 1636. Several of them removed to Connecticut very early, and became prominent in the history of that colony. His grandfather, Judge Taylor Sherman of Norwalk, was one of the Connecticut Commissioners to organize for settlement the "fire lands" in Ohio, a reservation appropriated to the sufferers by the coast raids of Arnold and the British in the Revolution. This led to a family migration to Ohio, and Charles R. Sherman, the General's father, fixed his home at Lancaster, in the central part of the State, a pretty town in a lovely region. He attained distinction as a practising lawyer at the local bar, where Thomas Ewing and Henry Stanbery were leaders. The fact that the Indian Chief Tecumseh was recognized as a man of great qualities cannot have better proof than in Charles Sherman's naming his son William after him, in the frontier region where the qualities of the red man usually remembered are those which excite horror and alarm. The same fact shows the large-minded candor of the elder Sherman.

The General was born in 1820, being about midway in a large family of eleven children. His father was Judge of the Supreme Court of Ohio from 1821 till his sudden death in 1829 from over-exposure to the sun in travelling the circuit in June. His accumulations had been small, and the mother, Mary Hoyt Sherman, had need of all the energy characteristic of the colonial families to meet the burden thrown upon her. The hearty good neighborhood of such settlements made her friends efficient in finding means of livelihood for the growing children, and William T. was adopted into the family of Mr. Ewing, whose daughter, Ellen Boyle Ewing, he afterwards married. He had the advantage of education in a good academy at Lancaster, and was appointed a cadet in the Military Academy at West Point in 1836. He graduated in 1840, being sixth in a class of forty-three. He was commissioned in the army as a subaltern in the Third Artillery and was immediately sent to Florida, where the Seminole war was dragging towards its slow termination.

His service till the Mexican war was in the Southern Atlantic and Gulf States, including duties which took him over the ground in which his campaign of Atlanta and the March to the Sea afterwards occurred, and he gained what proved to be invaluable topographical knowledge of a region of which there were no maps worthy of the name. He was at home on recruiting service when the war with Mexico began in 1846, and immediately applied for work in the field. He was ordered to New York, assigned to Company F in his regiment, and with his battery was shipped in the store-ship *Lexington* to California by way of Cape Horn. The ship visited Rio Janeiro and Valparaiso on the route, reaching Monterey after a long voyage of almost 200 days. Mexico was too busy with the invasion by Scott and Taylor to make any strong effort to hold the province of Upper California, and it fell into our hands with the merest show of opposition. There was no fighting for Sherman to do, but the organization of a new dependency was thrown upon the military and naval officers,

and he had a very active share in that work. His energy and strong business sense secured for him the selection as Acting Adjutant-General of the Department, and he rode and sailed from one end of California to the other in his active performance of all sorts of duties connected with the Administration. Gens. Halleck and Ord were among his intimates of his own age, and Hooker served with him a little later.

The discovery of gold, the wild rush of men of all countries to the mines, the submerging of the old Spanish population by the newcomers, the organization of a new State and its admission to the Union, made a wonderful experience for the young soldier, though not strictly of the military kind. Friends in the East tempted him to leave the army and embark in a banking business at San Francisco, in which he spent several years, managing the capital of others with a sturdy honesty and good sense which carried the house safe through the panic of 1855, and established for himself the reputation of a safe and conservative man of affairs, who kept his personal interests strictly subordinate to the trusts which were put in his hands. The period of financial depression culminated in 1857, and Sherman, oblivious of himself, advised the capitalists with whom he was associated to close a business which seemed to have risks disproportioned to any profits which could be realized without rash speculation.

Thrown again upon his own resources, a year or two was spent in tentative efforts to open a new professional or business career, and in 1859 he was invited to become Superintendent of a State Military Academy established in Louisiana. He accepted the position, full of faith that the threats of civil war which were already rife at the South would amount to nothing, and that a congenial career was opening to him. Less than two years brought home to him a second time the severest test of principle. Would he give up his support and that of his young family—would he abandon what he had hoped would be a pleasant life-work—as a matter of patriotic duty? As soon as it became evident that Louisiana would secede, he resigned his place and returned home.

At this time he seems to have refused to believe that war was imminent, and to have had no expectation of resuming his military career. He did not sympathize with the anti-slavery movement in the North. John Sherman's identification with the Republican party as one of its leaders was not pleasant to him, and he used strong language about the "politicians" who were, as he thought, needlessly destroying the Union. When the South began active war by the attack on Fort Sumter, he expressed a willingness to reënter the regular army, but thought his duty to his wife and children forbade his entering the volunteer service for only three months, the extent of Lincoln's first call for troops. He tried the superintendence of a street-railway company in St. Louis, as a stop-gap and breadwinner for the moment, but tendered his military service to the Government when the call for three years' men was issued. He was appointed Colonel of the Thirteenth Infantry, regular army, on May 14, 1861, and immediately went to Washington, where he was put upon inspection duty with the new volunteer army collecting there, while his subordinates in the regiment were recruiting and organizing it in different parts of the West.

The interval since he had resigned from the army in 1853 had been full of varied experience for him, and at times his outlook had been anything but promising; but he had faced every exigency with manly courage and highest principle, always asking first what was his duty, and putting last the question of his advantage. In the providential education which fits men for a great career, the eight years were of more importance than he dreamed of. He had learned how to turn his hand (and his brain) to almost anything. He had developed self-reliance and patience in adversity. He had broadened his views of the world, and had been freed from the narrowing effect of military routine. He had greatly matured all his ideas and grown large in moral courage and in will. In short, he was fitted for command.

He commanded a brigade in the first battle of Bull Run, and in the turmoil of the retreat to Washington saw how much was to be done to make an army out of the noble but untrained material which flocked to the standard. Very soon Gen. Robert Anderson asked for him to assist in the organization in Kentucky of the Army of the Ohio, and he was sent West with the grade of Brigadier-General. When Anderson's health failed, he succeeded to the department command, and his energetic representations as to what must be done in the West to carry on the war successfully seemed so extravagant to Cameron, the Secretary of War, that Sherman was pushed aside as unpractical and harebrained. In truth, he was so devoured by his ideas of the importance of the task the nation had undertaken, and of the absolute necessity of success in it, that his ardent temperament might well make his words like those of a man possessed. Here, at least, was a regular-army officer who was dead in earnest in pushing every resource of the country to the utmost to match the terrible energy the South was showing. He would have despised himself if he could have been capable of sitting down quietly to the routine of a department command, or of simply obeying orders, without trying to stimulate those above him to rise to his high conception of the needs of the time and of the only road to success.

Reduced to a subordinate position, he did not sulk. He still tried to do more than was required in his post, and to volunteer aid from his surplus energy to help others without jealousy or self-seeking. Thus he organized troops at Paducah to be sent up the Tennessee River to Grant, though they passed from his command and he had to go on organizing new brigades from the raw recruits coming in. He did not hesitate a moment to take a division to Pittsburgh Landing, and thus his connection with Gen. Grant began. It would be hard to overestimate the action and reaction of these two men upon each other. Each supplemented the other, each appreciated the things in the other which he himself lacked. Each seemed at his best when cooperating with the other. From that time Sherman's history is the history of the war in the Gulf States—too long a story for such a notice as this, but one in which his courage and his patience, his energy and his self-command, his invention and his practical skill, his enterprise and his subordination, all and each were elements in a great and continuous success which never elated him, but seemed to make his judgment and his conduct ever safer and surer till final victory came, and the world was in doubt whether he or his great chief had the larger part in it.

Sherman's patriotism was as true in 1861 as it was four years later, but it was different in kind. He began the war under the sense of solemn duty to uphold the Constitution and the Union by fighting for the flag. He had been trained in the school of which his distinguished father-in-law, Thomas Ewing, was a leader. He disliked slavery, and wished to see it die out by the progress of enlightened civilization, but he could endure it and live in a society where it existed. He advocated immediate amelioration of the slave's condition and his education; but he thought the men were fools who advocated immediate abolition. He would have carried out Clay's compromises and waited for the progress of mankind to solve the rest of the problem.

The war taught him that peace could only come with universal emancipation; yet even in April, 1865, he was willing to accept the practical certainty of this, and not to insist upon its formal acknowledgment by the South. He thought it a fact accomplished by Lincoln's proclamation, and was not averse to smoothing the way to restored national relations by letting this be tacitly recognized in the final surrender. When once the war was over, however, he advocated everything which could be fairly considered the logical consequence of the victory, and was one of the rare instances of men who become less conservative as they grow older.

He persistently refused to be a candidate for the Presidency when it was notorious that he had but to say the word and he would be the nominee of the Republican party. It is possible that in this he was influenced by his brotherly wish that Senator Sherman should have the political honors, as he himself had the military ones; but he was consistent in it, for he always maintained that Grant's leaving the army to be made President was the great error of his life. The force of association made him more a party man in his later years than his earlier, but no one can doubt the quenchless fire of his patriotism, and his absolute devotion to what he regarded as the good of his whole country.

His outspoken frankness was a very striking trait of his character. It was not always bluntness in the common meaning of that term. It was rather the complete unreserve of one who was willing to have you see into his inmost soul, and who was incapable of a pretence. With this was a genial courtesy which was often very taking in his intercourse with men, and peculiarly so with women. His memoirs are one of the most noteworthy examples of self-revealing in the whole range of autobiography. Those who were nearest to him in his career know best how absolutely truthful is his story of his life, his motives, his judgments, his ambitions. He held it to be part of his duty to truth and to the development of military science that he should not withhold his unfavorable judgment when he had so judged, nor gloze over the rough passages of military experience by a general varnish of praise. He acknowledged his liability to error, and said he should be as glad as any other to have his errors corrected. His opening the appendix of his second edition to those who might think he had wronged them, was an unexampled thing of its kind.

As an officer in the field, his loyalty to his superiors was always transparent. He would urge his opinions; he would boldly use such discretion as was given him; he would suggest plans; but when the proper authority, military or civil, had spoken, he did what was ordered with as faithful a zeal as if he were carrying out his own ideas. His criticisms were always in the interest of the common purpose, never selfish. He gave the full power of his brain to helping perfect the plan, and neither gave nor took offence in doing so. When success was reached by different means from those he had

advised, as in Grant's investment of Vicksburg, his hearty recognition of it was not diminished by a jealous word or thought.

He was never a martinet. He says himself that he was not in good "form" enough to be an officer of cadets, and remained in the ranks. He knew that in military matters form is apt to overtop substance. He wanted everything to be subordinate to the end. If pipe-clay, knapsacks, and leather stocks made the soldier march or fight less energetically, he wanted black belts, loose blouses, and blankets across the shoulder; and so with tactics. Simplicity of movement, few manœuvres, speed in getting to the proper position, and good fighting shape when there, these were in his eyes the important thing, and all the world has come to his opinion.

The two or three great captains in any age are alike in the supreme qualities which make a general. They have the unruffled presence of mind which makes their intellectual operations most sure and true in the greatest and most sudden peril, and the true greatness which makes the most momentous decision and unhesitating action under vast responsibility as if these were the every-day work of their lives. The present generation has in our army seen two such, Grant and Sherman. It is doubtful if it has seen a third. A number of brilliant names of the second order might have developed into the highest rank, but none can fully claim it who has not handled a hundred thousand men in an independent campaign.

It remains only to add that Gen. Sherman was better loved the better he was known. His subordinates who gave him zealous service have no sores or scars caused by his rule. He could command without being arrogant. He weighed all good reasons, he listened to all reasonable complaints. He was a good comrade and a loyal friend who made no pretence of superiority, but who knew when and how to give the word of command. The country has lost a great and pure character and a great patriot, and will find him greater as the seasons pass over his grave.

SARDOU'S "THERMIDOR."

PARIS, February 4, 1891.

THE representation of "Thermidor," the new drama of Sardou's, has assumed the character of a political event. The first representation was very quiet; it took place before the usual public of the *premières*, composed of literary men, critics, journalists, actors, actresses, with an addition of people of fashion who value a *première* as they would any other kind of entertainment. This collection, or selection, if you choose, goes in the newspapers under the name of "Tout Paris." "Tout Paris" is a difficult public, intelligent, blasé, thoroughly familiar with all theatrical tricks, with what we call the *ficelles*. It may be compared to an habitual novel-reader, who can tell you at the first page how it will end at the last. The general public does not always ratify the judgment of the public of the *premières*, but it is always more or less influenced by the opinions of the press, especially as there are at the present moment as many as three theatrical critics of great and well-deserved reputation.

"Thermidor" was well received the first night, but the best judges prophesied that it would not have a long and permanent success. The plot is taken almost entirely out of a novel by M. Claretie, the present Director of the Comédie-Française. The principal character is an actor of the Comédie, called Labussière, who tried during the Terror to save many people from the scaffold, having found a temporary occupation among the people who prepared the accusatory documents for the too famous Revolutionary Tribunal. The part of Labussière was played, and admirably played, by Coquelin. Of course there is a lover, and his love is a victim of the Terror; she is a nun, who, having fallen in love, is ready to renounce her vows and to marry her lover. She has been thrown by the Revolution out of her convent; she is in prison, and she is on the point of appearing before the terrible Tribunal. How can she be saved? The whole drama turns upon this point.

Labussière and the lover are friends (the lover was played by Marais, who makes his début at the Français after having acquired some reputation at the theatres of the boulevard); they discuss the situation; the two great scenes of the drama are inspired by it. First comes what is already called *la scène des dossiers* (the French call "dossier" the collection of written documents which are produced before the Court and analyzed by the defence as well as by the prosecution). If the nun's dossier, such as it is, is produced, she is lost. Labussière has many dossiers pass through his hands; perhaps he could substitute one for another, and our nun would then be saved. Yes, but an innocent woman would take her place on the guillotine. No, not even to save his love from death will our noble and generous lover commit such an action. This scene was played with great simplicity, and it produced a great effect.

There is another way of saving our heroine (her part was in good hands, in the hands of Mlle. Bartet): any woman condemned to capital punishment may gain time if she declares herself pregnant; and if time is gained, perhaps the odious rule of Robespierre will come to an end before the execution takes place. Here comes the second great scene of the drama. When the heroine, who has been tried and condemned, hears of this resource, the nun revolts, all her instincts of chastity rebel within her; she will rather die than tell a lie—and such a lie! If she has renounced her vows, she will not renounce her virtue. She leaves the stage to ascend the scaffold. The scene is fine, but it is extremely painful.

A voice was heard amid all the applause at the end of the play—"A l'Ambigu!" This was not a bad criticism of the piece, which is really more a melodrama than a tragedy. Sardou likes to fill the stage with people. He is a great collector of engravings and costumes, and for a whole evening the stage of the French Theatre really resembled the Paris of the Terror, with its red-caps, pikes, and jailers. The movement and animation of these scenes was something a little new at the French Theatre; the number of actors and of *figurants* was exceptional. Sardou delights in these gregarious exhibitions; we have had them in "Patrie," in "La Haine," not to speak of such plays as "Theodora" and "Cleopatra"; at the Théâtre-Français we expect something of a more literary character.

Sardou's name is so popular that, immediately after the first representation, the boxes and stalls were taken at the theatre for I do not know how many representations. The Radical papers, *La Bataille* and *Le Radical*, had, however, made a protest against "Thermidor." When their editors and contributors were seen, with some of their friends (they were not more than twenty-five in all), in the theatre before the curtain rose on the night of the second representation, it was felt that something was going to happen. They had all brought whistles, and Boileau said of the right of whistling:

"C'est un droit qu'à la porte on achète en entrant."

The noise began during the first act, when Coquelin begins his long tirade against the Terror (I will say here that there are too many tirades in the piece). Some whistles were heard in the boxes of the third tier; the public protested, but in vain. A few whistles can make any representation impossible. Coquelin became very nervous; his voice is like a trumpet. The first act was ended with some difficulty.

The second act is very peaceable, and offered few opportunities to the friends of Robespierre who were in the room. It was not so in the third act, in which is the great *scène des dossiers*, with much declamation against the guillotine. At the moment when Jean Coquelin (the son of Coquelin, a young man who gives some promise of resembling his father) begins his account of a sitting of the Convention and of the struggle between Robespierre and Tallien, the whistles began their work. The most ardent interrupter was a Communist named Lissagaray, now editor of the *Bataille*. He rose, screamed, and delivered a discourse, which was not heard, and finally, in his fury, threw his whistle in the direction of Coquelin, the father. Coquelin quietly took the little copper instrument and put it in his pocket. The editor of the *Bataille* was not satisfied with this first act of violence; he took some sous from his pocket, and threw them on the stage. Marais, one of the actors, put one in his pocket, and said: "This is a *souvenir de Bataille*," alluding to the paper edited by M. Lissagaray. These scandalous scenes did not hinder the actors from playing to the end, and the curtain fell amid the enthusiastic applause of the immense majority of auditors. One of my friends heard some one scream at the door of the theatre, when the spectators were going away, "Vive la Commune!"

The emotion was great when the news of these disorders spread over Paris. The next morning, at the Cabinet council, the Ministers discussed the subject. The French Theatre receives a large subsidy from the State; the manuscript of "Thermidor" had been submitted to the censors appointed by the Government, and had been passed by them without any difficulty. The Minister of Public Instruction, M. Bourgeois, who has the theatres in his department, allowed the piece to be played. M. Claretie, the Director of the French Theatre, is a Republican of long standing. Nobody had expected such a manifestation as had taken place. Sardou himself had declared to everybody that his play was republican in its tendencies; that he attacked the Terror and the men of the Terror, but defended the great principles of the French Revolution.

Nevertheless, the Cabinet decided that the representations of "Thermidor" could not be continued; and, in fact, the third representation, announced for the same evening, did not take place. An interpellation was immediately announced in the Chamber, and it took place on Thursday, the 29th of January. The step resorted to by the Government was attacked, not by the members of the Opposition, but by Republicans who always vote with the Government. They spoke in the name of the liberty of literature and of historical criticism; they drew the line, between the Terror and the Revolution, which M. Sardou had drawn himself. It was said before the sitting that the Ministers were divided, and that a ministerial crisis was to be feared. But it soon ap-

peared that there would be no such crisis; the Prime Minister, M. de Freycinet (who, curiously enough, has just become a colleague of M. Sardou in the French Academy), and the Home Minister, M. Constans, did not examine the question in its details; they simply said that their mission was to secure public order; that public order was threatened by manifestations in the French Theatre, and that they secured it by stopping the representations of "Thermidor."

The great event of the discussion was a cutting speech of M. Clémenceau, the leader of the Extreme Left. He said that the French Revolution was a "block" from which nothing could be detached; they must take it whole or reject it altogether. Pointing to the Right, he said that the sons were as divided as the fathers, and that this division would continue until one of the parties had completely extinguished the other. If the Government did not do its duty, he declared that the *citizens* would—meaning by the citizens, probably, the Communists of Paris. The Government did not endorse these views, yet appeared to act at the dictation of the revolutionary leader, and so did the Chamber, which ratified by its vote the action of the Government. The representations of "Thermidor" have thus assumed a political importance. Since the downfall of Boulanger, the Government has seemed to be as strong as possible: it could very well dispense with the dangerous support of M. Clémenceau. In this circumstance it has astonished its friends as much as his enemies. M. Constans had shown some of the qualities of the man of action; he was the man of the day; the country expected much of him. Is the country to be disappointed in him, as it has been in all the men who have had their hour of popularity for twenty years? Has M. Constans acted as he has done simply because the star of Jules Ferry seems to rise again on the horizon? Or is he simply convinced that republican *concentration* is a necessity of the times?

CHARLES BRADLAUGH.

LONDON, February 7, 1891.

LAST Tuesday: a leaden, chilly sky; a London railway terminus, the platform thronged with a subdued crowd of chiefly middle-aged persons of the working class. Many had evidently travelled far. The attendants in the refreshment rooms had their hands full. There was a fair sprinkling of women. Personal beauty or grace was almost absent. I can imagine how those imbued with æsthetic ideals would despise such a crowd. But, beneath all, were apparent strength and earnestness of character, self-poise, self-reliance—essentially the qualities which have made England what she is. There were no signs of mourning except where upon a seat were being collected a number of funeral wreaths, which, formed principally of white flowers, looked more bridal than funereal. Here and there were worn rosettes of white and violet ribbons, or white, violet, and green. That dull day, that huge, grimy terminus, that quiet, artistically unlovely crowd, might be taken as typical of much that characterizes our modern civilization. How opposed was the scene to usual political associations with the death and funeral of a great man! Yet it was to do honor to a great man, Charles Bradlaugh, that this assemblage met.

One special train had been announced; another and yet another were necessary before the platform was cleared. There was no hurry or confusion; all was conducted in good order. That some 2,000 individuals, men and women of the class indicated, should thus come together, prepared to sacrifice a working day, pay a minimum of half-a-dollar, and travel fifty miles, struck me as about the most sincere tribute I had ever seen rendered to the memory of any man, and this was one who had died very poor, in lodgings, who never held office, and who never wrote a line or spoke a sentence likely to live. We were an hour without stops in reaching Woking. How long it takes, even at the highest railway speed, to emerge from interminable London, and then from its interminable surroundings of streets and terraces in course of erection, and finally from its outlying zone of market gardens! As we came out on the sandy, heath-covered, pine-dotted downs of Surrey, we were conscious of drawing a freer breath. For the first time after weeks we inhaled pure air and viewed a clear country horizon. Wonderful indeed is the magnetic power of London, which, having once drawn men from fresh, free nature within the spheres of its own influences, despite all drawbacks, so generally retains its hold on them.

Past the town of Woking, which has all the appearance of rising rapidly into importance as a country resort, past its great convict establishment on the crest of a hill, we emerge again upon the wide sandy rolling downs, and reach one of the chief burying-places of London. A great improvement it is upon the old crowded graveyards of former years, but far behind American ideas of beauty and arrangement connected with cemeteries. There we alighted, and the wagon carrying the coffin was drawn by an engine up the line, and then down a siding to the receiving-platform under the little church at the entrance of the cemetery. The air was fragrant with the odor of the thyme under our feet. The crowd, gathered in a vast circle round the open grave, appeared more picturesque than at the railway station. The uniforms of several soldiers were conspicuous, and the bronzed faces of many of our Indian fellow-subjects. It would have been interesting to know the name of many an undistinguished-looking man. Some would doubtless have carried us back to Chartist times, the fall of Hyde Park railings, and the various successive struggles by which in our time British liberty has been more and more asserted and secured. Mr. Holyoake was one of the most interesting personalities there; John Morley the most noticeable among the Parliamentary colleagues of the deceased. There were tears on several plain, stern faces. The simple black coffin was borne in on men's shoulders and committed without ceremony to a deep grave in the sweet sandy soil. All was then over. Unnecessary lingering was undesirable in the chilling blast that swept over the country, and we were glad to crowd into the trains and return to town.

I knew little of Mr. Bradlaugh until I sat beside him in the House of Commons. My dominant feeling in connection with his name was shame that our Irish members had taken such an unworthy part together with the illiberal majority which for so long did their utmost to exclude him from Parliament. The more I saw of him, the more I admired and respected him, the more profoundly I was impressed by his largeness of nature and his conscientious dedication of his great powers to the side of right and truth on every question that came before us for discussion. His whole demeanor was marked by intensity and directness. He was seldom seen in the library or reading-rooms, or chatting in the lobby. His only relaxation, apparently, was chess in the smoking-room. He had thoroughly mastered the forms and rules of the House, and his abilities enabled him to make the best use of his knowledge. To the people of India and to all subject races under British rule, he is a supreme loss. At the grave-side a Parsee remarked to me that perhaps no Englishman was ever so sincerely regretted by a larger number of his fellow-subjects. Every trick and artifice had been tried to keep him out of the House. He had been dragged by police from the table and thrown exhausted and with torn habiliments into Palace Yard. Once conceded his rights, he was as jealous as any member could be of the respect due to the Chair, of the dignity of the House, and of all its forms and usages. He seemed incapable of pettiness or meanness. In nothing did he more show his magnanimity than in his steady adherence to the cause of Ireland, after the part her representatives had taken against him. I recall his wonderful voice, ringing like a clarion through the House, his commanding figure, clad in sombre black, the towering forehead, the white hair brushed back. The little "Exit" sketch of him in *Punch* this week is pathetic in its truthfulness; the artist has fully caught the impression given by his figure of his character.

No member was listened to with greater respect or had more completely captured the ear of the House. "I used to hate that man," said a good Catholic to me; "but as I sat beside him I could not but grow to like him." It was hardly a face to inspire love; there was too much of the bull-dog about it. It was graven with the strife and endurance of a long Ishmael life of poverty and trial. It was the countenance of one who, against overwhelming difficulties, had forced his way to recognition and respect. There was little space left for lines of tenderness, yet the man had an acutely sensitive and loving heart. I am not competent to speak regarding the general effect for good or evil on society of his 'Fruits of Philosophy' and his "atheistic" writings. Such a man need not call himself "atheist." If ever there was a believer in the government of principle and truth, it was he. If he were atheistic as to the ideal God of the world, he cannot have been so as to the God of Christ. His calling himself an atheist was perhaps felt as a challenge by many whose views may have been similar, but who did not feel bound to attempt a definition of their beliefs, positive or negative. Is it not the case that, with a haunting sense that they are perhaps not acting quite straightforwardly, men more and more shrink from such avowals, not so much from cowardice as from humility, and from a profound, growing sense of the difficulties attendant on all attempted definitions of the unknowable? Many whose opinions are entirely vague feel that they would give a false impression if, like Mr. Bradlaugh, they stigmatized themselves as atheists, though they may suppose their doubts run very much on the same lines as his. "Who fathoms the Eternal Thought?" better expresses the feeling of the present seeker after truth than the sharp iconoclasm of the religious questioning that characterized the early days of Mr. Bradlaugh, that characterized the living Winkelried struggle of his life, while he helped to make an easy, honored path for others by receiving into his own bosom the arrows of the prejudiced and of the really atheistic.

Mr. Bradlaugh's natural abilities were of an uncommon order. Buying himself out of the army, and entering an attorney's office as a messenger, within a year he had mastered the intricacies of the common law. He was a born

orator. Earning his living through long, close hours of work, it was often his wont between Saturday night and Monday to travel several hundred miles and lecture thrice to large audiences. Meanwhile he "learned" Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and as many modern languages as he found occasions for. When he died, he was, of all Englishmen, the best qualified to administer the Government of India. Surely it must lead to the wreck and ruin of many a noble, conscientious nature to point to such a career and say: "With ordinary talents and extraordinary perseverance all things are attainable." Is this not binding intolerable burdens upon human nature? The happiness and usefulness of life depend to a greater extent than we have as yet realized upon a correct estimate of individual powers—upon the essential difference between the capacities of ordinary men and women and those of Charles Bradlaugh. D. B.

THE POPE AND THE FRENCH REPUBLIC.

ROME, January 20, 1891.

THE position of the Pope, and the possible influence he may have on the affairs of Europe, though perhaps not so important as is believed at the Vatican, is of serious weight in the contingency of a general conflict of the Powers. The pent-up antagonism between him and the Italian Government has always been, like the sack of winds which Æolus gave to Ulysses, a danger to both if some imprudent partisan or resolution of the Sacred College should let it loose. When the Italian Government took possession of Rome, it was, as your readers probably remember, in violation of an agreement with the Emperor of France by which the position of the Pope was to be respected—the meaning being evidently that the temporal sovereignty should be maintained. It was impossible not to enter Rome after the fall of the Emperor and the total defeat of France unless the King was willing to risk a revolution. There are circumstances which are stronger than any treaty or resolutions, and if the royal troops had not taken Rome, the Garibaldians would have done so, and nobody knows what might have happened. The Law of Guarantees passed by the Government on taking possession gives the Pope a civil list of three and a quarter millions of francs and invests him with diplomatic immunities, the power of sending and receiving ambassadors, having his own posts and telegraphs, and communicating without interference with foreign Powers, and puts the Vatican and all its surroundings and the palace of the Lateran, with the Papal villa at Castel Gandolfo, under his guardianship, without tax or impost; holding, however, to the inherent national sovereignty over the whole. Exterritorialized by Italian concession, it is capable of being reclaimed by an exercise of the same will. The Pope, as was to be apprehended, refused to accept a limited sovereignty, declines the endowment, and refuses to recognize the possession of Rome by Italy. This is the normal position. The Pope, standing on the principle that, as head of the Church, he cannot be subject of any earthly sovereign, maintains that he must be placed in a position of political independence; while the Italians maintain that the whole of Italy belongs to the Italian people, and that the national will is sovereign.

All the appeals to the Powers to oblige the Italian Government to respect the Papal independence, *i. e.*, the temporal power, have been responded to by the statement that they regard the question as one of the internal politics of Italy, in which they have no right to interfere, with the exception of France, which does not disclaim a right of interference based on the treaty stipulating for the independence of the Holy See; and it is well understood that this intervention is the sword of Damocles over the head of Italy, and that the hope of the Vatican is in the compulsion of France, for the Italians will never submit to the separation of Rome from Italy, or the return of the temporal power over it except as the consequence of military defeat, *i. e.*, irresistible compulsion. The consequences of such an eventuality on the future of the Church in Italy and the position of the Papacy may be left to those who choose to prophesy and have the gift, for I can only conjecture. The present situation is enough for an uninspired journalist. As respects political independence, the Pope is as dependent on France for what he would have, as he now is for what he has on Italy. He escapes from Scylla to fall into Charybdis, and the latter is really much the greater slavery of the two, for a French garrison in Rome means an absolute political subserviency to France, while with Italy entire freedom of action and motion is secured on condition that the Vatican abstains from politics.

What the subserviency to France means is now made clear by two questions which have arisen between that country and the Vatican. The first was on the appointment of the new Bishop of Strassburg, for which place the French Government urged the appointment of an Alsatian, while the German insisted on that of a German, as was to be expected; and the result was equally to have been expected, for the Pope has as large an interest at stake in Germany as in France, with the additional consideration that if the nomination did not suit the German Government, the exequatur would be refused. What motive could have induced the Republic to enter on such a contest when the game was in the hands of the Germans, and sure to be won by them, I do not see. But the Vatican has had to admit, and the Republic to learn, that though the latter is the only friend the former has, the friendship is not enough to induce the Pope to resist the demands of the German Government when the pressure is urgent on both sides. Monseigneur Fritzen, the candidate of the Emperor, has been appointed. I am told that the irritation at Paris is very great, and one can readily conceive this, for the influence of the Bishop must be of immense weight in the direction of public opinion in the contested questions of loyalty which will continually arise; but that the French Ministry should conceive that it could prevail on the Pope to nominate a Bishop whom it had proposed, against the certain opposition of the Emperor, indicates that it had a high opinion of its own influence at the Vatican.

The other question is one which has a much larger scope and which offers the possibility of much more serious results. It is that of the recognition of the Republic by the Vatican in such form as to detach the clergy from the Royalist and Imperial parties. The advanced position taken by Cardinal Lavigerie, echoed by one of the bishops, was taken as a demonstration by the Vatican of the abandonment of the monarchical pretenders and a conversion to the Republic; but

> "If the red slayer think he slays,
> Or if the slain think he is slain,
> They know not well the subtle ways
> I keep, and pass, and turn again";

and the Republic is now probably realizing that, though the Pope may accept a republican government where it exists uncontested, as in the United States of America, and live in peace with it, the conditions of political organization in France are such that he cannot identify himself with them. Their logical consequence in Italy is the abolition of his political existence, the right of revolution being opposed to the divine right on which his claims rest, while the durability of the Republic is not so certain that he can for *les beaux yeux* of the last of the heathen mythical creations afford to quarrel with his only true and devoted partisans in France, the Royalists, the only Frenchmen who still hold to the principle on which the Papacy is founded; the more so as, in the mutations which lie in the future, they may find that the royalty is not slain, but may "keep, and pass, and turn again."

The result of the venture of Lavigerie was that Cardinal Rampolla, Papal Secretary of State, *malgré lui* had to send out a circular in which he seemed to approve the language of Lavigerie, but the real meaning of which was that the Vatican accepted the Republic because it existed; that though very friendly to that particular republic, it declined to undertake any propaganda for it; and that Lavigerie was quietly disavowed wherever it was necessary, and other bishops made to understand that the Vatican did not care to follow in that way. The apostle of the anti-slavery crusade was left out in the cold, and has become an impossible Cardinal, so far as future advancement goes and while the present system endures. "They know not well the subtle ways," nor did they understand the mighty immobility of the Church. Somebody had to be punished; the Pope and cardinals were out of reach, and so the Abbé Puyol was dismissed, being the person of all whom the French Government could reach who was nearest and personally dearest to the Pope. The Abbé Puyol was the head of a French religious community in Rome and curé of the national church St. Louis des Français. The Pope had sent him, according to one version, but he had volunteered according to another, to settle a difference between some parish priests who had incurred the anger of the Government of the Republic by either using their influence for the wrong candidate or not using it for the right one—for it is not easy to get at the exact truth of the matter—and had been dismissed, suspended, or otherwise punished and had demanded reparation of the law. The Abbé conveyed to them the desire of the Pope that they should abandon the litigation, which they did, and the Abbé then obtained at his own suggestion, or conveyed at that of the Pope, some ecclesiastical honors (chamberlainships or similar), to express the satisfaction of his Holiness at their docility. This happened some time ago, and one would have thought, if worthy such a severe punishment as the cutting short of the Abbé's ecclesiastical career, should have been visited at once. The fact that it was only discovered to be so grave an offence after the other differences had come to a head, is confirmation strong enough of the feeling at the Vatican that the blow was intended by prosopopeia for the Pope.

I hear from one of the Monsignori of my acquaintance that the indignation in ecclesiastical quarters is very intense, not merely at this, but at the general pressure put on the French clergy to favor the Republic. The Monsignori say that it was direct and even brutal pressure to take an active part in the elections in favor of the Republic, and the friends of the Government say that all it wants is their complete abstinence from any mixture in politics. It does not seem possible that the purely negative policy of the latter version could develop the bitter feeling which

I have had evidence of on the part of the churchmen. One thing is certain: the cordiality between the Republic and the Vatican is very far from what it used to be and must be, to have much political result in favor of the present Government. The impression seems to be that the Republic is not so solid as is assumed by the republicans, and, considering the power the clergy have over the votes of the peasants, the anxiety to secure their cordial support is very natural and justifiable. But if the Pope were determined to assert his independence and direct the influence of the Church in favor of the Royalists, or, feeling himself abandoned by France, to initiate a crusade in favor of peace and disarmament according to the principles of Christianity, or finally, finding all hope of a restoration of the temporal power gone, should reconcile himself to the kingdom of Italy, the effect of his power over European politics might be to change the aspect of affairs. This again is speculation; what is certain is that there is a serious breach between the Pope and the Republic. X.

Correspondence.

FORMS OF EXECUTIVE POWER.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: The Boston *Transcript* has a letter from Mr. E. A. Freeman deprecating a rumored change in the Swiss Constitution so as to make the Federal Executive Council elective by the people, instead of by the Federal Assembly, and instituting a comparison which it is interesting to follow.

(1.) The Federal Council is chosen for three years as its first act by the Federal Assembly elected for the same period, and the Council chooses each year as its President one member, who represents them on state occasions but has no special power. The Council is irremovable, and lasts as long as the Assembly. The members of the Council cannot be members of the Assembly—that is, they cannot vote in it; but they can attend meetings and can speak in either house at pleasure.

(2.) The French President is elected by both houses in joint session for a period of seven years, and is irremovable except by impeachment. He has no seat and no voice in either house, and in fact the Legislature pays little or no attention to him, but sets up and pulls down ministries, at the pleasure of a fluctuating majority, on the same principle as, but with much greater instability than, the British Parliament.

(3.) In Great Britain the Prime Minister is nominally appointed by the Queen, but is practically the choice of the majority of the House of Commons. The rest of the Cabinet are voluntary associates whom the Prime Minister persuades to serve, with the understanding that he will support them—that is, will resign if any one of them is defeated. The first and most absorbing occupation, therefore, of the British Ministry is to keep its footing.

(4.) The Italian Ministry is substantially on the same footing as the British.

(5.) The United States method, though coming nearest to the Swiss, differs entirely from the others. A single President is elected by the nation, and selects his Cabinet, which the Senate seldom or never refuses to confirm. The one objection which all foreign critics, including Mr. Freeman, make to our system, is, that the Cabinet have neither seat nor voice in the Legislature, which, as well as the country, is thus deprived of this guidance, which is almost indispensable for either successful legislation or administration. But these critics treat this as if it were a necessary part of our system, which it is not at all. Why could not our Cabinet, without being members of the Legislature—that is, having no vote—have seats and a voice there just as much as the Federal Council? Why, being the choice of the President for a fixed term, need they resign upon an adverse vote any more than the Federal Council? Mr. Freeman says that as the President and the Cabinet often belong to a different party from the majority in Congress, the two would quarrel. But the Swiss Assembly must be more or less than human if, in the course of three years, they do not find grounds of quarrel with the Council, even though elected by them; and it would be perfectly easy, even if they are irremovable, to make their positions insupportable. For whatever reason, this does not happen. Congress would be exceedingly wary of quarrelling with our President, because the popular sympathy would always be with him, and any appearance of factious opposition would touch the Congressman in his tenderest point—fear for his seat.

The Swiss method of an Executive Council without official head is undoubtedly on a wrong principle, and why it works as well as it does can only be explained by the smallness of the territory and the character of the people. If it came to be made up by a popular election, its weakness would probably soon be made apparent. Our method of electing a single President by the whole people is one of the strongest working arrangements in the world. To show how strong it is, an experiment, one of the most interesting in the history of politics—that of giving the Cabinet seats and a voice in Congress—could be made with the greatest ease, and discontinued if unsatisfactory. The obstacle consists in the preponderance of private interests, the rule of the lobby, the jealousy of the committee system and of the party machinery. The only interest to be benefited would be that of the people at large and of the whole nation, which, as everybody knows, is now of little account. But if some President, or even some Cabinet officer, ever has the courage to appeal from Congress directly to the people, he may find that that interest has still something to say for itself. G. B.

Boston, February 7, 1891.

ANOTHER EFFECT OF HIGH TARIFFS?

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Will you allow me to call the attention of American manufacturers, sending goods to a foreign market, to the fact that, when directions or warnings are necessary to the proper use of such goods, the language of the foreign market should be employed? The same regulation applies also to advertisements, if it is expected that any advantage will be derived from them.

To use the foreign language would be so evidently in the interest of the manufacturer or shipper that it is surprising that this caution is necessary; yet Americans living abroad have often occasion to notice this want of forethought.

As particularly erring in this respect should be noted a well-known brand of canned corned-beef, each can of which has printed upon it, in Engli h, a warning to the effect that the meat should not be allowed to remain in the can after it is once opened. If any dangerous results are to be feared from disobedience to this direction, it should surely be printed in a language to be understood by the buyer. Here, in Germany, this American canned corned beef can be seen for sale in every provision store; it is the custom of the dealer to sell the meat by the slice, from a five or ten-pound can, using the can in the meantime as a convenient receptacle for the meat until all is sold. As neither German buyer nor seller can read the English warning against this practice, the moral responsibility for any accident arising therefrom must fall upon the American seller.

I have often also seen children's toys and games, of American make, offered for sale in Germany with only English explanations, thus almost precluding their sale. Also those peculiarly American labor-saving articles, patent sweepers, ice-cream freezers, apple-parers, etc., are sometimes rendered ineffectual through their improper use, which too often arises from a lack of a proper explanation in a language comprehensible by the user.

H. C. P.

Dresden, Germany, January 22, 1891.

"F. H." AND THE LETTER *H*.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: If Professor Hart, by his reflections on me in your columns, has realized his obvious aim, he has determined my level, as a philological inquirer, to be that of an underflogged schoolboy. The reasons I am about to give for declining to accept the rank which has, by implication, been assigned me, will, I apprehend, be acknowledged as valid.

Some time in the course of the last century, possibly not long before or after the middle of it, there arose, in England, among the uneducated, a habit of freely dropping the initial aspirate of words to which it belongs, and of prefixing the aspirate to words beginning with vowels. On this habit, which grew, by degrees, to be epidemic over a good part of the land, I made a few remarks in No. 1330 of your journal. And in those remarks I kept strictly to my subject.

But there is another subject, one in no wise connected therewith, which Prof. Hart chooses to think that I should have considered simultaneously; and, because I left it untouched, I am forthwith loftily taxed with nothing less than the rawest sciolism of a certificated dunce.

The particular phase of sciolism in question indeed involves, for instance, unacquaintance with the Biblical *emerods* and Shakespeare's *Ebrew;* forms on which I find, among my papers, a note taken as far back as 1838.

This statement, indicative of my early interest in philology, counts for nothing, I am well aware, in rebuttal of Prof. Hart's gratuitous assumption. But very different is the fact that I am able to quote, as follows, what I incidentally put in print eighteen years ago:

"For several centuries, the rights of *h* were far from being rigidly defined; and old authors often have *hable*, *habundance*, *hangle*, *happle*, *hearl*, *helder*, *hoak*, *howlet*, *husance*, etc., with *abit*, *emisphere*, *emorrhoids*, *ierarch*, *oly*, *ymn*, *ypocrite*, *yssop*, etc. In the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, as I could show from Roberd of Gloucester, William of Palerne, Capgrave, and a host of other authorities, *his*, the pronoun, was corrupted into *is*. I shall make use, a little farther on, of the fact here shown, namely, that the initial *h* was once prefixed, or omitted, with great carelessness."—*Modern English* (1873), p. 358.

Your obedient servant, F. H.

Marlesford, England, January 23, 1891.

Notes.

Houghton, Mifflin & Co.'s spring announcements include a revised edition of 'Poole's In-

dex to Periodical Literature'; 'The Sisters' Tragedy, with Other Poems, Lyrical and Dramatic,' by T. B. Aldrich; 'A Sappho of Green Springs,' a new volume of stories by Bret Harte; some thirty discourses by the Rev. A. P. Peabody, entitled 'King's Chapel Sermons'; 'As It Is in Heaven,' reflections on the future life, by Lucy Larcom; 'The Epic of the Inner Life,' studies in the Book of Job, by Prof. J. F. Genung of Amherst; and 'Japanese Girls and Women,' by Miss Alice M. Bacon.

Macmillan & Co. make the very interesting announcement that they will shortly publish 'The Oxford Movement: Twelve Years, 1833–1845,' by the late Dean Church. This is a volume based upon Dean Church's personal recollections, and will follow the course of the movement from its first public beginning to the secession of Dr. Newman. The "character sketches" of Newman, Keble, Hurrell Froude, Ward, and others that are promised will be eagerly looked for by many. Material for a history of the Oxford movement is now rapidly accumulating, and none is likely to be more valuable than Dean Church's book will be.

N. D. C. Hodges will publish directly 'The Labrador Coast: A Journal of Two Summer Cruises to that Region,' by Prof. Alpheus S. Packard. The work will contain notes on the early discovery of Labrador, its Eskimo inhabitants, physical features, fauna, etc., and a bibliography of works and charts pertaining to the civil and natural history of the peninsula. It will be illustrated.

The American Academy of Political and Social Science will shortly issue a translation, by Dr. R. P. Falkner of the University of Pennsylvania, of Prof. Meitzen's work on 'Statistics.'

The eighth volume of the Messrs. Putnam's edition of the Writings of Washington, edited by Mr. Worthington C. Ford, covers the period August 2, 1779–October 18, 1790, which is somewhat devoid of military interest, though the arrival of Rochambeau and D'Estaing and the treason and flight of Arnold mark the beginning of the end of the war. It seems worth remarking that Washington used, in a letter to Benjamin Harrison of October 25, 1779, a rare word which Dr. Murray, in his New English Dictionary, can trace no further back than 1847. It will be found on p. 94 in a sentence containing this clause: "without doing a single thing *advancive* of the end in view." The 'Century Dictionary' quotes without date, through Bancroft, another but later employment of the same word by Washington. It occurs in a letter to R. H. Lee, dated March 15, 1785: "more *advancive* of individual interest than the public welfare."

With the fourteenth volume, Prof. Masson concludes his admirable editing of 'The Collected Writings of Thomas De Quincey' (Edinburgh: Adam & Charles Black; New York: Macmillan). Naturally we have here a very miscellaneous assortment, some of the pieces having for the first time been detected by Prof. Masson in the magazine to which they were contributed unsigned, and one having never seen the light before, being a MS. appendage to the graduating thesis of De Quincey's son. This last is an answer to the so-called "Religious Objections to the Use of Chloroform"—objections which shed an awful light on the state of the human intellect in 1847. Perhaps the most valuable find of all was the "Recollections of Hannah More," published anonymously after her death in 1833 at a very short interval. She was a friend of his mother, and encouraged a Calvinistic sternness of regimen of which De Quincey got the benefit; and his analysis of Mrs. More's character is harsh enough. Her reputation as an author, he says, "first commenced in a reciprocal intercourse of flattery," and he would not acquit her of worldly-mindedness. Here, too, we have a translation of Kant's no less severe "Abstract of Swedenborgianism," with two other Kantian pieces, swelling the total of De Quincey's exposition of the great philosopher to no mean amount; a comparison of French and English manners; a denunciation of the Free Church movement in Scotland; an argument for the opium war with China, etc. Prof. Masson makes an estimate, in his Epilogue, of De Quincey's literary activity and his probable (very small) earnings as a littérateur almost wholly publishing through the magazines; and provides most scrupulous tables of chronological production and an index. Devotion to a favorite author could hardly further go, or more judiciously.

The "Tudor Library" (London: David Nutt) continues its elegant and beautiful reprints of Elizabethan rarities with the English translation of the first book of Francesco Colonna's strange romance, the 'Hypnerotomachia,' or 'The Strife of Love in a Dream,' as the title runs here. Mr. Andrew Lang furnishes an unsympathetic preface, in which the most he grants is that some of the language might have pleased the "unripe youth of Keats"; but he treats the whole slightingly. The original work is valued for its charming woodcuts, more delightful, *pace* Mr. Lang, than the French reproduction of them, and here poorly represented by some examples copied by a mechanical process from the original Aldine of 1499, with great loss of refinement in the line. The text is a free translation, and represents well enough the curious conglomerate of art and theology, herbs, precious stones, devices, mythology, and erotic imagination which compose this characteristic Renaissance monument. The love of architecture and the lapidary's art, the turn for obscure allegory, and the delight of the author in all wrought objects of beauty, are most conspicuous; but through all the unintelligible maze of description one finds a lover of the beautiful and of the ancient world, so possessed with his love as to represent vividly that intoxication of the sense of beauty which belonged to the Renaissance. It is a book for few readers, but those who have the secret will find pleasure in this profusion of the author's dream; they will not care overmuch for the sense of his words, and they will meet with many brief passages of real poetic charm, set forth in phrases of a mingled sweetness and nobleness of which our language has long lost the art. The edition is limited to 500 copies.

The past year of *Harper's Magazine* is bound up in volumes 80, 81, and the excellent tables of contents enable one to take a bird's-eye view of the editor's feast. Russia stands at the head of foreign countries illustrated, with Landsdell's "Baltic Russia," Vicomte de Vogüé's "Through the Caucasus," Theodore Child's "Russian Art," and a Russian general's account of the Russian Army, as Lord Wolseley describes the standing army of Great Britain and Gen. Wesley Merritt that of the United States. Mr. Child is perhaps the most favored contributor, as he is represented not only by the article just mentioned, but also by one on modern French painters and three on South America—"Across the Andes" and "Chili" (Agricultural, and Urban and Commercial). We recall also Mr. Charles Dudley Warner's paper on Southern California ("Our Italy"), Mr. Laurence Hutton's "American Burlesque," and the Abbey and Lang Shaksperian partnership in the case of the "Merchant of Venice" and the "Merry Wives of Windsor."

The thousand pages of *Harper's Weekly* for 1890 bring to mind with text and engraving such events as the fall of Bismarck, the Pan-American Congress, the rescue of Emin Pasha, the Louisville tornado, the Indian ghost-dances and slaughter, the development of our navy, the centennial of the Supreme Court, the beneficence of Baron Hirsch and Daniel Fayerweather, and many of minor moment. The supplements have supplied a great variety of useful and entertaining monographs, in which descriptions of American cities and of city clubs have been prominent. Mr. Child has had much to tell here also of South America. Mr. Janvier's "Aztec Treasure-House" has been the leading serial in fiction. The portraits in these successive volumes one can but feel to be of the most permanent worth. The obituary and the political series are both very extensive, and the student of physiognomy can draw a swift moral from the latter.

It is difficult to sum up the pictorial aspect of *Harper's Bazar* for the same period. "Actuality" is almost excluded from it, and there is in the cartoons but the faintest intimation of the great happenings in the world without the circle of the modiste. Mr. T. W. Higginson's fortnightly papers to and about women are the best corrective of too close attention to the main object of this fashion periodical.

The publisher of 'Bibliographie générale et raisonée du droit belge,' by Edmond Picard and Ferdinand Larcier (Ve. F. Larcier, Brussels, 22 Rue des Minimes), has done well to print an alphabetical subject-index to that excellent work. Six pages of addenda bring the total number of title entries up to 9,510, and the index swells the number of pages in the book to 1,354. The new title-page which is supplied for the completed volume states the exact period covered by the bibliographical record to be from the time of the separation of Belgium from France, in 1814, to October 1, 1889; and supplements are announced to be published to cover every subsequent five years. The index is furnished without charge to all subscribers to the original work.

The 'Inorganic Chemistry' of William Jago (Longmans) is, on the whole, a fairly good elementary treatise, deserving neither special praise nor blame. The illustrations help to make it a useful school-book. Of a far higher character is the translation, by J. Bishop Tingle, of Prof. E. Hjelt's 'Principles of Organic Chemistry' (same publishers). In the author's words, it is intended for students who have already some general knowledge of organic chemistry and who wish to extend and *systematize* that knowledge. It is precisely in this systematization that the value of this manual consists. Organic chemistry now presents a colossal mass of facts expressed in formulas which can only be understood by reduction to primary forms. Prof. Hjelt's book will materially assist the student in the necessary work of reference and reduction. It is essentially, however, an elementary work.

Our economic degradation and slavishness is renewedly brought to mind by an edition, revised to January 1, 1891, of 'Downing's United States Customs Tariff' (New York: R. F. Downing & Co.). It gives the text of the McKinley Customs Administrative Act and Tariff Act, together with an alphabetical schedule of articles and duties, with references to the paragraphs in the said acts which provide

for them. The latest decisions of the Treasury on this mass of oppression and confusion are embodied in the schedule.

The report of the Massachusetts Board of Health for 1889 deals with some matters of common interest, but the results are not particularly satisfactory. Special reports are made upon intermittent fever and upon the *grippe*, but in neither case is our knowledge of causes much extended. In fact, the returns are too imperfect in the case of "malaria" to justify any wide generalization, although it is evident that fever attributed to this cause is disappearing in places where it formerly prevailed, and is manifesting itself in many new localities in the eastern part of the State. But as it frequently does not appear where it theoretically should, and does appear where it should not, it is evident that there is yet much to be learned about it. A beginning is made in the collection of statistics of the physique of women which, if continued, will furnish some useful data. Much valuable assistance is given by the Board to towns and individuals who propose to engage in the construction of water and sewerage works, and it is evident that this new function satisfies a public want.

The New York Shakespeare Society announces that it ceased, with the issue for January, 1891, to conduct, or to be responsible for, the magazine *Shakespereana*.

In the *Magazine of American History* for February, Mr. H. E. Green, who is engaged in indexing the Pickering MSS. presented to the Massachusetts Historical Society, indicates the range and great value of this collection, and conveys a not to be despised impression of the worth of Timothy Pickering which even a cataloguer must feel. Abstracts of all the letters will be given, he says, with entries under all subjects of any importance.

Mr. Wm. Coolidge Lane of the Harvard University Library publishes in its Bulletin for January an Index of reference lists and special bibliographies included in periodical and other publications of recent date. It is in continuation of a similar Index published in 1888.

Mr. James T. Maffett, formerly member of Congress, is building up at the new State Normal School at Clarion, Pa., a collection of public documents, State and national, which promises to be very large indeed, and perhaps might already claim to be unrivalled. In such matters the rule that unto him that hath shall be given seems eminently fitting; and as there cannot be many collectors having the same ambition with Mr. Maffett, it is safe to wish that he may establish a permanent inflow to his peculiar library of reference.

A number of the leading librarians of the United States have joined in a testimonial to the worth and indispensableness of the Monthly Catalogue of United States Government Publications which has for several years been issued, amid many discouragements, by Mr. J. H. Hickcox at Washington, D. C. Its plan includes the separate entry of every paper or contribution contained in the publications—an immense boon to all who consult it. Strange to say, the Catalogue has not received the full support of the public libraries, and this unique undertaking is in danger of collapse. Such a fate would certainly be a shame to the community, and the publisher does not ask too much in requesting a doubling of present subscriptions and a fresh adhesion on the part of the delinquent. Mr. Hickcox's address is 905 M Street, Washington.

The eighth of the "Old South Leaflets" (Boston) for 1890 is a very interesting collection pertaining to the American Indians. It opens with a discourse by William Henry Harrison, in 1839, on the Mound-builders of the Ohio Valley. Next comes Thomas Morton's account of Indian manners and customs in his 'New English Canaan' (1637), followed by John Eliot's 'Brief Narrative' (1670), William Hubbard's relation of the beginning of King Philip's War in his 'Narrative' (1677), Pontiac's speech (1763) from Parkman, an extract from Black Hawk's autobiography as to the cause of the war bearing his name, Coronado's letter to Mendoza (1540), and Wheelock's narrative concerning his Indian charity-school at Lebanon, Conn.—a choice little assortment, truly, and the whole carefully annotated and illustrated.

Extensive preparations are being made at Munich for the Annual International Art Exhibition of 1891, and invitations to the artists of Germany and other nations have been already issued. This year the whole of the "Glass Palace" will be available for the purposes of the exhibition, so that there will be no lack of space. Applications of artists who wish to be represented should be made as early as possible to the Secretary of the Künstler-Genossenschaft, Briennerstrasse.

—Details of reorganization of the faculties and of the departments are the most important feature of the annual report of President Eliot of Harvard. The question of a three-years in place of a four-years course is left, where the Overseers have placed it, in suspense; but there is some quiet marshalling of data confirming the late average age of entrance to the academic course—nobody now below sixteen, and the average at nineteen; and a circular advising parents not to hold back their sons when prepared for college, is printed as authorized by the Faculty. Gratification is expressed at the manifest tendency to reduce the number of intercollegiate games, "it having been already demonstrated in boating and foot-ball that one intercollegiate match is sufficient to maintain all necessary interest in home practice"; and, adds President Eliot, "the best number of intercollegiate contests is the smallest number which will maintain" this interest. He does not allude to the probable good effects, in this direction, of the proposed shortening of the course. The allowable substitutes for Greek in the entrance examinations are still not largely availed of—by less than 9 per cent. in 1890; and the true explanation is given—"the capacity and taste for mathematics and physical science are much less common than the capacity and taste for languages." In other words, speech, as it was the fundamental distinction between man and the lower animals, remains the most natural. In this connection, readers of the report will note attentively what is said about the effort to improve the gift of expression in English at Harvard—a problem needlessly complicated, as we believe, by the endeavor to cultivate by one and the same exercise the art of clearly stating what a man has to tell, and to force the brain to think. A general prosperity prevailed throughout the University during the past year, happily marked by the raising of professors' salaries; but there is an ominous warning from the Library that its shelf-room is nearly exhausted; and, as our readers are aware, the undergraduates are laboring to raise money for a separate reading-room adequate to the needs of the ever-growing number of students who voluntarily and perforce frequent the Library. "This," says President Eliot, with one exception, "is the most urgent need of the University at this moment."

—The Bureau of Education's Circular of Information, No. 3, 1890, is a bulky pamphlet on 'The Teaching and History of Mathematics in the United States,' by Prof. Florian Cajori of Colorado College. Three-quarters of the 400 pages are given to the history proper, full in facts and decidedly anecdotical, but sadly wanting an index. Some of the stories are rather personal. The following relates to Prof. J. J. Sylvester, who is referred to as "Silly":

"His manner of lecturing was highly rhetorical and elocutionary. When about to enunciate an important or remarkable statement, he would draw himself up till he stood on the very tips of his toes, and in deep tones thunder out his sentences. He preached at us at such times; and not infrequently he wound up by quoting a few lines of poetry to impress on us the importance of what he had been declaring. I remember distinctly an incident that occurred when he was at work on his Universal Algebra. He had jumped to a conclusion which he was unable to prove by logical deduction. He stated this fact to us in the lecture, and then went on: 'GENTLEMEN' [here he raised himself on his toes], 'I am *certain* that my conclusion is correct. I will WAGER a hundred pounds to *one*; yes, I will WAGER my *life* on it.' The capitals indicate when he rose on his toes, and the italics when he rocked back on to his heels. In such bursts as these he always held his hands tightly clenched and close to his side, while his elbows stuck out in the plane of his body, so that his bended arm made an angle of about 140°."

Following this historical matter are twenty-three questions concerning methods of teaching and the like answered in the briefest manner by professors of 168 colleges, with other decisions by teachers in normal schools and others by principals of high schools. All this part of the book is diffuse and ill-edited. Little or no discrimination has been exercised in selecting the institutions; and from many of the most important there are no replies. There are none from Harvard, Yale, Princeton, the University of Pennsylvania, Ann Arbor, Cornell, Clark University, or the University of Wisconsin, all of which seats of learning should have been visited.

—The arrangement of the answers is such as to cover a great deal of paper while affording the reader no facilities; the whole thought, apparently, having been to save trouble to the compiler. As a fair sample of the value of these decisions, we may summarize those which sprawl over the half of three pages in response to the question, "Do scientific or classical students show the greater aptitude for mathematics?" The answers are:

Decidedly, the scientific,	from	41	colleges.
Decidedly, the classical,	"	28	"
Apparently, the scientific,	"	7	"
Apparently, the classical,	"	9	"
Sensibly equal,	"	13	"
Doubtful or nearly equal,	"	14	"

The more expanded statements could easily be put into half-a-dozen lines more. These replies prove nothing, unless proof be needed that most college professors know little of the aptitudes of their students. The last forty pages of the book are occupied with historical essays, germane to the subject, though of no great value. An appendix gives a useful bibliography of American treatises on the calculus, thirty-three in number.

—M. Marcel Schwob, whose minute and fruitful researches concerning the life and works of Mr. Swinburne's sad, bad, mad, glad master, François Villon, have been heretofore noted in these columns, has just announced another discovery. Students of Villon will remember that, in the "Grand Testament," the first bequest that the poet sets down is one to Maistre Guillaume de Villon, who has been more than a father to him, he says, and gentler than a mother:

"Je luy donne ma librairie,
Et le *Rommant du Pet au Diable*,
Lequel maistre Gui Tabarie
Grossoya, qu'est hom veritable.
Par cayers est soubz une table,
Combien qu'il soit rudement faict,
La matiere est si très notable,
Qu'elle amende tout le meffaict."

Up to the present time it has been believed that this "Rommant" was a purely imaginary work, but M. Schwob has unearthed from the registers of the Parlement Criminel of the year 1453 a full account of the circumstances under which it was written. The troubles that abounded in that year between the students at Paris and the authorities had sprung from the imprisonment of thirty of the scholars who had been engaged in an escapade of a sort that has not even yet become wholly obsolete among undergraduates. There was a rock called the Pet au Diable that stood in front of the house of Mlle. de Bruyères, facing St. Jean de Grève, which the students managed somehow to transport to the Mont Ste. Geneviève. There they crowned it with flowers, and made the passers-by salute it, and tore down signs from the Halles and the Porte Baudet, and danced about it all night *à fleutes et à bedons*. Villon, as one might naturally expect, took his full share in these rejoicings, and was obliged to flee Paris in consequence. He took his revenge on Mlle. de Bruyères, whose servants had insulted the students, in the famous "Il n'est bon bec que de Paris," and besides, under the archaic form of the *rommant*, he told the story of the adventure of the Pet au Diable. This was doubtless his first literary work. So far as is known it has not survived. M. Marcel Schwob's paper was read before the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres on January 17 of this year.

—Dr. Henry Simonsfeld, whose valuable history of the guild of German merchants in Venice was noticed in these columns some time ago, has just added another contribution to our knowledge of German colonial enterprises in Italy by publishing, in the Transactions of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences (Munich: G. Franz), a very curious constitution of a society of German citizens in the town of Treviso, which seems to have been founded about the year 1440, and which, towards the end of the fifteenth century, had attained a membership of some 400 persons. The chief aim of the society appears to have been mutual aid in case of sickness and distress, and the providing of a decent funeral in case of death. But it also regulated the every-day life of its members in a manner which reminds one of the restrictions and pledges of modern temperance societies. No member of the guild was allowed to play at dice for money with a fellow-member, or to play at all with an outsider. Under severe penalty, the brethren were forbidden to use bad language or to quarrel with each other. Each Sunday every member had to pay one shilling into the common treasury, "pro redimendis peccatis." With the exception of three clergymen, the society consisted exclusively of artisans and small tradesmen; the shoemakers, the innkeepers, the furriers, and the bakers leading the rest in numbers. The colony maintained itself, although gradually declining, until the end of the seventeenth century; and from the fact that the text of the constitution is given both in Latin and in German, the record of the members in German only, it would appear that it also maintained its nationality in the midst of foreign surroundings.

—Franz Gillparzer is unquestionably Austria's greatest dramatic poet, and is even regarded by many German critics as holding the very front rank in this province of German literature, side by side with the apotheosized Goethe and Schiller. The celebration of his centennial birthday on January 15 called forth enthusiastic expressions of this feeling, and showed the high estimation of his genius entertained by his countrymen. Not only in Vienna, his native city, but also throughout the length and breadth of Germany, from Munich and Stuttgart to Berlin and Hamburg, the principal theatres represented series of his plays, often eight or ten in number, and the press devoted columns of contributions to his praise. The Austrian Government gave official recognition to the day, and the Minister of Public Instruction ordered an appropriate commemoration of it in all the German schools of the polygenous and polyglottous empire. The Stuttgart publisher Cotta, who issued in 1887 a *Gesammtausgabe* of Grillparzer's works in sixteen volumes, with portrait and a "biographical - literary - historical introduction," brought out in honor of the occasion a "jubilee edition" of his minor poems, containing lyrical, epigrammatic, parabolical, memorial, and occasional effusions, many of which have no permanent value and might better have been omitted. This stout volume (pp. xiv, 612), which is a very full but by no means complete collection of the prolific author's *Gedichte*, concludes with four "Romanzen" forming part of a cycle of epic poems entitled "Rudolf und Ottokar," left unfinished and here printed for the first time. It was evidently his original intention to treat this half-legendary and half-historical subject in the heroic style of the Spanish "Poema del Cid," but he finally abandoned the project, and gave us, instead of a very mediocre epic (for his talent did not lie in that direction), one of the best of his dramas, "König Ottokars Glück und Ende," which, apart from its artistic and intrinsic excellence, has acquired a certain adventitious prominence and political importance on account of its irritative action upon the race susceptibilities of the Czechs.

TOY'S JUDAISM AND CHRISTIANITY.

Judaism and Christianity: A Sketch of the Progress of Thought from Old Testament to New Testament. By Crawford Howell Toy, Professor in Harvard University. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 1890.

THE title of Prof. Toy's book does not so much express the slightness of his performance as the exigency of his ideals, for his "sketch" is an octavo volume of 456 pages. In criticism, as in painting or etching, a sketch may no doubt be "carried farther" and still be a sketch, and Prof. Toy's is carried very far indeed. Mr. Hamerton has said that "it is only the most accomplished artists who can be said to sketch at all, because it is only when the facts of nature are thoroughly known that the most necessary ones can be selected from the mass." Read critics for "artists" and literature for "nature," and his sentence would lose nothing of its truth. In one other particular Prof. Toy's title-page less accurately describes his book than in that already named. The period of which he treats is from Ezra, 450 B. C., to the middle of the second Christian century, but this period is by no means expressed by the terms "from Old Testament to New Testament," so much of the Old Testament was written after Ezra and after the traditional time of Malachi, 397 B. C. Nothing has been more characteristic of Old Testament criticism than its pushing forward of the various books into a later time. In this way great portions of the Pentateuch have been brought nearer to us 500, Deuteronomy 700, the priestly portions 900 years. The prophets have best stood their ground, but these, also, in some cases have been much advanced, Daniel from the sixth century to the second, Isaiah xl.-lxvi. from the eighth century to the sixth, and other parts of it still more, while Joel has been taken from the company of Amos and Hosea in the forefront of the prophets and set five centuries later (with some chapters of Zechariah) in their rear. The Psalms and other "writings," Ecclesiastes, Proverbs, Song of Songs, have tended forward at a much livelier rate than that of the prophets generally, and the consequence of this movement, with that of other books and fragments, is that the period between Malachi and Matthew, which once was a great blank of five centuries, or only partly filled by the Apocrypha, is now seen to be a period of great literary wealth, though much at the expense of the traditional Old Testament of the preceding centuries.

There is something reassuring in Prof. Toy's introductory sections on the general laws of the advance from national to universal religions. They are convincing that the habits of the specialist have not cut him off from that general outlook which is essential to any just opinion of the most isolated phenomenon. In this introduction he argues the dependence of religious development on social conditions, treats of the aggregation of tribal faiths into national religions, of the reactions of religion, science, and ethics on each other, of the relations of great men to their times, and exhibits the actual historical results of these forces and conditions in connection with others of a more external character. There is as much of philosophical breadth and human sympathy as of critical acumen in the whole discussion, and the same is true of the succeeding chapters of the book.

The first of these treats of the literature of the period, from Ezra to Philo, and is characterized by that filling in of the hitherto comparatively vacant centuries which is, we have already said, a notable feature of Biblical criticism in its general course. This is commonly spoken of by the traditionalists as "the attack upon the Bible," though it is evidently the work of scholars who bring to their studies a most tender conscience for the truth and the most loving reverence for the Bible literature. The truth would seem to be that hitherto the bias of traditional opinions has been a powerful brake upon the critic's wheels; that he has too strenuously endeavored to depart as little as possible from the received opinions as to the age and authorship of the books of which the Bible is made up. Prof. Toy's opinions are neither more nor less radical than those of other critics of first-rate ability, but they are remarkably divergent from those commonly received among us. To the "wisdom literature" of the Old Testament and Apocrypha he brings a lively sympathy; and, could he revise the canon, it is evident that the Wisdom of Solomon would be added as a counterblast to Ecclesiastes and the "fierce, intolerant nationalism" of Esther, which "makes no mention of God and has no consciousness of religion." For the apocalyptic literature of the period of which he treats, Prof. Toy has an admiration as qualified as that of Dr. Martineau. Of the opinion of Martineau, following Vischer and Harnack, that the Apocalypse of John is a Jewish work, with Christian additions, there is the briefest mention without approval or dissent. A concluding section of this chapter on the growth of the Old Testament canon, for all its quiet tone, is likely to

prove somewhat startling to the uninstructed mind.

In the six following chapters different subjects are taken up—"The Doctrine of God," "Subordinate Supernatural Beings," "Man," "Ethics," "The Kingdom of God," "Eschatology"—and the method of treatment is the same throughout: beginning with the earliest books of the period in hand, the course of thought is traced as it flowed onward to the latest. An appendix list of some 1,500 citations suggests the thoroughness of the investigation, but the manner in which the materials are handled is deserving of yet higher praise. Of *odium theologicum* there is as little as in the 'Essays of Elia' or the 'Sketch-Book' of Irving; from polemics it is just as free; and of dogmatism there is none. If, after the manner once suggested by Renan, only the certainties were printed in black ink, the lighter colors would be largely in excess. Withal, there is a naïveté in the presentation of the author's matter that is full of charm. The most radical and disintegrating propositions are stated with what seems to be a serene unconsciousness of their difference from the average opinions of the Christian world. Whether we have here a perfect art or the simplicity of the scholar's absolute engrossment in his search for sound results, we do not know, and it is not necessary to our satisfaction that we should.

The chapter on the doctrine of God reaches its highest point of interest in the exhibition of the Logos doctrine as developed in Judea and Alexandria, which had only to ally itself with the passionate idealization of Jesus in the early church to elevate him into a peculiar if not equal fellowship with deity; never into identity. The idea of the fatherhood was not, we are assured, unfamiliar in the higher religious circles at the beginning of our era; but Jesus made this opinion central to his teachings, and gave to it a human warmth and color it had never had before. The study of the views of inspiration which concludes the chapter is corrective of much popular misapprehension, which is assisted by the careless and rhetorical language of the average pulpiteer. The chapter on subordinate supernatural beings assigns to Satan a less derivative character than has been commonly assigned to him of late. The sharp definiteness with which he is conceived in the New Testament makes it appear that the two last centuries B.C. did much to make concrete an idea which in the Old Testament is thinly scattered, weak, and vague.

The chapter on Man is much the longest in the book, treating of a great variety of subordinate topics, but mainly of the varying conceptions of sin and righteousness. Jesus is represented as much nearer to the doctrines that he found in vogue than to those of Paul and subsequent soteriology. Prof. Toy never touches on the relations of Jesus and Paul without being profoundly interesting and suggestive. His idea is that Paul provided for the religion of Jesus a theological vehicle which made it popular and universal when it might otherwise have perished, but that to throw off the additions of Paul and return to the idea of Jesus is the work of Christian development which is not yet complete. Yet there is admission in at least one respect that Paul's thought was an advance: in the chapter on the Kingdom of God, Jesus is represented as having confined his work and hope entirely to the Jewish nation. The close alliance of his best thought with that of his own people, as current in his time, comes out most strongly in the chapter on Ethics. Prof. Toy finds the ethical teaching of Jesus substantially that of Judaism in his time, but with more enthusiasm and inwardness.

The treatment of Jesus's egoistic sanctions of morality has a more apologetic character than any other part of the whole book. In the chapter on Eschatology there is no comfort for the Andoverian and other restorationists whose hopes are stayed on the New Testament: "As to the duration of future punishment, the general doctrine of the New Testament is that it is to be without end—it is to endure as long as the blessed life of the righteous." In a concluding chapter nothing could be more moderate than the account of Christian origins:

"There was here an extraordinary concurrence of favorable conditions: a people with a firmly organized monotheistic faith, and in contact with the best ethical thought of the time; a circle within the people conscious of the lacks of the existing system and anxious to establish a higher spirituality; a general belief that God, in accordance with his ancient promises, was about to introduce a new order of things; a man who, by his extraordinary endowments, was able to inspire a select circle of followers with a controlling enthusiasm both for his person as the final deliverer sent by God and, in a germinal way, for those lofty principles of ethical religious life which he set forth in his teaching and illustrated in his conduct—these were the conditions of the birth of Christianity, briefly and roughly stated."

This account differs widely from the more dramatic one which generally obtains among us, and which sharpens the contrast as much as possible between Judaism and nascent Christianity, even Martineau saying that the growth of early Christianity was like that of "a delicate flower from a rotting soil." The main significance of Prof. Toy's book is in its opposition to this rendering. The four centuries before Christianity, which the Christian apologist has generally treated as centuries of decadence, of increasing formalism and lack of spirituality, are treated here as a period of religious growth, of heightening ethics and increasing spirituality. The increasing formalism is, of course, allowed, but the increasing spirituality was not less remarkable. The carrying over of the great body of the Psalms into this period goes far to justify the author's view. Perhaps there is no more crucial sentence in the book than this: "Jesus, in fact, did not announce any new dogma, and there was no reason why his followers should not remain Jews." This does not prevent the recognition that, by the stimulating and organizing power of his personality, he was in the highest sense the founder of a new religion.

A POOR LIFE OF SIR CHARLES NAPIER.

Sir Charles Napier. By Col. Sir William F. Butler. [English Men of Action Series.] Macmillan & Co. 1891.

THIS book is one of those to which the too little appreciated criticism, "The picture would have been better if the painter had taken more pains," may suitably be applied. Sir William Butler is a practised and vigorous writer. He had in Sir Charles Napier a singularly interesting subject. But he has treated his subject in such a hasty and slap-dash way that the chief result of the book is so to quicken our interest in Napier as to make us anxious to learn something precise about him. This so-called "Life" is, in fact, rather a rhapsody upon Napier and soldiering in general, and the selfishness of the rich and the meanness of the "shopkeeping" East India Company, than a statement of those facts in the career of a brilliant and memorable man which are, after all, the necessary things to be known if we are to have a clear impression of him and to judge his work in the world. Two-thirds of the book is comment rather than narrative, and even the narrative is provokingly allusive, leaving us to pick up or conjecture facts which ought to have been explicitly stated. For instance, we are nowhere told in what year Napier was born, nor how old he was when he died, nor what was his paternal ancestry. His grief at his wife's death is referred to, and it is implied that he left a widow, but nothing is said as to the date of either the first or the second marriage, nor is the name of either wife given. He wrote several books, but the references to them are very meagre and vague. We are prepared in several rambling pages to expect an account of his controversy with Outram over the outbreak of the Scinde war, and a number of other controversies which figured largely in the last years of his life, but this account never comes. The book is, indeed, one of the most unbusinesslike and unsatisfactory performances to come from a writer of real talent we have encountered for a long time. Nor is it always accurate in details. A soldier like Sir William Butler ought not, even by inadvertence, to tell us that the battle of Hohenlinden was fought in the Black Forest.

Nevertheless, provoking as it is to have pages of Carlylese given us when we want to know a hundred details about Napier which would have thrown light upon his character, the book is interesting, because there is enough in it of extracts from Napier's own journal, and of the notices of the bits of actual hard fighting he was concerned in to give us some notion of a very striking and peculiar person, one who accomplished much, but might, with better opportunities, have accomplished very much more and left a name second to few in the military annals of England. His career is, on the whole, a sad one, and the sadness of it consists chiefly in this, that so large a part of his life was wasted in inactivity, so that when the chance for doing great things came, not only was his physical strength terribly reduced, but his spirit had contracted, from a long-continued sense of ill-luck and neglect, a certain bitterness and self-assertive pugnacity which made enemies for him wherever he went. Fortune was certainly very unkind to him. He distinguished himself brilliantly in his first battle, the famous fight of Coruña, but the death of More took away the chief whose favor would have secured his advancement. He was severely wounded at Busaco, but was no sooner a colonel than his regiment was sent off to Bermuda, and he missed his chances of taking part in the later Peninsular campaigns of Wellington as well as of being at Waterloo. From 1819 till 1830 he had some intervals of employment in the Ionian Islands, then under British protectorate, and showed his usual energy in laboring for the improvement of the isles, and especially in making those excellent roads which the traveller still admires in Cephalonia. Then, after ten years more of absolute inaction, he received the command of the Northern Military District of England, a post which was in those days no sinecure, for there was much discontent among the masses, and it sometimes looked as if the riots which broke out here and there in the manufacturing and mining regions might gather into a serious insurrection of the suffering classes. Sir Charles showed prompt capacity in arranging the troops and in taking steps for the suppression of disorder. But he astonished his superiors by not infrequently indulging himself in political reflections unfavorable to the existing order of things; for he was in his opinions almost at one with the

Chartists whose apprehended rising it was his duty to suppress.

At last, in 1841, his chance for real war came. He was sent to India as commander of the Bombay army, and in 1842 went to Scinde to deal with the dangers which threatened them from the Ameers who ruled the country, and who had been brought by the unfortunate Afghan war into strained relations with the British Power. His part in the transactions which followed has been the subject of much controversy and a good deal of censure. Sir William Butler hints at this, and gives a sort of misty apology for his hero, but unfortunately passes away from the subject with a vagueness which is not only provoking, but unfavorable to Napier's reputation—a reputation strong enough to bear the telling of the truth. If he was blameworthy in precipitating the conflict, he showed himself not only a consummate general in bringing it to a swift close by two decisive victories (one of which, the battle of Meanee, ranks very high among the exploits of British soldiers against enormous odds), and in administering strict but benevolent justice in the conquered territories. Napier ought evidently to have been placed in command of the whole Indian army and intrusted with the Sikh war. The short but bloody campaign of 1846-47 would in his hands have been decisive, and the subsequent disaster of Chillianwallah averted. That disaster led to his being sent out again to India as Commander-in-Chief—for he had returned to England in 1847—and his last period of active work was spent in endeavoring to reform the military administration and avert the dangers of disaffection in the native army, dangers in which he foresaw the seeds of the great mutiny of 1857. In his zeal and somewhat too daring self-confidence, he took steps which the Indian Government disapproved (Sir William Butler characteristically omits to state Lord Dalhousie's part in these transactions), and resigned on receiving their reprimand. He returned in 1851, died in 1853—a naturally strong constitution broken by wounds and the terrible sun of Scinde—and lies buried not in Westminster Abbey, but in the military cemetery at Portsmouth.

In Napier's character and career as a leader three points stand out. He had splendid personal daring. He had great promptitude, decision, self-reliance. He had an intense sympathy for and interest in the private soldier, with a corresponding power of evoking the devotion of the private soldier to himself. What he would have been in planning and conducting a long campaign against European enemies and in handling vast masses of men, remains uncertain, because he never had the chance of showing. The army with which he conquered Scinde scarcely exceeded 5,000 men. Meanee was fought with 2,200, against nearly 30,000. Be this as it may, he was an extraordinary man, with a mind not more remarkable for its keenness than for its love of work, and he could scarcely have failed to win his way sooner to the highest posts but for the excess of fighting quality in him. He had a terrible gift for making enemies, a proud spirit, an uncompromising love of justice, and contempt for all men in power whose moral and intellectual eminence he questioned; a hot temper, which struck back quick and hard. No one could be less jealous of real genius, more loyal to his friends, more tender to his mother, his wife, and his children. But those who indulge their pride and impetuosity as Napier did and could not help doing—they were the *défauts de ses qualités*—must expect to find their upward path obstructed as his was. It remains, nevertheless, a disgrace to the English authorities of those days that when the English armies in India so often needed first-rate leaders, they did not employ so brilliant a soldier and vigorous an administrator till he had passed his sixtieth birthday.

A REVIVED CLASSIC.

A Vindication of the Rights of Woman: with Strictures on Political and Moral Subjects. By Mary Wollstonecraft. New edition, with an introduction by Mrs. Henry Fawcett. Scribner & Welford. 1890. Pp. 287.

Upon the theory that women have a claim to existence only as they render the existence of men agreeable and smooth, Mary Wollstonecraft was the first to make a regular and powerful attack. We may or may not agree with Mrs. Fawcett when she says, at the close of an admirable summary of and commentary upon the book whose title we give above, that the women's-rights movement in England and America owes as much to Mary Wollstonecraft as modern political economy owes to her famous contemporary, Adam Smith; but the honor of being first in the field she unquestionably deserves. It is difficult for any one at the present day to form a clear picture of the state of things as regards women at the time her 'Vindication' appeared. The contemporary books written for women and about women are, of course, no longer read, and the scattered allusions that one meets with in other books fail to make a connected impression. The 'Vindication' will serve a most useful purpose now in showing the conditions which it has been a powerful means of changing, as it did then in setting forth their injustice and their folly.

We give some quotations to show the common tenor of opinion which Mary Wollstonecraft set herself to combat. And first, the whole situation is set forth, with the utmost candor and simplicity, in the following passage from Rousseau's 'Émile':

"For this reason, the education of women should always be relative to that of men. To please, to be useful to us, to make us love and esteem them, to educate us when young, and take care of us when grown up, to advise, to console us, to render our lives easy and agreeable—these are the duties of women at all times, and what they should be taught in their infancy."

The virtues which they need are relative to their dependent position:

"The first and most important qualification in a woman is good-nature or sweetness of temper. Formed to obey so imperfect a being as man—often full of vices, and always full of faults—she ought to learn betimes even to suffer injustice and to bear the insults of a husband without complaint."

Subtilty and indirection, far from being subjects of reproof, were inculcated as useful qualities. Dr. Gregory, whose book, 'A Legacy to His Daughters,' was a standard work on female propriety at the end of the eighteenth century, recommends constant dissimulation to girls to whom nature has given a robust constitution; a sickly delicacy was considered an indispensable element of feminine charm; and Rousseau says: "Subtilty is a talent natural to the sex, and I am of the opinion that it should be cultivated; it is requisite for us only to prevent its abuse."

Under no circumstances of her life was a woman ever to forget that her sole end and aim was to please her lord and master; every one must share the "sickly qualm" which Mary Wollstonecraft felt at this passage from the Rev. James Fordyce's sermons addressed to women: "Never," he exclaims, "perhaps, does a fine woman *strike more deeply* than when composed into pious recollection; . . . she assumes, without knowing it, superior dignity and new graces." There were no limits to the overstrained modesty which was necessary to fit women to men's taste. Dr. Johnson thought portrait-painting an improper employment for a woman. Staring in men's faces, he observed, is "very indelicate in a female." Another writer says:

"The lady who asked the question whether women may be instructed in the modern system of Botany, consistently with female delicacy, was accused of prudery; nevertheless, if she had proposed the question to me, I should certainly have answered: 'They cannot.'"

Although the devotion of men was the only object for which women lived, they were counselled never to let their own sensibility become apparent; female modesty was held to be outraged by the confession of love from a woman to a man, even when that man was her husband—she must always strive to make it appear that her physical and mental weakness had caused her to yield to force. It follows from all this that cowardice, as well as physical weakness, and ignorance, pretended when not real, were an essential part of a woman's attractions. Dr. Gregory says: "But if you happen to have any learning, keep it a profound secret, especially from the men, who generally look with a jealous and malignant eye on a woman of great parts and a cultivated understanding."

Against this immoral and indecent state of opinion concerning women, Mary Wollstonecraft uttered a vigorous protest. As a specimen of fine and impassioned reasoning, her book has seldom been surpassed. Its faults are its too great length and its repetitions; they result from the haste with which it was written (it was finished in six weeks), but that same haste lends it a fire and a passion which more pruning might have robbed it of. Her main plea is that women should be allowed to cultivate their understanding, and that men should be content with rational fellowship instead of slavish obedience. She urged that women should be placed in a station where they would advance instead of retarding the progress of the human race. She showed that if women be not prepared by education to become the companions of men, they will stop the progress of knowledge; and that, so far from knowledge and freedom inducing women to neglect their duties to their families, 'the more understanding women acquire, the more they will be attached to their duty—comprehending it; for unless they comprehend it, . . . no authority can make them discharge it in a virtuous manner."

For those who grow impatient under the restrictions from which women still suffer, it is a source of courage to note the immense changes that have taken place in their status in the hundred years since the writing of this book. The change in the worth of women as human beings has been correspondingly great. Mary Wollstonecraft accuses the women of her day of cunning, superstition, want of generosity, injustice, and gross mismanagement of their children and of their households. No such gloomy picture could be drawn of their characteristics now. Maurice said, as quoted by Mrs. Fawcett, "In any sphere wherein women feel their responsibility, they are, as a rule, far more conscientious than men." There is no doubt that this is true, and there is no doubt that as they interest themselves more and more in theoretical politics, in political economy, in social reform, and as they feel more and more the necessity of giving effect to their wishes at

the polls, they will more and more represent what is admirable and useful in the citizen and in the human being. Mary Wollstonecraft, while she is chiefly occupied with more urgent matters, did not hesitate to claim for women a share in the advantages of parliamentary representation. She pointed out that women are peculiarly well fitted for the practice of medicine, and she anticipated Ibsen, almost in his very words, in preaching that "their first duty is to themselves as rational creatures." What yet remains to be done, in England and America at least, ought not to be long of accomplishment—will not be long of accomplishment when women themselves have learned to recognize its necessity.

Facsimiles of Manuscripts in European Archives relating to America. 1773–1783. Vol. VI. Nos. 565 to 646. London: B. F. Stevens.

THIS volume is made up principally of papers concerning the attempt of Silas Deane to obtain help for the United States from France in the year 1776. That envoy was active and persistent, making bargains with Beaumarchais and others, engaging and despatching officers, writing long minutes ("memoires" he called them) on the resources of the united colonies, the justice of their cause and the interest of France in the quarrel. Deane's services have met with scant recognition. The American Government suspected the good faith of his dealings with Beaumarchais, and treated not only that adventurer, but their own agent, very shabbily. The officers who were sent over made a great deal of trouble, until Du Coudray was fortunately drowned and Conway finally discredited. As for the minutes, the longest and most elaborate of them was that of the 24th of September, 1776, of which Deane wrote to Congress that he had been confined to his chamber and pen for some weeks in drawing it up. Alas! we may read in the facsimile the note of the French Foreign Office, "*Pièce non traduite*," and therefore be certain that it never reached the eye of King Louis XVI., or even of the Count of Vergennes, for neither of them could read English. Still it may have influenced the mind of Gérard, the Minister's right-hand man in American matters. The paper contains one suggestion at least which might have had weight with the French court, for it confirmed a suspicion already in the minds of the King's advisers. This was that in case of a reconciliation between Great Britain and her colonies, their united forces might be turned to the conquest of the French West Indies. On the other hand, Deane was ready to suggest, as one of the bases of a treaty between France and the United States, that any British ship found on the coast of North America, South America, or the islands adjacent and belonging thereto, within a certain degree or distance to be agreed on, should be for ever thereafter considered as lawful prize to any of the subjects of France, Spain, or the united colonies and treated as such, as well in peace as in war; nor should any of the contracting parties ever admit any British ship into any port in America, North or South, or the adjacent islands; nor should that article ever be altered but by common consent of the three governments.

The ultimate decision of the question of an alliance, with all its probable consequences of peace or war, rested after all with the King of France. It is from this circumstance that a long paper bearing the name of "Pfeffel," and found in the French Archives of Foreign Affairs, derives an interest. Louis XVI. was a man of weak mind, but active conscience. It was therefore necessary for Vergennes to give him moral grounds for a decision, but those grounds might be more plausible than reasonable. This would appear, from internal evidence, to have been the object of Pfeffel's paper, which is dated October, 1776. The question which the writer sets himself to answer is whether the eternal laws of justice permit other Powers, and especially those which have been objects of rivalry to England, to contribute to the ruin of that country. This question implies two others: whether there are cases in which subjects can legitimately abandon the rule of their sovereign; and whether, in those cases, foreign Powers may meddle in the domestic quarrels of a State, and favor the defection of its subjects.

As to the first of these questions Pfeffel, while adhering to some extent to the doctrine of natural and inalienable rights, is yet courtier enough to distinguish carefully between absolute and limited monarchies. Under a despotism he holds that the nation may rise against its sovereign only when he transgresses its fundamental laws, as by attempting to change the order of succession or by atrocious tyranny. The rights of nations are much more extended in a limited monarchy. All the laws that have there been passed to limit the sovereign authority are a part of the fundamental code of the State. They mark the extent of the prince's power and the way in which he must apply it. If he goes beyond the limits which are set for him, his commands are unlawful, and the nation is not bound to obey him. In attacking the Constitution of the State, the prince breaks the contract which united him to his people, and frees the latter from its allegiance. All that he can then ask of the outraged nation is, that it should conduct its opposition with those shades and gradations which are in accordance with the respect due to the sovereign majesty.

The Dutch religiously observed these degrees when they threw off their allegiance to Spain, but the English have frequently neglected them. They did so especially in 1688, when King James II. was deposed after he had desisted from the unlawful acts which he had previously committed, had released the bishops whom he had imprisoned for resisting him, and had solemnly promised to govern for the future only by lawful methods. On this occasion the revolution was carried out by the Prince of Orange, with the assistance of the Dutch Provinces. This revolution is constantly referred to in British acts of Parliament as lawful, and it was in fact that which opened the way for the succession to the English throne of the House of Hanover.

From these facts there follow some very interesting consequences, viz.: that, according to English jurisprudence, the prince has only to violate some law of the State, even if the law be not fundamental, to deserve to be deprived of his power; and that the State may scorn the reparation which he offers or actually performs; that the State may then meet in extraordinary assembly and change its form of government; that foreign Powers may provoke revolutions of this sort, and may furnish aid necessary to their accomplishment.

The writer applies these doctrines to the American Revolution. The English colonies in North America differ, according to him, from all other colonies, whether of ancient or modern times, in that the colonists carried with them to America all their rights as Englishmen; and among those rights that of voting their own laws and of consenting to the taxes they are to pay is held to be essential. Under these circumstances the colonies may rise in revolt, if their rights be infringed, and may call on foreigners to help them. The only difference between them and the English of 1688 is all in favor of the colonists, for the latter have observed all those shades of procedure which were conspicuously neglected in the earlier revolution. The Americans began by remonstrances and protestations. When these were scorned, they opposed the execution of unconstitutional regulations, but obeyed all rightful laws. Only when the mother country announced the intention of sustaining her illegal conduct by force of arms did the colonies combine for defence. Nor did they finally renounce their dependence until they had seen their cities destroyed with fire and sword, and the three British kingdoms and a part of Germany united to subjugate or utterly to destroy them.

The writer concedes that it is contrary to the law of nations for one country to interfere in the domestic concerns of another. But when a tyrant tramples on the laws of humanity; when he violates the most sacred obligations; when the oppressed nation, after trying peaceable means in vain, breaks at last the bonds which attached it to its sovereign and makes itself independent, so that in fact the State is dissolved, then foreign Powers may certainly judge the quarrel on its merits, and help the party which shall seem to have right on its side.

Having reached this satisfactory conclusion, Pfeffel proceeds to support it by historical instances. He mentions the help given by England to the people of Rochelle against Louis XIII. of France, and to the House of Braganza in revolting against Spain and establishing the kingdom of Portugal. But most he relies on the assistance furnished by Queen Elizabeth to the Low Countries when they threw off the yoke of Philip II. With great skill the writer points out the devious course pursued by the English Queen, her professions of friendship to Philip, her offers of mediation, her secret help to the Dutch, and her attempts to rule them. The resemblance of her action as here described to that which Vergennes was actually urging upon the King of France is made thoroughly obvious, and a course of duplicity, repugnant in fact to the principles of the feeble young monarch, is shown to be in accordance with royal precedent.

Did Louis XVI. really listen to the suggestions of this paper? The place whence it comes renders such a listening not improbable. Already he was partly committed to a dishonest line of action, and had given aid in money to a rebellion against a friendly Power. Hardly three months after the date of Pfeffel's paper, the King approved with his own hand a document evidently meant to be read to Franklin and Deane, assuring them of his good wishes to the united colonies. Yet peace was maintained with England for more than a year longer, and the British Ambassador was put off with excuses for all his complaints. It takes, indeed, a stronger man than Louis XVI. to believe that statesmanship is not a cheating game, and to act up to that belief.

Wild Life on a Tidal Water. The Adventures of a House-Boat and her Crew. By P. H. Emerson. Illustrated by 30 photo-etchings, by P. H. Emerson and T. F. Goodall Together with an Appendix, "Breydon, Past and Present." London: Sampson Low & Co. 1890.

WE have before had occasion to praise the singularly attractive work of Mr. Emerson's pen in sketching scenes of wild life in East

Anglia and on the Norfolk Broads; and in the present volume we find the same delicacy of observation and truth of rendering, together with a certain sentiment of the landscape hard to characterize; and, besides, there is a stronger literary style than hitherto. The scene is a stretch of tide-water at Yarmouth of large compass, called Breydon, some four miles and a half long by one and a half broad, lying at the mouth of the River Yare; it is the first thing seen by the migratory birds, since it reaches out into the North Sea, and hence more rare birds are said to be found there than anywhere else in England. At all events, its low-lying flats and shallows at the ebb-tide seem to have more than the usual fulness of life on the edges of the sea, and in Mr. Emerson the place finds an artist as fond of natural history in its own home as of landscape effects.

The charm of the book, however, does not lie so much in what it tells of the look and behavior of birds and fishes, crabs and eels, and the like, as in the reality with which it conveys the sense of the ocean in the full range of its life, in storm and calm, in color and atmosphere and tone, in its ugliness and dark underworld. These descriptions of mist and mirage, of the ooze and green grasses, the miniature battles of the crabs, the flying of the wounded bird, the fishers and the passing boats, the changing sky and wind, and the increasing loneliness as the rising tide isolates the boat at its moorings and removes the land far off—all these scenes and incidents and moods will be welcome to any lover of the sea, and he will find in them a rare truthfulness. Mr. Emerson says that he writes his descriptions always upon the spot, and that this gives them what merit they have. It adds to their effect that he does not omit any of the unpleasant features, the gross and rude things that belong to the tides, but he has the skill not to offend; he is a realist, whether in his water-colors or in his mud-photography, and in both his work is novel, sincere, and admirable.

In one point he has been especially successful. He gives the amphibiousness that always belongs to the sea. The taste for character is genuine with him, and it is clear that by virtue of it he was able to make friends with the fishers and fowlers, and to draw from them in their dialect not only "yarns" of the ocean, but also their superstitions, their ideas (or what served as such), their life as it was in their own hearts. There is the same reality in his report of their talk as in his drawing of the public houses where he chatted with them over the friendly glass of rum; and these living pictures of the rough interiors and their figures contrast happily, or blend happily, as one chooses to think, with the impression of the sea which was their element. The sea, in its nature, its wild life, and the human beings who live by its spoil, is the subject of all these chapters; and the text is saved from the cloying of mere description by an occasional incident or conversation or adventure. There is a drowning accident, for example, which for true realistic power is very remarkable even in these days of so much would-be realism; it is pathetic in itself, but the circumstances are so rendered, and the words and actions of the spectators are so directly set down, that it seems the thing itself. This, however, is fortunately only an episode: the body of the book is in the mood of a free, natural love of outdoors, of the fresh sea, and all that it affects with its wide presence.

The illustrations are thirty photo-etchings of the scenes from plates made at the time. They are mostly of the sea, its coasts and tideways, its ships, the wharves, and the fishermen, with a few glimpses of old Yarmouth streets and roofs, the rope-walk, the sail-loft, and like subjects. Mr. Emerson states that he was the first person to study and publish etchings from photographic plates taken from nature, and he tells something of his experiments. The present plates were etched by Mr. Colls and Mr. Dawson, but hereafter Mr. Emerson will etch his own plates, a practice which he recommends as necessary for those who would do this sort of work. He has experimented with all kinds of printing-papers, he adds, and with excellent results. In the present volume he has seen and approved all the prints as well as the proofs, and he thinks this care is also necessary if the original work is to be justly rendered. In all this one recognizes the same fidelity and exactness which is to be observed in his literary sketching. The success of these illustrations is excellent, as a rule; they vary in vivacity and in the quality of their tone, but in each case a definite effect has been sought and frequently has been finely given. The pictures are not closely related to the text, but come in like a margin in which the feeling of the text is found again in another mode of artistic expression. The entire volume, which is a beautifully printed folio, is thus a sea-book. At the end is a map of Breydon and an account of the birds which have been found there, with some hunter's notes, by R. Fielding Harmer.

An Elementary Latin Dictionary. By Charlton T. Lewis, Ph.D. Harper & Bros. 1891.

Dr. Lewis's new work is substantially an abridgment of his 'Latin Dictionary for Schools,' which appeared some two years ago. All that is new in it (except the correction of such errors as have been found in the earlier book) is the extension of the vocabulary to include words used by Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius, and Tacitus (in his larger works). It was a pity that these authors were not included in the 'School Dictionary,' and a still greater pity that the call for them was not as loud here as in England. On the other hand, the examples under the different words are limited to those which are typical or peculiarly instructive. Moreover, reference is made only to the author who used the words, and not to the exact place in his writings in which he used them; further, all but a few proper names have been excluded. In these ways much space has been saved, and yet the examples still remain amply sufficient for the needs of those for whom the book is intended.

Being an abridgment of a work that is already well known, and that has been received in all quarters with admiration and approval, there is no need of extended remarks upon details of the present book. It is without any doubt the most scholarly and correct elementary Latin dictionary that has ever been published in English. Our only fear is that the very excellence of this small volume may lead students who are no longer beginners to be content with it, and not to feel that they ought to own the 'School Dictionary,' and, finally, the largest of Dr. Lewis's three works. Doubtless every college teacher has felt the difficulties that arise from the unwillingness of his pupils to use a more advanced and larger lexicon than the one they had at school. It will be a comfort, however, for teachers to feel that this book is likely to supplant a certain elementary dictionary published in England, and very generally used in this country, full though it is of antiquated notions, especially in the matter of orthography.

It is to be hoped that Dr. Lewis will not yet rest content with the laurels which he has already won. There remains still a task for which he has himself cleared the way—the revision of his large lexicon. In spite of the many improvements which he introduced, and the careful toil which he bestowed upon that revision of Andrews's Freund, nobody knows better than he the faults and inconsistencies which remain in it. It is much that is asked of him, for there are few tasks so arduous and so uninspiring as dictionary-making. But for him success is assured in advance, as well as the gratitude of classical scholars throughout the world.

The following notes on the 'Elementary Dictionary' are offered more as contributions to further work than in the spirit of criticism. Under *condico*, the example from Livy with the dative should not be quoted without the very curious genitive which seems to be somehow connected with the verb. A more literal meaning shou'd be assigned to the word *sagmen*. In the example cited *sagmina* are "tokens of inviolability," a sort of safe-conduct, which happened in that instance to be the tuft of grass borne by the *fetiales*. Under *defungor* the ablative *poena* cited is instrumental and not "dependent" on the verb. For *contaminare fabulas* Dr. Lewis may feel inclined to adopt Prof. F. D. Allen's simple explanation (in the Proceedings of the American Philological Association, 1888) instead of the forced traditional one. Of *ellum* Prof. Lane has shown that it must be composed of *em illum*, and not of *en illum*.

A Treatise on Extradition and Interstate Rendition, with Appendices containing Treaties and Statutes, etc. By John Bassett Moore, Third Assistant Secretary of State of the United States. Boston: The Boston Book Co. 2 vols., pp. 1,556.

We have here an exhaustive treatise, and a thoroughly useful manual for the practitioner in all extradition cases. The duties of Mr. Moore as Assistant Secretary of State have included the investigation and report upon international cases of extradition, and have led to his preparation of this important work. He distinguishes logically between the cases arising either in the application of international comity to the rendition of fugitives from justice, or in the enforcement of treaties, from those which come under the Constitution of the United States when persons accused of crime in one State escape to another. This latter he very properly describes as the application of our own law (constitutional or statute) to domestic cases arising in different parts of one nation, and to it he prefers to give the name of Interstate Rendition. Extradition he reserves as the name for taking an accused person beyond the national boundaries to answer for his alleged crime in a foreign country.

While this distinction is useful as well as logical, it is still consistent with the fact that interstate rendition, like many other things in our Federal Constitution, bears the marks of the *quasi*-independence of the colonies from which the nation was formed, and has strong analogies with the practice of international extradition. As the subject is developed it also becomes evident in an interesting way that international extradition has been rapidly growing into a system which approximates closely to the domestic code enforced by the Federal Constitution. Nearly the whole civilized world has, by treaties, entered into a sort of federation which, we may reasonably hope, is only one chapter in that larger federation

which shall systematize all matters of common interest, and provide for their conduct and their settlement without danger of quarrel or dispute.

The steps of the progress are full of instruction. When nations were ignorant of each other, there was hardly a distinction between an alien and an alien enemy. An English king would hardly think of giving up a man to the Emperor of Germany sooner than he would to the Sultan of Morocco or the Caliph of Bagdad. The growth of knowledge begot an increased good-will. Commerce created good-neighborhood. As surely as the law-merchant grew out of the custom of merchants in international commerce, so did the comity of nations which assisted in the enforcement of criminal justice grow out of the intimate acquaintanceship which followed the intercourse of trade. The nations of Christendom, acknowledging a common standard of morality, felt the obligation of reciprocal assistance in the preservation of order and the punishment of crime. The varying codes and the diverse schemes of punishment made it a slow process, for it seemed shocking to send a man abroad to die for that which would only be punished with imprisonment or fine at home. So the comity was considered a thing rather recommended by the law of nations than commanded by it, and governments began, tentatively, to return criminals in their discretion as a mark of favor rather than as the performance of an obligation. They were willing to apply the principle to crimes *mala in se*, the felonies declared such by the consensus of civilized custom, whilst they declined to apply it to the *mala prohibita*, the somewhat artificial offences created by statute.

But the very discussion of the subject was a powerful educator. Laws tended rapidly to assimilate, and harmony grew up, the scale of offences and the measure of punishment becoming more and more alike. It is most profitable now to look over the long list of modern governments which have provided by treaty for the extradition of criminals, and to see how these numerous treaties are in fact an international code having the force of positive statute among nearly all the progressive peoples of the globe. It is very instructive, too, to note what is excluded as well as what is included in this code. The rights of free thought, of political opinion, are jealously preserved for the individual. The right of asylum for the voluntary exile is broadly recognized. The definition of essential vice has been made more definite. The wickedness of crime is distinguished from a violation of law which may be conscientious. The common enemy of mankind is separated from the well-meaning enthusiast who may have challenged with noble motives the law he seeks to repeal. Perhaps few of the nations which made these treaties realized fully, as they were added one by one to the long catalogue, how well they builded. A similar series of treaties in regard to arbitrations of disputes would add another great chapter to the international code, and another strong link to the "federation of the world."

The provisions for interstate rendition are part of a chapter in our domestic history hardly less significant for us than the other is for the civilized world. It is curious to note how much of the hesitation, the disputing, the wire-drawn interpretation, the conditional obedience in the several States grew out of slavery, that cause of all our woes. But for it we should hardly have cared now whether a man were carried from Massachusetts to Georgia to be tried, or from New York to Albany. There was no true faith in the impartial justice that would be awarded when the offence was related to the great sectional controversy, and the universal instinct was to protect him who was charged with a political crime, by limiting very closely the right of rendition in all cases. With the death of slavery, it is plainly seen that in this respect, also, we have become much more truly one people.

Mr. Moore has not devoted great space to such philosophical considerations, but he has given rich material on which to base them. He has made his work a thorough history of his subject and a trustworthy hand-book for the practitioner, in doctrine, in array of precedents, in practical forms, and in useful suggestions based on experience. It is a marked advance upon other books on the subject, and will be a standard authority.

Ein Lebenslauf: Aufzeichnungen, Erinnerungen und Bekenntnisse von Julius Froebel. Stuttgart: Cotta. 1890. Vol. I., pp. 608. 8vo.

FROEBEL'S 'A Life-Career,' the first volume of which has recently appeared, is one of the most charming of contemporary German autobiographies. The author, now in his eighty-fifth year and still fresh and vigorous in body and mind, was the son of a country parson in Thuringia, and the opening chapters, in which are recorded the reminiscences of his childhood, give an enchanting idyllic picture of modest middle-class German life at the beginning of the present century. The poverty of his parents threw the boy in early youth upon his own resources, and compelled him to earn, as topographical draughtsman, cartographer, and lithographer in the Black Forest and Alsace, the means of pursuing his studies at Berlin, Jena, and Munich. He won the esteem and enjoyed the friendship of Alexander von Humboldt, to whose influence he owed his appointment as professor of mineralogy in the University at Zurich, where, in addition to his academical duties, he also conducted a book-publishing establishment, chiefly, as it appears, for the purpose of revolutionary agitation and propagandism in Germany.

In 1848 Froebel went to Mannheim as editor of the *Deutsche Volkszeitung*, a paper issued by the publisher Hoff in the interests of the German democracy, and the first number of which appeared, ominously enough, on the 1st of April. In this enterprise he was associated with Hecker, Herwegh, Jacoby, Ruge, Struve, and other leaders of the revolutionary party. The editorial office was a Noah's ark full of clean and unclean beasts. Every collaborator had his crotchet, upon the realization of which he made the safety of the universe depend. Gustav Struve saw no hope for mankind except in dietetic reform and phrenology. A crank named Ernst Mahner seated himself naked on a block of ice in midwinter and floated down the Main, in order to show the inhabitants of Frankfort how the human race, rendered effeminate and servile by civilization, could be restored to its primitive health and independence. A kindred spirit was Edgar Bauer, who regarded clothes as the curse of humanity and confounded nudity with purity. Habiliments were in his eyes the primal source of all evil habits. When Froebel had occasion to call on him in Berlin, he found this prophet of the new era sitting in an Edenic state on the sofa and receiving his friends. In the presence of this gymnosophist, our author, who was well attired and actually wore gloves, had the appearance of an inveterate Philistine and thorough-paced reactionary.

Of all his colleagues, however, the most offensive was Edward Pelz, a vulgar demagogue, who, by the skilful use of hollow and high-sounding phrases, had acquired great popularity and become the head of a large "Laborers' Union." He was shrewd, self-seeking, wonderfully expert in inventing pretexts for levying on the working classes frequent contributions, which flowed ultimately into his own pockets, and may be regarded, in some respects, as the forerunner of the Walking Delegate of to-day. It was the recollection of this man that led Froebel to record the following reflections in his memoirs: "Political expediency requires us to associate with all sorts of people, but personal honesty always remains the only safe basis of profitable co-operation even in party politics; and to overlook this factor is a political error. The filth which proceeds from a corrupt individual defiles the cause which he represents, and in no form of government is it so essential to insist upon nobility and integrity of character as in a democracy."

Froebel was elected a member of the German National Assembly which held its sittings in the Paul's Church at Frankfort from May 18, 1848, to May 30, 1849, and, as one of the four delegates sent with an address of congratulation to the revolutionists in Vienna, narrowly escaped being shot with Robert Blum. The collapse of the republican movement in Baden forced Froebel to flee, and the former professor and politician settled down in New York as a soap-boiler. It is to his credit and in strict conformity with his antecedents that, although he soon began to write for the press and to take part in public affairs, he confined his dealings in the matter of "soap" to the common commercial article that cleans and not corrupts, and never soiled his hands with the sort now so lavishly used for lubricating the party machine in a political campaign.

Froebel's love of adventure induced him in 1850 to go to Central America as a newspaper correspondent and subsequently to act as agent for a commercial house in the frontier provinces of Mexico and the United States. His power of keen observation and the lively sense of humor which stood him in such good stead among the crack-brained social experimenters at Berlin and Frankfort in 1848, and kept his own idealizing impulses from drifting into like extravagances, render his descriptions of society in those semi-civilized communities not only fascinating reading, but also a valuable contribution to the history of a transition period unknown to the annals of European nations and quite unique even in the remarkably rapid expansion and evolution of American civilization.

He spent six months at Chihuahua, which interested him as a mineralogist on account of its once famous silver mines. Among the female portion of the population prostitution was general, and the greed of the clergy compelled the poorer classes to dispense with the marriage ceremony altogether. "The native inhabitants were by no means lacking in intelligence and a certain degree of culture. In a company of Mexican officers I was asked the name of my birth-place. 'Rudolstadt,' I replied. 'Ah—— Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt,' remarked one of the officers. 'There is also a principality Schwarzburg-Sondershausen.' I looked at the man with astonishment; whereupon he added laughingly: 'Do you think we Mexicans are barbarians and know nothing of the world?'" On an excursion with a German named Feldmann, who had lived in the country several years, they stopped over night in the village of Carretas, where they en-

joyed the hospitality of a distinguished resident of the place. Beds were prepared for them in the large hall of the house, and, as Froebel was quite exhausted by the day's journey, he expressed to his companion the hope that their kind host with his wife and beautiful daughter would withdraw in order that they might retire to rest. "For that you will have to wait a long time," said Feldmann; "the good people are staying to see us undress." "And in fact we were obliged to go through with this business in the presence of the ladies, who observed all our movements and examined every article of our wardrobe with the greatest attention, but with irreproachable decorousness and delicacy of manner, and, after we had lain down, bade us a friendly goodnight."

Froebel arrived September 30, 1854, in San Francisco, where he edited a German paper of liberal and anti-slavery tendencies, the *San Francisco Journal*, and came thereby into unpleasant competition with a rival sheet of ultramontane and pro-slavery proclivities, called the *Democrat*. He found life in San Francisco not only richer in humor, but also far more poetic and more spiritful (*geistvoller*) than elsewhere in the United States:

"The very sight of motley groups of men on the streets suggests scenes and situations in some great romance full of adventurous characters and incidents, unusual destinies, and developments of power. However different the persons thrown together in this land may be, all of them, from the conscientious merchant to the swindler and defrauder, from the thorough man of science to the most shameless charlatan, from the puritanic reformer and missionary to the incendiary and highway robber, have one thing in common, namely, extraordinary understanding and extraordinary energy. Without these qualities no individual could maintain himself here. It is therefore not without some reason that every Californian prides himself more or less on belonging to the élite of the human race; this, however, must be understood of the evil as well as of the good, although I have always found the good preponderating over the evil. . . . I can recall numerous crimes and some prodigious rascalities, but these were more than outweighed by noble traits of character and an earnest and general endeavor to improve."

"It is also a mistake to suppose that there was a lack of intellectual intercourse in San Francisco; on the whole, the people were as cultivated, humane, and amiable as in any European city, only there was a greater proportion of men of large experience and tried qualities, and endowed with keener powers of understanding than are to be met with anywhere in the Old World."

In 1855 Froebel sailed for New York via Nicaragua, where he had been before as agent of an interoceanic canal company. In 1856 he married the Countess Caroline von Armansperg, daughter of the Bavarian Minister and Greek Chancellor under King Otto, and returned to Europe in the following year. This repatriation forms the conclusion of the first volume. The second volume will record the events of his subsequent career as politician and publicist, and his experience in the consular and diplomatic service of the German Empire.

La Réforme Française avant les Guerres Civiles, 1512-1559. Par Mme. C. Coignet. Paris: Fischbacher.

FROM her study of the different phases of the French Reformation, Mme. Coignet is convinced that for France the sixteenth century was one of those solemn moments when a slight accident might radically change the direction of the nation's development. As a whole, the people were, she thinks, inclined to enter the reform movement. Up to the time when the civil wars had given rise to fanaticism, only a few, grouped around Diana of Poitiers, the Constable Montmorency, and Cardinal de Tournon, supported the policy of persecution. Indeed, "Francis I. might have established the Reformation in France more easily than Henry VIII. in England." "For what did the nation's destiny wait, then? For an Anne Boleyn, perhaps."

Mme. Coignet's interesting descriptions treat the principal features of the period under discussion with, generally speaking, sufficient fulness. Her explanations throw especial light on the obscure history of the prosecutions for heresy under the Edicts of Francis I. and Henry II. From a bill presented by a worthy executioner named Rousseau to the Parlement of Paris in 1553, the comfortable heretic of these less strenuous days may learn that it would have cost the State but twenty-two sous to have religiously quartered him in that twilight of the "Ages of Faith," though the knife would have added sixty-one sous to the charge. There was little room in the world at that time for consistent believers in the relativity of human knowledge. In fact, Geneva would have been quite as uncongenial as Paris. Mme. Coignet sets forth in its ugly nakedness the well-meant but odious tyranny which Calvin established there. It should not be inferred, however, that she fails to appreciate the great work Calvin so unselfishly accomplished. Her chapter describing this gains all the force of a striking contrast from the fact that it is preceded by her account of the disagreeable aspects of the Geneva régime.

It may be said that in a few instances Mme. Coignet does not seem to have been able to give sufficient weight to opposing views on important historical questions. She insists that the French Reformation was a purely national movement, neither inspired nor directed from without. No one will attempt to deny that it bore the stamp of its nationality distinctly upon all its phases, and yet the unprejudiced historian must acknowledge that Luther's influence at least furnished a strong impulse. Mme. Coignet seems disinclined to grant Luther any share at all. In discussing the origin of the movement she refers to him only in the most incidental manner, adding a rather meagre account of the German Reformation near the close of the volume. Nevertheless, there is some very good evidence to show how important, though indirect, a part Luther played in arousing the French from their ecclesiastical slumbers. The proofs are so good that the judicial Von Polenz, in his history of French Calvinism, calls the early period of the French Reformation "der lutherisch-französischen Reformation." He quotes, among other things, from a contemporary diary kept by a certain Hemont of La Rochelle, the words, "The trumpet which Luther blew in Germany in 1517 waked all the spirits up in France." The fact that the French reformers were so universally called Lutherans, Polenz cannot believe to be utterly without significance. Mme. Coignet thinks this cry originated in the attempt to stigmatize the efforts at reform as revolutionary, as they then threatened to be in Germany. The language of Franz Lambert, who went to Germany soon after he was converted, seems quite conclusive evidence of Luther's influence in France. Lambert, in his commentary on Hosea, wrote: "There come out of our France counts, knights, nobles, and others to see the master workman Martin Luther." Moreover, we must not forget that Louis Berquin got his inspiration largely from Luther's writings. Mme. Coignet's attitude on this question is apparently the reason why she deigns but a few words in a foot-note about the projects for the reconciliation of the faiths which Francis I. laid before Melanchthon.

It is somewhat surprising that the author should not have noticed her error in stating that Luther burned the Papal bull at Wittenberg, November 20, 1520. Unfortunately this is not the only case of inaccuracy in the use of dates. When she refers to the doctrine of the "Three Marys" (p. 43), she inadvertently includes the mother of Jesus among them.

A Dictionary of Electrical Words, Terms, and Phrases. By Edwin F. Houston, A.M. New York: The W. I. Johnston Co. 12mo.

THE work before us is interesting from more than one point of view. It is an encyclopædia rather than a dictionary, aiming to make definitions clear by a certain amount of explanation and illustration; and within a moderate compass it presents a very striking picture of the immense fertility of modern electrical science as illustrated by the richness of the electrical vocabulary. The definitions are, as a rule, very satisfactory, being both clear and concise. There are exceptions, and we may—since the critic must be critical—cite the definitions of *hysteresis* in the supplement, neither of which would give to a person not very familiar with the subject of magnetism any idea of what is meant by the term. The non-electrical part of the work is the most defective; thus we find under the head of "grammeatom" the strange statement that the grammeatom represents the number of calories (or units of heat) required to raise the temperature of the substance through 1° C. A calorimeter is defined as "an instrument for measuring the quantity of heat *possessed* by a given weight or volume of a body at a given temperature." Now we do not know, and perhaps never shall know, what quantity of heat a body contains; but we may usually determine what quantity of heat it is necessary to add to a body in order to raise its temperature a given number of degrees. It is rather startling, under the head of coefficients of linear expansion, to find the antiquated table of Lavoisier and Laplace. Under the head "Equivalent, Chemical," it is stated that the chemical equivalent is different from the atomic weight. Sometimes it is, and sometimes it is not; the statement is misleading. Under the heading "Element, Positive," a table of symbols, equivalents, and specific gravities is given which contains an extraordinary number of numerical errors, and which is simply worthless. On the other hand, the purely electrical and magnetic part of the work is far better, and the book is really interesting and valuable. It is to be hoped that in a second edition the author will correct the errors of the first. The woodcuts are very numerous and excellent.

Essays, Reviews, and Addresses. By James Martineau. Selected and revised by the Author. I. Personal: Political. Longmans, Green & Co. 1890.

THE series of which this volume is the first contemplates only four volumes, but we are not left to conjecture on what principles the selection will be made that can reduce the scattered work of sixty years within such narrow limits: "A few very early essays have been excluded, as too perversely steeped in the spirit of a discarded philosophy; but else, papers have been marked for rejection only where the interest was obsolete or not desirable to revive." It is evident that these canons have been

rigidly applied. It would appear that Dr. Martineau has put his best foot forward, for he is nowhere more successful than in his studies of personal forces in philosophy and religion, and we have twelve such in this volume (three in one article), with three political essays. Three of the personal studies—of Priestley, Channing, and Parker—are in reality three chapters of Unitarian development. Dr. Martineau began as an associationist in psychology and a determinist in morals, but the Priestley essay, written in 1885, shows him already questioning his master's thought. The essay on Channing (1849) contains some severe strictures on American Abolitionists, and they are repeated in "The Slave Empire in the West," a very elaborate article written in 1857. It is their non-political policy that he cannot forgive or understand. The article on Parker was in 1846 a singularly brave response to the radical theology of that much-enduring man. This, with the articles on Priestley and Arnold, was republished in America in a volume selected by Starr King in 1852, and the articles "Comte" and "Personal Influences in Theology: Newman, Coleridge, Carlyle," were republished here with others in 1866; but both volumes have probably long been out of print.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Abbott, Evelyn. Pericles and the Golden Age of Athens. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 50 cents.
Ames, Fisher. A Practical Guide to Whist. Charles Scribner's Sons. 75 cents.
Baldy, Alice M. A Romance of a Spanish Nun. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. 50 cents.
Belton, J. D. A Literary Manual of Foreign Quotations. G. P. Putnam's Sons.
Cabin and Plantation Songs as Sung by the Hampton Students. G. P. Putnam's Sons.
Conway, M. D. George Washington's Rules of Civility. U. S. Book Co.
Cox, S. The Book of Ecclesiastes. A. C. Armstrong & Son. $1.50.
Critic. Vol. XIV. The Critic Co.
Essays on Road-Making and Maintenance and Road Laws. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
Goncourt, E. and J. Germinie Lacerteux. Chicago: Laird & Lee.
Gribble, T. G. Preliminary Survey and Estimates. Longmans, Green & Co. $2.25.
Jerome, J. K. Told After Supper. Henry Holt & Co.
Lowe, R. W. Thomas Betterton. Longmans, Green & Co. $1.
Portraits and Photographs: An Album for the People. Charles E. Merrill & Co. $1.
Quain's Elements of Anatomy. 10th ed. Vol. I. Parts 1, 2. Longmans, Green & Co.
Rahl, Gottfried. Gedichte. Leipzig: Albert Möller.
Reid, W. T. Life, Letters and Friendships of Richard Monckton Milnes. 2 vols. Cassell Publishing Co. $5.
Reunited: A Story of the Civil War. Robert Bonner's Sons.
Scott, E. The Eclogues of Calpurnius. London: George Bell & Sons.
Smith, G. Canada First. Toronto: Hunter, Rose & Co.
Sommers, Lillian. Jerome Leaster. Chicago: Charles H. Sergel & Co.
Southworth, Mrs. E. Lilith. Robert Bonner's Sons.
Squier, E. G. Adventures on the Mosquito Shore. Worthington Co.
Steele, G. M. Rudimentary Economics. Leach, Shewell & Sanborn.
Stephen, L. Dictionary of National Biography. Vol. XXV. Macmillan & Co. $3.75.
Stephens, Ann S. Married in Haste. Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson & Brothers. 25 cents.
Stevens's Facsimiles of Manuscripts in European Archives relating to America, 1773–83. Vol. VI. London: B. F. Stevens.

Fine Arts.

WATER-COLORS AND ETCHINGS AT THE ACADEMY.

THE twenty-fourth annual exhibition of the American Water-Color Society, held this year as usual in the galleries of the National Academy of Design, is quite as good an exhibition as any of its predecessors. It is without the customary two or three striking works that in former years we have sometimes felt compelled to mention as the *clous* of the exhibition, such works as Mr. Abbey, or Mr. Weir, or Mr. Homer have contributed; but the average is excellent. There are 661 pictures, a very large number of works for any exhibition, and it is something to be able to say that there are not many bad pictures. Another fact to be noted is that there is more of what may be called pure water-color work in this exhibition than ever before, and this shows that more attention is being given by the painters to this branch of art for its own sake. Not many years ago most of the work in the water-color exhibitions bore the look of having been done in water-color so as to get it into an exhibition that barred out painting in other mediums; most of it was without any particular fitness as to subject for water-color treatment; much of it was evidently mere copying of studies in oil. Now Messrs. Platt, Wiles, Horatio Walker, Hassam, Smedley, Sterner, Ranger, Drake, Mrs. Nicholls, Miss Greatorex, and others may be called water-color painters in the right sense of the word, just as Mr. Homer and Mr. Weir have been for a long time; and each year we find more painters making use of the medium of water-color, because they can express what they wish to depict in a certain way better in that medium than in oil.

Neither Mr. Weir nor Mr. Abbey is among the contributors to this year's exhibition, but Mr. Homer is represented by one drawing. This picture, called "Mending Nets," No. 364, shows two fisher-girls seated on a bench, in profile to the spectator, and the one in front knitting blue-yarn socks. Her right arm is raised in the action of drawing up more yarn from the ball that lies on the floor or pavement beside her, and her head is naturally turned to follow the movement of the hand. The other figure is bent over, intent on the work of mending a large net which is hung on the wall to the right of the picture. Both figures are admirable in movement and in character, and the group is composed with that large, fine feeling for great lines that we find in Mr. Homer's best work. That we find it very good, but not quite so good as some of his other pictures, is because, though excellent in composition and character, it is not quite complete. The group in itself is admirable, but it is hard to make out just what is meant by the background. The figures seem to be in the open air, but the white expanse behind them, though it seems to be a plaster wall, might also be taken for sky. We judge the work merely by Mr. Homer's own high standard, and if it does not in all respects quite come up to that, it is none the less one of the most individual and able drawings in the exhibition.

Simply washed and in general frankly treated, is the head of a "Dutch Girl," No. 214, by Albert E. Sterner, and very much colored are two other drawings by the same artist, "Lady Maude," No. 65, and "Before Dinner," No. 273. Very frank and very clever, too, is the "Study," No. 370, by Eleanor E. Greatorex, which shows an old woman under an umbrella; and an artistic little figure notable for good treatment of blacks is "Sketch," No. 434, by Frank Fowler. Mr. Wiles, who handles water-color with the most delightful skill, is well represented by three pictures, of which the one called "With Thoughts Afar," No. 409, is not quite so satisfactory as it would be if there were more body in the figure of the young woman in a red gown who lies on a pile of green-plush cushions on a sofa, with a piece of red-and-gold embroidered stuff hanging on the wall behind her. "The Débutante," No. 349, a single figure of a young girl in a green dress with black fur trimming, is much more solid, and in "A Hothouse Flower," No. 38, we find, along with infinite skill in painting and much charm of color, another young woman, seated on the steps of a greenhouse this time, who is as picturesque as either of the others, and the centre of a composition that is complete enough in all its parts to make a satisfactory and pleasing picture. Mr. Hassam, whose work seems a trifle "mannered" in his large drawing, "Fifth Avenue," No. 466, in that the blacks are forced up to a high key and turned to blue, though the effect of air is very well rendered and the numerous figures in the street scene are effectively composed, is seen at his best in the bright, quickly painted study in sunlight, "A Street in Gloucester," No. 75; and Mrs. Nicholls, with a picture called "The Chrysanthemum Season," No. 569, gives a truthful rendering of an outdoor motive painted in the simplest fashion with notable cleverness. Mr. Tiffany shows a large sheet, "Potters' Market on the Quay at Wurtzburg," No. 579, that is bright and airy and possesses serious qualities of color; and Mr. Reinhart in "Summer Girl," No. 114, gives a good single figure of a lady in black, effectively contrasted with the old-gold and yellow tones of the walls of a room in which she is shown seated on a settle with a railed back.

The smaller of Mr. Horatio Walker's two contributions, "A Pastoral," No. 14, a bit of gray landscape with a woman milking a cow, is very good and charmingly painted, but the larger one, "Evening," No. 385, which represents a man going home through the fields with his ox, seems a trifle vague. It is a drawing of much character, however, and evidently the work of a hand that is sure of itself. What it lacks is solidity more than anything else, and if that were more felt there would be little to find fault with, for it is a fine piece of color. Mr. Chase makes one of the most striking pictures in the exhibition out of a simple half-length portrait of a lady in black painted entirely in *gouache*—a brilliant and luminous head with strong painting in the costume; and Mr. Smedley, who also elects to paint in body-color mostly, contributes an excellent figure of a young woman in pink seated before a cheval-glass, "If Roses Fade," No. 334. Good interiors with figures are shown by Stanley Middleton, "A Visit to the Studio," No. 410; by Ralph E. Clarkson, "A New York Studio," No. 404; and by Frank Russell Green, "An Evening Melody," No. 226. "Two Strings to Her Bow," No. 265, is a picture by Léon Moran of two young gallants and a pretty girl; a nice composition and cleverly handled. "The Return of Spring," No. 339, by Arthur Parton, a well-painted landscape, with a figure of a man sowing seed in a freshly-ploughed and harrowed field, and a pretty picture of a Dutch boy with a young lamb in his arms and another standing on the grass at his side, "Friends," No. 374, by Clark Crum, are two scenes of country life to be mentioned for their excellence, and with these may be noted "Un Appel," No. 247, and "Forenoon," No. 259, by Aug. Franzén, both works of good size with landscape and figures, and both brilliant and effective.

In pure landscape there is nothing better in the exhibition than "Spring Flood," No. 448, by Charles A. Platt, a charming picture painted in pale grays and greens, though "Winter—Central Park," No. 71, by D. W. Tryon, a soberly treated effect of snow in the park, with the upper part of the city lying low down to the horizon beyond, is as good in its own direction as it well could be. "After the Rain," No. 34, by H. Bolton Jones; "Evening," No. 351, by Bruce Crane; "Shed and Stack," No. 406, by H. W. Ranger; "Hackensack Meadows," No. 129, by C. Harry Eaton; "Outskirts of the Forest," No. 101, by Edward Moran; and "A Silvery Night," No. 117, by Leonard Ochtman, are a few landscapes among the many good ones here that are especially worthy of mention. "Autumn Evening," No. 193, by one of the best of the Dutch water-color painters, V. B. von Tholen, shows how admirable the work of the modern Dutch school is when we can find an example of the best work of the painters that belong to it.

The exhibition of the New York Etching Club is held in the corridor, and is an excellent one. Mr. Platt's beautiful work, Mr. Pennell's street scenes in London, Mr. Bacher's in Venice, Mr. Weir's three portraits, Miss Armstrong's genre subjects, the landscapes by Mr. Thomas Moran, Mr. H. Bolton Jones, and Mr. T. R. Manley, and Mr. Chapman's marines, are the principal things in the exhibition, and all extremely good; and as much may be said of some street scenes in New York by C. W. Mielatz, a portrait head by James D. Smillie, and an avenue of elms in New Haven by Miss Ellen Oakford. It would be hard to find anywhere etchings by any modern man that are as good in their way as Mr. Platt's work in this exhibition. They rank decidedly with the very best of modern work in Europe, and are certainly the best things he has yet done, though his former plates have been so good as to give him a very high reputation.

The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 26, 1891.

The Week.

THE free-coinage craze is fast abating. The Wisconsin Legislature on Thursday last passed a resolution opposing the bill for unlimited coinage now pending in Congress. In the Senate the vote in favor of the resolution was unanimous, and in the House only four members recorded themselves in the negative—two Republicans, one Union-Labor man, and one Democrat. To appreciate the significance of this action, it must be remembered that Wisconsin is one of those Western States which have been alleged to be in favor of free coinage without distinction of party, and especially so far as the Democrats are concerned; and that the Democrats control the Legislature by a working majority in the Senate and by a two-thirds vote in the House. When all but one of the Democrats in a Western Legislature vote against free coinage, it is high time to stop the silly talk about the Western Democrats being in favor of free coinage.

It is evident that there has been almost as gross exaggeration of the extent of the free-coinage sentiment in the South as in the West. The Memphis *Appeal-Avalanche* had been of the opinion that the Democrats of Tennessee were earnestly in favor of free coinage, but the other day it conceived the happy idea of finding out exactly what people thought about it by sending reporters to ask citizens in various walks of life these three questions:

(1.) Do you think the free coinage of silver essential to the welfare of the South?
(2.) Does the question excite much discussion; if so, what is the tenor of opinion?
(3.) Do you think it ought to be made a party issue?

Between forty and fifty persons were interviewed—grocers, shoe-dealers, dry-goods men, produce-dealers, cotton-factors, etc.—and a decided majority pronounced themselves emphatically against free coinage. No less significant were the answers to the second question, most of which ran like these: "The masses of the people do not care anything whatever about it"; "The politicians are the only people who care anything about free coinage"; "I don't hear anybody talking about it"; "The people know and care little about it"; "Nobody seems to think it of much importance." The third question was answered almost unanimously in the negative.

Such developments as these indicate that free coinage will be much weaker in the next Congress than in the present one. It is already evident that the scheme is dead so far as this Congress is concerned, the most sanguine silver-men no longer having any hope that the Senate bill will pass the House before the 4th of March. The way public sentiment is now running, such a bill is not likely to be as strong next winter as it is this. A large part of its support has come from Senators and Representatives who care nothing about the matter one way or the other, but who voted yea, as the delegation from Tennessee did, because they had been assured that everybody in Tennessee was "red hot" for free coinage. Let it become clear that the people are not demanding free coinage, and the politicians will drop the scheme like a hot potato.

The Merchants' Exchange of Buffalo, on the 9th inst., in passing resolutions against the free coinage of silver, rose to the full height of the occasion by demanding also *the repeal of the present silver law*, the act of July 14, 1890. This is really "taking the bull by the horns," and it is what we must come to soon or late. We cannot go on for ever buying four and a half million ounces of silver every month. It is sheer waste of the taxpayers' money. The Treasury cannot stand it. We shall presently be driven to the expedient of selling bonds, *i. e.*, increasing the public debt, to pay for this useless silver. The statutes contemplate this very exigency, giving the Secretary power to sell bonds to keep his gold reserve good. When he comes to put this expedient in practice, there will be plenty of Merchants' Exchanges all over the country of the same mind as that of Buffalo.

One of the last witnesses listened to by the House Committee on Coinage was William H. Beck of Montana, a gentleman engaged in silver-mining. Mr. Beck's head was "level." He said that he was opposed to free coinage of silver, "on the ground that the present law, which took fifty-four millions of silver annually out of the market and absolutely locked it up, was a better thing for the silver-miner than free coinage, under which all the silver would be on the market." The report of Mr. Beck's lucid testimony continues thus:

"He did not think free-coinage legislation alone could raise the price of silver bullion to its coin value. Mr. Beck gave it as his opinion that free coinage would absolutely destroy the exchangeability between gold and silver, and would make silver, whether in the shape of coin or bullion, worth simply the bullion value in the markets of the world. Under free coinage the American silver coin would be just as much a commodity as the coins of Mexico, which had free coinage, and the purchasing power of silver coin would be simply its bullion value, as fixed in the markets of the world. The number of low-grade silver-ore mines, he declared, was absolutely illimitable, and with the greatly improved methods in production there would be great quantities of silver put on the market. There had been such great improvements in mining that he believed that within five years silver would get down to eighty cents an ounce. He was sorry to see it, but believed it would have to come. Mexico was also greatly increasing her productions. He read a letter from ex-Gov. White of Montana, expressing gratification at the fact that free coinage could not pass this Congress, and declaring that free coinage would be a great disaster to the silver industry. The sentiment of the people, the letter said, was changing. If Congress were to pass a free-coinage law, he insisted that it should be provided that gold dollars could be exchanged at the Treasury for silver dollars, and vice-versa, and that if either metal went up or down, the Government should stand in the breach and bear the loss."

Mr. Beck's testimony fell short in only one respect. He did not tell us how long the Government could continue taking fifty-four million ounces of silver out of the market and locking it up, or what would be the eventual destination of the mass.

Said Mr. Bartine, at the hearing before the Coinage Committee the other day:

"Suppose the people had twice as much currency in their pockets as now, would not their prosperity be greatly increased?"

Now, why does not some one get Mr. Bartine into a private room, away from disturbing influences, and ask him soberly to explain how people get any amount of currency "into their pockets"—how he himself gets it into his pockets, for instance? It is these vague, unchecked generalities which are just now making most of our trouble. There are only three ways known to the human race (excluding gifts and miracles) of getting currency into a man's pocket: (1) the sale of something for cash, (2) borrowing, (3) plunder. If currency was as plenty as carpet-tacks, there would only be these three ways of coming by it. If it were as plenty as carpet-tacks, it would of course have no more value in one man's pockets than another. Now, suppose the Government were to "issue" to-morrow any quantity that the wildest silver or paper-man thinks we need "per capita," how would the people get hold of it? The Government, of course, could not give it away to all comers, because in that case it would have no value for anybody—that is, no purchasing power. It could only put it in circulation by paying its own debts with it and by buying something with it. This would put it into the pockets of two small classes only, namely, those to whom the Government owed some money, its employees and bondholders and pensioners, and those from whom it buys goods. But it pays out all the money to these classes now which it would pay then, and no more of this money would get into "the pockets of the people" then than now. Plunder we may rule out, as it is an expedient which could not increase the prosperity of a whole people. Borrow we cannot without security, and if we have security, we do not, as a rule, need to borrow: we prosper without it. So that we are left to rely on the sale of commodities as the only means of getting currency into the pockets of the people, no matter how plenty it may be. It is very sad, of course, to know that to get money we must part with something we have already; but so it is, so it has been from the beginning, and so it will be till the end.

Congressman Sweet of Idaho has introduced a resolution which recites that certain national banks are refusing to lend money

except upon contracts payable in gold, "which course tends to discredit the currency of the country whether based on gold or on silver." Therefore (the resolution provides) any national bank thus attempting to degrade the currency of the country shall forfeit its charter. The resolution is probably aimed at the banks of California, which habitually and invariably make their loans payable in gold, a practice which was shamelessly incited by Congress twenty-one years ago in an act providing for the establishment of gold banks. This act even went so far as to authorize the issue of circulating notes payable in gold, and required the banks issuing them to keep on hand not less than 25 per cent. of such note issues in gold *or silver* coin—silver coin being at that time worth 3 per cent. more than gold coin. The act was passed expressly in order to bring the Pacific "slopers" into the national-bank system. It is time that such aristocratic practices should come to an end, and it is fitting that a "sloper" should lead the way to a more democratic system of banking. But why should Congressman Sweet limit his resolution to bankers? He ought at least to bring liquor-dealers within the scope of his measure. That these people are falling into unpatriotic ways becomes painfully evident from the terms of the following circular that has just been issued:

OFFICE OF THE
WINE AND SPIRIT TRADERS' SOCIETY,
NEW YORK, February 18, 1891.

DEAR SIR: You are respectfully informed that the following resolution was adopted at the last meeting of the Council of this Society:

Resolved, That in view of the pending legislation regarding the free coinage of silver, this Council recommends that such importers of wines and spirits as have not already done so place upon their billheads the words: "Payable in gold coin or its equivalent in United States currency."

I am, sir, very respectfully yours,
CHARLES McK. LEOSER, President.

We do not perceive any necessary connection between a high tariff and the free coinage of silver, but Mr. McKinley and the organ of the Manufacturers' Club of Philadelphia furnish grounds for thinking that the two things go together. We have published what Mr. McKinley said at Toledo about those unpatriotic persons who go about "dishonoring one of our precious metals, *one of our own great products*, discrediting silver and enhancing the price of gold." The *Manufacturer* of February 15 has two articles in the same vein as McKinley's speech. It does not advocate free coinage outright, but it answers a series of questions put to it by a correspondent who is opposed to free coinage, using the arguments common to the free-coinage party. Probably there is a fellow-feeling among all those who want the Government to help them in their business, such as the protected manufacturers, the silver-mine owners, and the steamship-subsidy men. When McKinley lays stress on "one of our own great products," he means that the Government ought to buy enough silver, or compel the public to buy enough, to make good times among those who produce silver. Probably the *Manufacturer* takes the same side, on the familiar principle of "You tickle me and I tickle you."

The appointment of ex-Gov. Chas. Foster of Ohio as the successor of Mr. Windom in the Treasury Department is very well received by the country, not because Mr. Foster is widely known as a financier, but because he is accounted a man of affairs and of good sense. He has had sufficient prominence in public life to be acceptable to his own party and not unacceptable to his political opponents. He has had sufficient experience to avoid hasty and ill-advised action. He comes from a State which is now, whatever it may have been in times past, conservative in its views of currency and finance. As regards the silver question, it is safe to say that Secretary Foster will follow in the footsteps of Secretary Windom, and that he will never diverge much, if at all, from the policy of Senator Sherman — not that he is a follower or adherent of Mr. Sherman in the political sense, but because Mr. Sherman is known to be a master of the science of finance, while Mr. Foster is not.

Congress has at last performed a long-neglected duty by passing a bill increasing the salaries of United States District Court Judges to $5,000 a year. The only criticism to be made is that the increase is too small, and that the uniformity of the salary hereafter to be paid perpetuates the injustice from which many of these judges have long suffered. It is, of course, obvious that the expense of maintaining a family in the manner rightly to be expected of a judge of a Federal court is far smaller in a little town of an agricultural State in the South or West than in one of the great cities of the country, and consequently that while $5,000 might be ample salary for one of the former class, it would be utterly inadequate for the latter. The existing system, indeed, has recognized, though in a rude and somewhat inconsistent manner, the inequalities of a uniform salary for men living under circumstances so very different, and allowed $4,000, $4,500, and in one case $5,000 to some, but not all, judges living in the larger cities, while giving only $3,500 to the great majority. The Judiciary Committee of the House were inclined to maintain this principle of discrimination, but, rather than risk the entire failure of the measure, concluded to advise concurrence in the bill which had passed the Senate, giving all of the judges $5,000 a year. This was doubtless the wisest outcome of the situation possible, and it will do something to relieve the condition of faithful officials, like the Judge in St. Louis, for example, who has never received more than $3,500, and who testified that his salary was entirely inadequate to pay his current expenses, although he lived in a modest house in a retired quarter of the city.

It is said in Washington that when the present session of Congress comes to its end, there will be an omission of the usual resolution of thanks to the Speaker for his courtesy and impartiality. It has been the unbroken practice, since the early days of the Government, for a member of the Opposition to propose such a resolution and for it to be passed with little or no opposition. There were murmurs of discontent with the practice when Speaker Keifer's term drew to a close, many Democratic members feeling natural qualms about formally eulogizing a man for whom they had so little respect; but it was finally agreed to preserve the precedent, and he was thanked in the usual manner, with only eight dissenting votes. In regard to Speaker Reed, the Democrats are a unit in believing that his course in the chair has been so completely a new departure that they will be justified in making another. They say that since he has boasted that he has, by his defiance of parliamentary procedure, "set the precedent for a hundred years," they will imitate his example, and break the precedent of a hundred years in regard to thanking him for his conduct. They not only refuse to introduce the resolution of thanks, but declare that they will, if one be presented, offer a substitute giving their real opinion of his course, and thus make it necessary for both to be spread upon the record for all time. No one who has followed the course of the Speaker in the chair during the two sessions of this Congress can do aught else than commend the Democratic position. It would be simple stultification for them to commend the "courtesy and impartiality" of a Speaker who has never shown a particle of either of those qualities, but who has sat in the chair like a Sultan, defying all precedent, and covering every member who questioned the propriety or justice of his course with insults. He ought to be allowed to leave the chair he has disgraced without a word of respect from any source.

Speaker Reed seems to have been in "great form" on Friday. He jeered members who questioned the justice of his rulings, using the chair of the House as if it were a stool in the centre of a bar-room, or a high point on the stairway of a tenement-house during a row among the occupants. He performed great exploits also in the way of counting a quorum, not contenting himself with merely counting members who were within the reach of his eyes, but counting those whom the clerks reported as having been found by them in the cloak-rooms. This is making great progress in parliamentary procedure. There is only one more extreme to which he can go, and that is to count as present in the House every member who is known to be in Washington at the time. He counted a member as present on Friday who was in a barber-shop being shaved at the time, and that was no greater stretch of the Speaker's powers than it would be to count a member as present who was in bed in his hotel or eating his dinner in its dining-room. The world has never seen such a wonderful Speaker as our Czar, and as he has only a few days more in which to display his resources, he

ought not to allow himself to be hampered by anything.

The Territory of Dakota was made into two States with the expectation that they would furnish four Republican Senators who could be trusted to vote for high tariffs every time. When a high-tariff bill came before the Senate during the first Congress that the Dakotas were represented in, one of the Senators from South Dakota voted against it. The other Senator voted for it, and he has just been beaten for reëlection by an Independent who declared himself strongly for a low tariff. Both of the North Dakota Senators voted for the McKinley Bill. One of them has been beaten for reëlection by a Republican who is committed to a low tariff. It is, therefore, already certain that three of the four Senators from the Dakotas in the Fifty-second Congress will vote for low tariffs, and it is not at all unlikely that the fourth will take warning from the fate of his associates and record himself on the same side. Instead, therefore, of securing four votes for McKinley bills by admitting these two new States, the Republicans have succeeded in giving the tariff-reformers three votes, if not, indeed, all of the four.

The question has been raised whether the new Senator Kyle of South Dakota is eligible to his seat, the statement being made that he is not a "resident" of that State. The Constitution of the United States does not require that a man shall be a "resident" of a State in order to be its Senator. It requires that he shall be an "inhabitant" of the State. The first draft of that particular clause in the Constitution used the word resident. It was stricken out and the word inhabitant substituted, because it is not easy to determine residence but is easy to determine inhabitancy. A man's residence may be determinable only in his own mind. His inhabitancy is a physical fact ascertainable by eyesight. When Gen. Adelbert Ames, an army officer stationed in Mississippi, was elected Senator from that State, his credentials were questioned, and the Senate Committee to whom they were referred reported that he was not entitled to his seat, as not being a resident of the State. The Senate overruled the Committee and seated Mr. Ames, on the ground that, although not a resident, he was an inhabitant. In another and earlier case a citizen of Massachusetts who was holding a clerkship in the State Department at Washington was elected to Congress, but his credentials were rejected and the seat declared vacant, because, although he was a resident, he was not an inhabitant of the State at the time when he was voted for. As there is no doubt about Mr. Kyle being an inhabitant of South Dakota, there is no doubt about his being entitled to the seat for which he has been chosen.

The Republicans in the Illinois Legislature have fallen under very bad leadership when they abandon their caucus nominee for the Senate and cast their votes for the candidate of the F. M. B. A. To elect the latter they must bring every vote they have in the joint convention, and this is hardly possible. But supposing that they could do this and elect Streeter, the effect upon the party would be disastrous and demoralizing. The bonds of discipline would be loosened to a disastrous degree; nobody would be bound by a caucus nomination hereafter. More than that, the party would have humbled itself by sending to the Senate a man objectionable to the intelligence of the State. Streeter is just the same kind of man as the new Kansas Senator Peffer. The case is very different from that which was presented in 1877, when the Democrats joined the so-called Labor Reformers and elected David Davis to the Senate. Judge Davis was a man of wide reputation, a member of the United States Supreme Court, the intimate friend of Abraham Lincoln and the executor of his last will and testament. To elect such a man was not to lower the dignity of the State, as it certainly would be to elect Streeter. If the Republican members of the Legislature have been persuaded that they can thus trifle with the work set before them, they have been very badly advised.

We wonder what Mr. McKinley will do with the petition to Congress intrusted to his care by citizens of his own State, the Spring Lake Ice Company of Toledo, who "confidently rely" on his "efforts to further the interests of an industry employing many thousands of Americans. . . . Appreciating the great efforts you have made in behalf of other industries, and confidently believing that the American people will show a proper appreciation thereof, we ask a similar action for ourselves." The purpose of this application, signed by L. J. Seek, President, who certainly is well named if his petition be serious, is to ask "protection" from products of the pauper frost of Canada. Says Mr. Seek:

> "The American market, which ought to be reserved to Americans, is in danger of being flooded with cheap Canadian ice, contrary to the principles of protection, and to the great injury of American industries and American labor. . . . We respectfully submit to your honorable body that we and all others in the ice business are obliged, on account of the existing tariff law, to buy our tools, implements and lumber of Americans; while they, on the other hand, are allowed to buy their ice of Canadians, with their cheap labor and long winters, which put us at a great disadvantage. This is manifestly unjust and unequal, and we are obliged to conclude that unless we are put on the same plane with others, we shall have, however reluctantly, to oppose the continuance of the tariff duties on the articles which we buy. If others are to have the benefit, such as it is, of cheap foreign stuff, we want it too."

We shall not disguise our suspicion that the Toledo petition may be designed as a "grind" on Mr. McKinley, in which case it is "admirable fooling"; but it is not intrinsically more foolish than most of those which have been answered by the McKinley Act of Congress.

Important tariff reforms have been proposed in both Denmark and Sweden, and there is a strong probability that the bills embodying them will be passed. The Danish measure, which has already reached the third discussion in the lower house, provides for free sugar and for the removal of the tariff from several other necessaries. The bill was passed on the second discussion by a considerable majority, and unless the upper house refuse its sanction, the present Parliament will be able to congratulate itself on at least one good thing accomplished. The Swedish proposal is of the same nature as the Danish, differing from the latter in being more comprehensive. It provides for the reduction or removal of the tariff on the necessaries of life. The Committee of the Rigsdag having the matter in hand have determined, by a vote of 10 to 9, to take it up as soon as possible, the minority voting for a postponement. A similar measure has been recommended by the leaders of the Liberal party in Norway. These misguided foreigners are evidently bent on making themselves as cheap as possible, instead of profiting by the example of our own glorious Republic.

It was not to be expected that the irreconcilable Royalists in France would receive with loud cheers Cardinal Lavigerie's announcement that the monarchy was dead, and that henceforth the Church would do well to cast in her lot with the Republic. Outcries and wailings were to be looked for from all sides, and they came. But very soon adhesions to the Cardinal's programme began to be announced, some of them truly remarkable. First came a number of bishops, of whom Mgr. Isoard was the chief; then MM. Cassagnac and Eugène Veuillot; then the newspapers in a stream—the Clerical *Monde* and the long faithful *Univers* at their head. Half the Royalist camp, at least, went over. Even the *Autorité* and the *Gazette de France* ceased their opposition. The irreconcilables had appealed to Rome at the outset, and they got but cold comfort there. The Pope ordered a general *quête* for Cardinal Lavigerie's African work. Then Cardinal Rampolla wrote a reply to the complainants, couched in the most delicate language of Roman diplomacy, but conveying a distinct rebuff; and, last of all (if we may trust a report in the *Figaro* which the *Temps* also seems to consider authentic) the Holy Father has himself spoken in terms of high approval of the Archbishop of Algiers' position. The Pope, indeed, is even less "clerical" than the Cardinal, for he considers a purely clerical party in France, which Lavigerie desires and hopes for, to be no more than a dream. For all this, the Faubourg irreconcilable does not stir an inch. He continues to curse the Republic—*la gueuse* is the nice name he calls her by—and to cry out at the clergy and Bishops, and, at last accounts, he was writing letters to the *Figaro*, to show how necessary it is sometimes to oppose authority for authority's own sake, and how easily a Pope may fall into the dreadful sin of schism. Altogether he makes a distinct contribution to œcumenical gayety.

WHAT THE BARRUNDIA CASE CALLS FOR.

MR. DALZELL, in his speech on the Barrundia affair, brought out some new features, which seem to impose on him the obligation, since he has taken the matter up at all, of not letting it rest until either justice has been done or his powers of seeking justice have been exhausted. That is to say, he has apparently proved the Secretary of the Navy to have been guilty, in his treatment of Commander Reiter, not only of unfairness and want of consideration, but of a positive violation of the law, to the great injury of a defenceless man. This offence, committed by an officer in Secretary Tracy's place, ought not to be passed over. No man in America is above the law. Any member of Congress, as it seems to us, who has deemed it important enough to present or hear a long argument on it before the grand inquest of the nation, ought not to drop it until the wrong has either been righted or has been shown to be irremediable. If Secretary Tracy's conduct has been what Mr. Dalzell says it has, it should be passed upon by some tribunal or other, not simply for Commander Reiter's deliverance, but for the erasure from the records of the Department of a most mischievous precedent.

Mr. Dalzell, in his letter printed in the *Evening Post* on Monday week, maintains that the publicity of the reprimand administered to Commander Reiter made it illegal. He denies the Secretary's power to administer a public reprimand at all in time of peace. He shows that one of the Naval Regulations says: "The authority to punish offences being strictly defined by law, no deviation from the limits prescribed will be tolerated." He shows that not one of the precedents cited by Mr. Lodge was applicable to Reiter's case—that is, that not one of them justified a public reprimand by the Secretary as a punishment in time of peace without the intervention of a court-martial. There is no provision in the Naval Regulations for the infliction of a public reprimand by any authority but a court martial, and one of them forbids "superiors of every grade to injure those under their command by tyrannical or capricious conduct, or by abusive language."

It has further appeared that the Secretary is unable to produce any statute, regulation, or precedent of international or municipal law which Commander Reiter disobeyed or disregarded in failing to rescue or shield Barrundia from the Guatemalan police, or to point to any act on the part of the Guatemalan Government with regard to Barrundia which Commander Reiter would have been justified in resisting by force, or for which Secretary Blaine could now lawfully demand satisfaction. In other words, the attempt to show that Barrundia had, by virtue of his status on board the *Acapulco*, in the harbor of San José, any claim, either moral or legal, on the protection of the American flag, has wholly failed. Mr. Lodge was compelled to rely, in dealing with this portion of his case, on general considerations of humanity and patriotism, which, however, he destroyed or greatly weakened by admitting the badness of Barrundia's character—that is, his unworthiness of any special or extraordinary display of naval boldness or "chivalry" in his behalf by a foreign Government.

It further appears that not only has the Secretary proved unable to produce any recognized law or regulation for Commander Reiter's condemnation, but he has, through Mr. Lodge, attempted to concoct one of his own *ad hoc*, compelling naval commanders not only to offer asylum on board their ships to political refugees, but even to go in search of them on the open sea for the purpose of forcing it on them. Commander Reiter was actually reprimanded for not having gone out to sea to meet Barrundia and invite him on board the American man-of-war. Mr. Lodge's attempt to produce some sort of authority for this strange doctrine was one of the oddest features of the debate. He quotes in support of it as follows from Hall's 'International Law':

> Hall's 'International Law,' third edition, 1890, pages 192 and 193, says:
> "Thus, to illustrate some of the foregoing doctrines, under the general rules of respect for the laws of a State it is wrong for a ship of war to harbor a criminal or a person charged with non-political crimes. If, however, such a person succeeds in getting on board, and is afforded refuge, he cannot be taken out of the vessel. No entry can be made upon her for any purpose whatever. His surrender, which is required by due respect for the territorial law, must be obtained diplomatically. In like manner, if an offence is committed on board which takes effect externally, and the captain refuses to make reparation—if, for example, he were to refuse to give up or to punish a person who, while within the vessel, had shot another person outside—application for redress must be made to the Government to which the ship belongs.
> "If, on the other hand, the captain of a vessel were to allow political refugees to maintain communication with the shore and to make the ship a focus of intrigue, or if he were to send a party of marines to arrest a deserter, an extreme case would arise, in which the imminence of danger in the one instance, and in the other the disregard of the sovereign rights of the State, would justify the exceptional measure of expulsion. The case is again different if a political refugee is granted simple hospitality. The right to protect him has been acquired by custom."
> Hall goes on to say:
> "He [the fugitive] should not be sought out or invited, but if he appears at the side of the ship and asks admittance, he need not be turned away."
> This refers to political fugitives escaping from the shore. They ought not to be sought out or invited. But the case is very different with a political fugitive who is in territorial waters only by reason of the fact that he has taken passage in an American steamer in the territory of another State with a destination for another port in the territory of a third party.

Now it seems hardly credible, but it is a fact, that there is not one word in Hall to justify the remark that "this refers to political fugitives escaping from the shore," or that "the case is very different with a political fugitive who is in the territorial waters only by reason of the fact that he has taken a passage in an American steamer," etc. Hall gives no countenance either by mention or innuendo to any such distinction. It is a pure figment of Mr. Lodge's imagination, and yet he appends it as if by reading a little further we should find it fully set forth in Hall's text. There is no authority anywhere which releases naval officers from the obligation to wait until they are asked before granting any asylum on board public ships to political refugees. To allow them, and still more to instruct them, under penalties, as in Commander Reiter's case, to cruise for such refugees in order to proffer them the shelter of the flag, might, as may easily be seen, lead to monstrous abuses, and might, indeed, in many cases lay naval officers open to the charge of interfering in local conflicts by guaranteeing beforehand the safety of the defeated party. The rule is, that, no matter from what quarter or by what means the refugee may reach the ship, an application on his part is an essential condition of his reception. Barrundia made no such application. He entered the harbor knowingly. He refused to see Commander Reiter when he called on him, and apparently had determined from the first to rely on his revolver for safety or revenge. In truth, the suggestion of a writer in the *Herald*, that if Reiter had taken him on board his ship under the circumstances, he (Barrundia) would have had his action for false imprisonment, is by no means fantastic.

"PER CAPITA."

THE old lady who got so much comfort out of "that blessed word Mesopotamia" would, if she were living in our day, get twice as much out of the phrase "per capita." Indeed, we know of no term in either the Latin or the English tongue which has relieved so much depression and excited so much hope of a better day as this one. It has increased the joys and reduced the anxieties of hundreds of thousands. When any great trouble comes on them in the shape, say, of a note to pay, or a tax to bear, which they find it difficult to meet, they simply take the "per capita" view of it, and all its terrors vanish. For example, that famous joke of Mr. Evarts, which showed that $100,000,000 of taxation, even if unnecessary, only imposed a burden of three cents per week on each person, was a strictly "per capita" joke. It would have fallen utterly flat if he had not been able to say "per capita."

But, on the other hand, nothing does so much to create a feeling of "shortness" in the matter of money as "per capita." When the money of the country, for instance, has the "per capita" principle applied to it, it nearly unhinges the agricultural mind. Many an honest and industrious farmer has led a prosperous and reasonably contented life, and always thought there was money enough until he heard how much money there was "per capita." He always found that when he had anything to sell, he was able to get the market price for it in cash, and when he wished to borrow, was always able to get his loan from the banker in cash if he could satisfy him that he would repay it on a day named. But as soon as he began to hear that we had only $23 of currency "per capita," he began to feel that ruin stared him in the face. Had he been told that all the money in the country divided among the population would only give each person $23, he would

not have minded it a bit. It would have produced no more effect on him than those arithmetical exercises which show how many $5 gold-pieces it would take to cover a ten-acre lot, or how many greenbacks it would take to paper the walls of the Capitol at Washington in a neat and tasteful manner. "What difference does it make," he would say, "when we know the money is not going to be divided among the whole population?" But when told by economists in whom he has confidence, that we have only $23 of currency "per capita," he becomes wild with anxiety. "Per capita!" he exclaims—"ah, that is a very different thing. What is to be done? I had no idea that our 'per capita' condition was anything like that. Why, we are sitting over a volcano! God help the poor! It is the gold-bugs and Wall Street speculators that have brought us to this. They have known all along how we were situated 'per capita,' and yet they have concealed it from us." In fact, there appears to be no sort of doubt that a people may flourish greatly and be very happy if they divide the good things of life per head, and yet sink into wretchedness under the "per-capita" system.

It is but fair to add that the discontent excited by "per capita" has been greatly aggravated by the fuss which is made in moneyed circles about collaterals. There is a gentleman named D. P. Hadden in Memphis, Tenn., who in a recent interview "voiced" the popular sentiment in many parts of the West and Southwest on this subject:

"I am in favor of more currency. We haven't enough currency per capita to do the business of the country. If we cannot increase the currency, I think somebody ought to issue more collaterals. There is usually enough money if a man has the collateral."

Nothing so much tends to increase the alarm caused by our "per capita" condition as this morbid craving of money-lenders for collaterals. Many a man could reconcile himself perfectly to $23 "per capita" of currency if it were not for the persistence of the banks, as at present managed, in seeking collaterals when they make loans. Mr. Hadden's suggestion, therefore, may be considered in the highest degree conservative. He does not insist, as so many others do, on increasing our currency per capita. He recognizes the fact that the trouble may possibly not lie in the small amount of per-capita currency at all; that we could get along perfectly with $23 per capita if we had a more abundant supply of collaterals, and he suggests that somebody should make as many collaterals as are needed to bring loans within the reach of the humblest.

Is there not in this suggestion—crude as some may think it—the groundwork of a compromise between the West and the East on the currency question? Is it not probable that if the West were allowed to have its way in the matter of collaterals, the East might have its way in the matter of currency? If there be plenty of collaterals per capita, who will complain if currency be short per capita? No people has ever lost its liberties which had plenty of collaterals. In fact, we venture to assert that collaterals are more important than currency, for, if you have the collaterals, currency will be speedily added unto you. We, therefore, most heartily favor Mr. Hadden's plan of solving the currency question by an abundant issue of collaterals. His suggestion may fairly be called an "eirenikon"—a way to peace between two now discordant sections of the country. We would stuff the banks with collaterals until they cried, "Hold! enough," and until loans were as per-capita as currency itself.

THE MASSACHUSETTS CENSUS.

As the following table will show, the increase in the population of Massachusetts between 1880 and 1890 has been absolutely greater than in any previous decade, and relatively greater than in any preceding census period except that between 1840 and 1850:

Census of	Population.	Increase.	Per cent. of Increase.
1890.....	2,238,943	455,858	25.6
1880.....	1,783,085	325,734	22.3
1870.....	1,457,351	226,285	18.3
1860.....	1,231,066	236,552	23.7
1850.....	994,514	256,814	34.8
1840.....	737,700	127,292	20.8
1830.....	610,408	87,121	16.6
1820.....	523,287	51,247	10.8
1810.....	472,040	49,195	11.6
1800.....	422,845	44,058	11.6
1790.....	378,787		

Rapid as this growth has been, it has not been general; and of the 345 cities and towns existing in 1880, no less than 151, or three-sevenths of the whole number, show a decrease as compared with that year, even after allowance is made for any loss occasioned by the change of boundaries. As we recently demonstrated to be the case in New Hampshire, the decrease in Massachusetts is almost entirely in the smaller towns.

Out of 57 towns and cities which in 1880 had each 5,000 or more inhabitants, 56, if proper allowance be made for territorial changes, show an increase; and only in the town of Westborough in Worcester County has there been a decrease, and in that case the loss is only three-tenths of one per cent. The smaller places in which there has been a loss of population are, as a rule, either agricultural or fishing towns, or towns in which manufacturing is confined to one branch, or a few branches, and from which a depression in those branches compels a portion of the population to migrate in search of employment.

Boston, doubtless because an increasing proportion of the persons whose daily business is carried on within it prefer to reside elsewhere, has not grown as rapidly as the State at large, its percentage of increase having been but 23.60. The cities of the second and third rank, with a population in 1880 of from 20,000 to 100,000, have relatively made the greatest increase, having added more than 40 per cent. to their population during the decade. The cities and towns with from 8,000 to 20,000 inhabitants each have done almost as well, their rate of increase exceeding 36 per cent. The towns with a population of from 4,000 to 8,000 have grown not much more than half as fast, and those with a population of from 2,000 to 4,000 not a fourth as rapidly; the percentage of increase for the former class being nineteen, and for the latter but eight. The still smaller towns have suffered a net loss during the decade, which has fallen most heavily upon the very smallest; the percentage of decrease in the towns from 1,000 to 2,000 inhabitants being nearly 4, and in those of less than 1,000 more than seven and a half.

The 179 least populous towns in the State have less population to-day than they had seventy years ago. The 95 least populous towns have less population than they had in 1800. Some of them, although their boundaries have remained unchanged, have barely more than half the inhabitants they had at the outbreak of the Revolution, and a few of them had a larger population at the close of the French and Indian war than they have to-day. On the other hand, the twenty cities which in 1890 had upwards of 20,000 inhabitants each, have now more than half the people of the State, although 100 years ago these same places contained less than one-sixth of the population. In 1790 Boston was the only place in Massachusetts with upwards of 8,000 inhabitants. To-day there are no fewer than 47 cities and towns with more than that number, containing an aggregate population of 1,564,931. In the whole United States there were as late as 1840 but 44 cities of over 8,000 inhabitants, and their aggregate population was but 1,453,994.

The following table shows in a striking manner how great and how rapid has been the change in the proportion of urban to rural and semi-rural population in Massachusetts in the last century:

Date of Census	No. of cities and towns of over 8,000 inhabitants each.	Population of cities and towns with over 8,000 inhabitants.	Population of towns of less than 8,000 inhabitants.	Percentage of total population residing in cities and towns of over 8,000 inhabitants.	Percentage of total population residing in towns of less than 8,000 inhabitants.
1890...	47	1,564,931	674,012	69.90	30.10
1880...	38	1,107,032	676,053	62.09	37.91
1870...	30	803,267	654,084	55.12	44.88
1860...	23	551,024	585,976	44.76	55.24
1850...	17	375,834	618,680	37.79	62.21
1840...	10	205,994	531,706	27.92	72.08
1830...	3	94,363	516,045	15.46	84.54
1820...	2	71,141	452,146	13.60	86.40
1810...	2	58,566	413,476	12.41	87.59
1800...	2	42,257	380,588	9.99	90.01
1790...	1	23,851	354,936	6.30	93.70

For the first three decades of the nineteenth century, Boston and Salem were the only places with more than 8,000 inhabitants. It was not until 1840 that any towns except

Boston, Salem, and Charlestown passed that number. A century ago more than 93 per cent. of the population resided in towns of less than 8,000 inhabitants. At the time of the Mexican War, when Increase D. O'Phace, Esq., made the speech at the extrumpery caucus in State Street reported by Hosea Biglow, his description of a convention as a meeting where

> "A parcel of delligits jest git together
> An' chat for a spell o' the crops an' the weather,"

was correct, for the rural and semi-rural towns contained two-thirds of the population of the State. At the outbreak of the Civil War the places with a population of 8,000 and upwards contained less than half the residents of the State. Now more than two-thirds of all the people of Massachusetts live in cities or towns with over 8,000 inhabitants.

MR. GOSCHEN'S SPEECH.

THE English newspapers, both daily and weekly, have been much taken up lately with Mr. Goschen's speech at Leeds on the 28th ult. The speech is very interesting, as Mr. Goschen's speeches generally are. It relates chiefly to the ultimate banking reserve of the United Kingdom, *i. e.*, to the amount of gold available to meet a crisis. He gives a rapid sketch of the principal features of the Barings crisis, and of the extraordinary measures taken by the Bank of England and its allies to meet it. Liabilities to the amount of 21 millions sterling had to be guaranteed in a hurry—so the Governor of the Bank of England stated to a deputation from Lombard Street that came to thank him for his prompt and intelligent action. If this crisis had not been averted, Mr. Goschen thinks that the consequences would have been appalling, and would have so shaken British credit that it would have transferred the banking centre of the world from London to some other place.

British credit, Mr. Goschen shows, consists of the assurance that prevails throughout the world that every bill drawn on London will be paid in *gold* of a known standard, without higgling, shaving, or postponing. It is this universal belief that gives London a preference over Paris and Berlin as a place of settlement for international exchanges. It is this which enables British merchants to command, in every market of the world, at the lowest rates, the things they want to buy, by means of letters of credit, dispensing with the use of the gold itself except to a very small amount for the settlement of international balances. If this fabric of credit were overthrown, so that it became necessary to send actual gold to pay for the goods wanted, British commerce and industry must come to a stop until credit could be reëstablished, since there is not gold enough to be had for more than the merest fraction of the trade carried on.

Credit consists of two parts, a belief in the invariableness of the standard and a belief in the ability of the debtor to pay exactly as he has agreed to. As there is no doubt about the gold standard in Great Britain, Mr. Goschen addresses himself to the other part of the question: Is it quite certain that London will always, under all circumstances, be able to meet the drafts drawn under her letters of credit at the day and hour prescribed therein? To answer this question in the affirmative we must assume that she keeps a reserve of cash, *i. e.*, gold coin and bullion, adequate to meet not merely the daily and usual requirements of trade, but the extraordinary emergencies which now and then arise. Is the customary reserve of London so adequate?

Mr. Goschen answers this question in the negative. The Bank of England holds habitually 24 million pounds sterling of gold, the Bank of France holds 95 millions of gold and silver, the Bank of Germany 40 millions sterling of gold and silver, and the United States Treasury and national banks together 142 millions sterling of gold and silver. Mr. Goschen does not here make a distinction between gold and silver as reserves. This seems to us to be misleading, since silver is no longer international money, and it is in the international aspect that he is examining the subject. The gold of the Bank of France at the last accounts, including the 3 millions sterling that it had lent to the Bank of England, amounted to 48 millions sterling. The amount held by the United States Treasury and by the banks (national and State) is probably not far from 75 millions sterling. As compared with these huge stores, the stock held by the Bank of England does look small, and it becomes still smaller when measured by the liabilities. The bank deposits of the United Kingdom, not including those of the Bank of England, are upwards of 600 millions sterling. The joint-stock banks keep cash only to the extent of 10 to 12 per cent. of their liabilities, and it is not always easy to tell what this "cash" consists of. The portion kept by them in the Bank of England can be identified easily enough, but the portion kept in their own vaults may be almost anything that they choose to describe by that name—as, for example, call loans on first-class collaterals, good enough for ordinary times, but not cash when a large number of banks and individuals want to realize at the same moment. Practically the cash in the Bank of England is the sole metallic banking reserve of the United Kingdom. The bank has liabilities of its own, including those to the other banks, against all of which it keeps 40 to 50 per cent. of reserve. The long and short is, that the ultimate banking reserve of the United Kingdom is not more than 10.2 per cent. of the liabilities. And this Mr. Goschen considers inadequate, decidedly so.

But there is a quantity of gold coin in circulation, in the pockets of the people, estimated at 65 to 70 millions sterling. This is necessary for daily transactions, since there are no circulating notes in England of less denomination than £5. It would be possible, however, to make an issue of £1 notes, and to capture a gold sovereign for each note thus put into circulation. Mr. Goschen says that he would rather have 20 millions of gold in a reserve than 30 millions in the pockets of the people: it would be so much more available in case of a crisis. Therefore he proposes to make an issue of £1 notes, and with the gold thus taken up from the circulation to create what he calls a "second banking reserve," the first one being what is now kept by the bank.

It is easy enough to steer 20 millions of this circulating gold into the bank vaults. Practically, it would only be necessary for the bank to post a notice that it would give one-pound notes in exchange for gold to the extent of 20 millions. The gold would come in with a rush, because the notes are so much more convenient to carry and to transfer from place to place. But when the gold is "corralled" and dubbed second banking-reserve, what next? What is to be done with it? What are the conditions upon which it can be made to answer the purposes of a reserve? A reserve is made to be used, not to be looked at. What is the difference between a first reserve and a second reserve? Are they to be kept in different boxes? Suppose that the joint-stock banks, which now keep a 10 per cent. reserve in cash at the Bank of England, should lower it to 8 per cent.—Mr. Goschen says that they have lowered it from 12 per cent. to 10 per cent. within ten years. Would not the condition then be about what it is now?

These questions are still unsettled in Mr. Goschen's mind. He says that he has had consultations with the Bank authorities on the subject of the second banking reserve, but has not come to any conclusion as to the details. The fact that he cannot control the joint-stock and private banks, who are able to draw down their deposits at the Bank of England at their own free will and pleasure, is the sticking point. He holds up for admiration the law of the United States which requires of national banks a 25 per cent. reserve as against deposits, but does not say that he shall propose a similar law for Great Britain. He probably feels very much as the New York Legislature would feel if it were asked to pass a law to prevent Drexel, Morgan & Co. from drawing their money out of any Clearing-house bank where they habitually keep it. The utmost that Mr. Goschen promises to do is to bring in a bill to provide for more frequent publication of bank statements.

"Banking," says a writer in the *Economist*, "is the art of handling other people's money. It is an art much in demand and extremely useful, and all who have money are concerned in its improvement, but no such art has ever gained much by Government interference." This thought, sound to the core, is evidently dominant in the public opinion of England. It is this which restrains Mr. Goschen from creating his second banking reserve in a hurry, or from indicating, as yet, what method he will adopt to impound the twenty millions of gold when he gets it. The world of finance will watch the process with the keenest interest.

Another measure considered by Mr. Goschen is the issuing of ten-shilling notes against silver. This plan, if it can be called such, is also in an inchoate state in his mind. He does not tell us whether the silver

against which the ten-shilling notes should be issued would be subsidiary silver or not. Probably it would be, since England has no legal ratio between silver and gold. If it is subsidiary silver, the question will arise why any should be kept, since nobody would "run" the bank for subsidiary coins, which could not be exported except at a heavy loss. The whole speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer is suggestive rather than conclusive, and, if not followed by definite action, will scarcely add to his reputation as a financier.

THOMAS PAINE'S FIRST ESSAY.

NEW YORK, January 29, 1891.

IN his second *Crisis*, Thomas Paine, addressing Lord Howe, writes: "I have likewise an aversion to monarchy, as being too debasing to the dignity of man; but I never troubled others with my notions till very lately, nor ever published a syllable in England in my life." It has been alleged that this is inconsistent with his having written in 1772 'The Case of the Officers of Excise.' This, however, though printed, was not published until 1793. It was an official document which Paine had been appointed by his fellow-excisemen to draw up for submission to Parliament. One writer says his "Song on the Death of Gen. Wolfe" was published in the *Gentleman's Magazine;* but though written at Lewes, England, it was first published in the *Pennsylvania Magazine*. Mr. W. H. Burr maintains that Paine, under the name "Casca," wrote numbers of the English *Crisis* during the year 1775, beginning in April. This is disproved by the intrinsic evidences in Casca's essays that he was then in London, whereas Paine was certainly in America throughout 1775, editing the *Pennsylvania Magazine*. An interview with Rush, in the latter part of March, and another with Franklin in October, are also on record. There is no reason whatever to doubt Paine's statement that he had published nothing in England. The cause of America, he says, made him an author. It is nevertheless true that his earliest essay, which I have just found, was a plea for the American slave.

The only mention I have seen of this essay is in the letter written by Dr. Rush, July 17, 1809, to James Cheetham, for his hostile biography of Paine:

"About the year 1773 I met him accidentally in Mr. Aitkin's bookstore, . . . Soon afterwards I read a short essay with which I was much pleased, in one of Bradford's papers, against the slavery of the Africans in our country, and which I was informed was written by Mr. Paine. We met soon afterwards, in Mr. Aitkin's bookstore, where I did homage to his principles and pen upon the subject of the enslaved Africans. He told me the essay to which I alluded was the first thing he had ever published in his life."

The date "1773" is erroneous, Paine having arrived in America November 30, 1774. There are other mistakes in Dr. Rush's letter—among them, pretty certainly, his report of Paine's words, for the anti-slavery essay did not appear until March 8, 1775, and before that Paine had entered on his work of editing Mr. Aitkin's *Pennsylvania Magazine*, and had published several articles therein. What Paine told Dr. Rush was, no doubt, that the anti-slavery essay was the first he had ever written or offered for publication. The essay was published in the *Postscript to the Pennsylvania Journal*, and contains several points that would hardly have been addressed to a public made frantic by the tea-riots in the latter part of 1774. It was no doubt written about the middle of that December, or before, and prudently delayed by Bradford. Whether it be that Paine's biographers and editors were misled by Dr. Rush's report of the author's words, or that the essay seemed to them too orthodox to be genuine, they have left it buried in the old journal, and our histories of the anti-slavery movement have neglected this early and remarkable manifesto of Abolitionism.

From the first part, a burning denunciation of the slave trade, I will quote two passages bearing striking resemblance to parts of the original Declaration of Independence:

"The Managers of that Trade themselves, and others, testify that many of these African nations inherit fertile countries, are industrious farmers, enjoy plenty, and lived quietly, averse to war, before the Europeans debauched them with liquors, and bribing them against one another, and that these inoffensive people are brought into slavery by stealing them, tempting kings to sell subjects, which they can have no right to do, and hiring one tribe to war against another, in order to catch prisoners. By such wicked and inhuman ways the English are said to enslave towards one hundred thousand yearly, of which thirty thousands are supposed to die by barbarous treatment in the first year; besides all that are slain in the unnatural wars excited to take them. So much innocent blood have the Managers and Supporters of this inhuman trade to answer for to the common Lord of all!" "Too many nations enslaved the prisoners they took in war. But to go to nations with whom there is no war, who have no way provoked, without farther design of conquest, purely to catch inoffensive people like wild beasts for slaves, is an hight of outrage against Humanity and Justice that seems left by *Heathen* nations to be practised by pretended *Christians*."

In the paragraph that was struck out of the original draft of the Declaration of Independence it is said:

"He has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people who never offended him, captivating and carrying them into slavery on another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither. This piratical warfare, the opprobrium of *infidel* powers, is the warfare of the *Christian* king of Great Britain."

Paine presently warns the country that the slaves may become a danger, "should any enemy promise them a better condition." An eliminated sentence of the Declaration charges the King with inciting the negroes against us, "thus paying off former crimes committed against the LIBERTIES of one people with crimes which he urges them to commit against the LIVES of another." In his 'Common Sense' Paine speaks of the "barbarous and hellish power which hath stirred up the Indians and Negroes to destroy us; the cruelty hath a double guilt, it is dealing brutally by us, and treacherously by them."

A few weeks after the publication of Paine's appeal for the Africans occurred the affair at Lexington. His plea for independence (January 10, 1776) was followed by his controversy with "Cato," in the *Pennsylvania Journal*, in the course of which Paine says (April 24) that America, under self-government, may be "as happy as she pleases: she hath a blank sheet to write upon. Put it not off too long." At this point he adds the italicised footnote: "*Forget not the hapless African.*" The year's tempests had not driven the slave's cause from his mind, though no one else appears to have spent a thought on the Africans, in that juncture. On June 11 the Committee was appointed to draft the Declaration, and it was no doubt Paine who endeavored to set in that foundation of liberty the stone which the builders rejected, and which afterwards ground us to powder.

Those who excluded the negro from the charter of equality had already reason to remember the warning in Paine's anti-slavery essay, that the slaves would prove a danger "should any enemy promise them a better condition." In Virginia, Lord Dunmore fulfilled that prophecy soon after it was written, but it took one hundred and eleven years to bring its full import home to those who ignored Paine's later appeal, *Forget not the hapless African!*

Paine answers the various defences of those who enslave human beings, and finds "most shocking of all" the Scriptural defence. "One would have thought none but infidel cavillers would endeavour to make them [the Scriptures] appear contrary to the plain dictates of natural light and conscience, in a matter of common Justice and Humanity; which they cannot be." The example of the Jews may not be imitated by us in slavery any more than polygamy. But "they had no permission to catch and enslave people who never injured them." "Such arguments ill become us since the time of reformation came, under Gospel light. All distinctions of nations, and privileges of one above others, are ceased. Christians are taught to account all men their neighbours, and love their neighbours as themselves." One would, he adds, almost wish some distant neighbors could carry off and enslave some thousands of us for once; "it might convince more than Reason or the Bible." But the chief design of his paper, Paine says, is not to disprove these arguments, which many have done—

"but to intreat Americans to consider:

"(1.) With what consistency or decency they complain so loudly of attempts to enslave them, while they hold many hundred thousands in slavery; and annually enslave many thousands more, without any pretence of authority or claim upon them?

"(2.) How just, how suitable to our crime is the punishment with which Providence threatens us! We have enslaved multitudes, and shed much innocent blood in doing it, and now are threatened with the same. And while other evils are confessed, and bewailed, why not this especially, and publicly, than which no other vice, if all others, has brought so much guilt on the land.

"(3.) Whether, then, all ought not immediately to discontinue and renounce it, with grief and abhorrence? Should not every society bear testimony against it, and account obstinate persisters in it bad men, enemies of their country, and exclude them from fellowship, as they often do for much lesser faults.

"(4.) The great Question may be—What should be done with those who are enslaved already? To turn the old and infirm free would be injustice and cruelty; they who enjoyed the labours of their better days should keep and treat them humanely. As to the rest, let prudent men, with the assistance of legislatures, determine what is practicable for masters, and best for them. Perhaps some would give them lands upon reasonable rent; some, employing them in their labor still, might give them some reasonable allowances for it; so as all may have some property, and fruits of their labours at their own disposal, and be encouraged to industry; the family may live together, and enjoy the natural satisfaction of exercising relative affections and duties, with civil protection, and other advantages, like fellow-men. Perhaps they might sometimes form useful barrier settlements on the frontiers. Thus they may become interested in the public welfare, and assist in promoting it, instead of being dangerous, as now they are, should any enemy promise them a better condition.

"(5.) The past treatment of Africans must naturally fill them with abhorrence of Christians; lead them to think our religion would make them more inhuman savages if they embraced it; thus the gain of that trade has been pursued in opposition to the Redeemer's cause, and the happiness of men: Are we not, therefore, bound in duty to him and to them, to repair these injuries, as far as possible, by taking some proper measures to instruct not only the slaves here, but the Africans in their own

countries? Primitive Christians labored always to spread their *Divine Religion;* and this is equally our duty while there is an Heathen nation. But what singular obligations are we under to these injured people?

"These are the sentiments of

"JUSTICE AND HUMANITY."

It will be observed that Paine was at this time a devout Christian; but his heresies, written twenty years later, are potential, so to say, in his apology for some of the Jewish records, and what he says of "natural light." Dr. Rush says that after Paine's return from France to America he did not meet him. "His principles, avowed in his 'Age of Reason,' were so offensive to me that I did not wish to renew my intercourse with him." The negations of that work are, however, moderate compared with those of many authors in our time whose writings are treated with respect by all; and it is but fair that an Age of Toleration should renew our acquaintance with this early advocate of American independence and negro emancipation.

I may add that Paine's *Pennsylvania Magazine* (1775) exposed the absurdity and criminality of duelling, denounced cruelty to animals (then unprotected by any statute), and pointed out the wrongs of woman. I believe the articles alluded to to be from his pen; but at any rate these seeds of large movements were sown by his magazine, within the first year after his arrival in this country.

MONCURE D. CONWAY.

THE PUBLIC RECORDS IN ENGLAND.

LONDON, December, 1890.

To one conscious of our own national system for the preservation of records, there is much to learn in the methods of this country, which are centralized in the Public Record Office in Chancery Lane. The progress of the movements which have resulted in the present conditions here can be readily matched with ourselves, if we are wise enough to move forward in much the same way, for the circumstances in England fifty years ago were not far from the same which prevail with our Government to-day. No one is more conversant with the shortcomings of our present system, or lack of system, than the historical student; and these defects come from the want of continuity and long-developed skill in office, and the subjection of the highest interests of historical research to the caprices of political appointments to the office of archivist. I have applied to two of the principal Cabinet departments in Washington within five years for sight of documents which I knew they possessed, and have been told that such documents were not in the departments; but subsequent appeals to the heads of those departments led to special search, and the documents were found stowed away perhaps in some uninspected cupboard.

Nor is this all. The growth of a proper archivistic sentiment has been a slow one, and it has by no means yet attained a satisfactory development everywhere. It is only of late years, comparatively, that a public officer did not feel at liberty to appropriate to himself the official documents which have accrued on his hands. There have been crude notions that such papers were so far personal that in case the officer's administration should be attacked at a later day, he had a right to the possession of the papers which would serve for his defence. I have had in my hands, within two years, the papers of a Secretary of the Navy of the United States seventy-five years ago, which are in the possession of a descendant of that Cabinet officer; and nearly every paper ought to be in the files of the Department at Washington, for they embraced the official reports of naval commanders from different parts of the globe. There was, however, in those days no clear conception of the Government's rights to the possession of such papers, and it was no discredit to the incumbent of such a high office that he claimed these papers as his personal property, if he thought anything of the matter at all. Even so late as our Civil War only, the papers of commanders of fleets went into the public archives; and no one knows so well as Prof. Soley, who is now arranging for the Navy Department its records to illustrate the service of the navy during that war, how deficiently represented some events are, because the papers of the commanders of ships in such fleets were kept—lawfully enough—by such officers, and can only now be found by searching them out through the breadth of the country.

I am also afraid it is not yet regulated as it should be, that the papers of our American consuls in foreign lands are transmitted by each to their successors or to the State Department in turn; but much has been done to improve this branch of the service. I should not feel at all certain that something might not at any time happen, particularly if some years had elapsed, equivalent to what was experienced by an historical investigator within a few years. In the study of certain delicate relations of the Government, incident to the outbreak of a war, a consul of the United States was instructed as to the course he should pursue. Application was made forty years afterwards at the Department in Washington to see those instructions, and permission was refused as involving acts which the time had not come to disclose. The same investigator afterwards traced from the family of the Consul the papers of that official, and recovered the original despatch in question, of which the Department preserved the copy. Applying later at the same office for permission to see such portions as would not jeopardize the public interests, the paper was laid before him with some portions hidden from view, and the man, who had the original or another copy of it in his pocket, found out just precisely what the Department felt, if published, would be detrimental to the public interests. There is something farcical in all this, and it places the haphazard management of our public papers in the most unsatisfactory light. There is no doubt much is doing to regulate things better, but progress is not as rapid as one would wish, and it can never be brought towards a reasonable degree of perfection until something like a regulated tradition and practised scrutiny is established, as the result of a service independent of political interference.

Before the institution of the Public Record Office here in London, under the control of the Master of the Rolls, the records of the Government were scattered in perhaps sixty different depositories in this great metropolis; and although they were cared for with more intelligence, I fear, than has been the case with us, or could be the case without a reformed civil service, there was a sensible lack of permanence in that they were not massed and subjected to constant control, animated by a single purpose. This was effected by the institution of this Public Record Office. I went all over it the other day under the guidance of its chief executive, the Deputy Keeper of the Records. It is a stone structure with iron stacks and slate shelving. I could not but remark, however, that with all these precautions against conflagrations, there were still open soft-coal fires for heating the offices and the various rooms where investigators work; lanterns used to thrid the dark passages to search for the papers wanted; and even an open grate in full blast, with paper shavings littering the floor, in the apartment where paste was boiled and repairs made upon old parchments and manuscripts. Much can be pardoned in efforts to make foggy, smoky, dismal London habitable; but there seems something yet for them to learn in these matters. They had, indeed, in a part of the building just introduced the incandescent electric light; but when one hears a description of the time wasted and temper spoiled in any of these departments in order to get the attention and help of such other departments as those of Public Works and of the Stationery Office, if even a trifling expense is necessary to introduce some improvement, one is inclined to think that the English monarchy, with all its administrative checks and democratic supervision, shows a graft of obstacles to promptness and efficiency to which American republicanism, with its autocratic tendency, presents a strange contrast.

I saw the other day an important officer of a great Government institution trying to do his work at midday by the light of an ill placed electric light, because the Department of Works had persistently disregarded his requests for a more convenient light. He longed for something of that spirit of autocracy which overleaps the obstacles of the martinet and dares to take responsibility. Such a bill as that which is now protecting Gen. Casey from official impertinences at Washington, and enables a tried officer to make commendable progress in constructing a new building for the Library of Congress, and to have the single-minded spending of seven millions of dollars, is unheard of in British legislation. It has its dangers, but unimpeded authority in some things is worth the risk. Nations have their compensations. We throw obstacles in the way of proficient service in some things; they throw it in others. We have both to learn of each other.

The Public Record Office is a good school of instruction in its peculiar province. Take its relations with any one of the departments of Government—say the Home Office, where I spent an hour or two yesterday in studying the methods of preserving its papers. I have before me two documents which indicate some of the care and discrimination called for. One is "A list and particulars of classes of documents existing or accruing in the Home Department which are not considered of sufficient public value to justify their preservation in the Public Record Office." Then follow perhaps seventy classes of documents, each often subdivided into from two to ten more confined classes. Each of these divisions has set against it the figures 5, 10, 20, or 30, which means that those number of years must elapse before any supposed valueless papers can be taken out for conversion into pulp—this being the mode of destruction. Then another printed list is entitled "Rules for the preservation of valuable and the destruction of valueless documents in the Home Office." Any rules like these necessarily leave much to the discretion of trained officers; and so it is brought about that this sifting of papers for destruction is subjected to reduplicated scrutiny before the choice is finally confirmed. What is left is sent to the Public Record Office, with stated instructions as to the use which the public can be allowed to make of them. It must be a very exceptional case that anybody can inspect the papers kept back from the Record Office for administrative purposes;

and as a rule no one can inspect those sent to the Record Office, if of date later than 1760, unless by permission of the Home Secretary. An historical writer like Lecky may get such permission; but the Office reserves the right to inspect his note-books before he can take them away, so as to prevent premature or unadvisable publicity. Though the judges have the authority to summon any such restricted paper into court, if the Office intimates the imprudence of publication, the point is rarely pressed by the court.

Then the Rolls House, in connection with the Record Office, is constantly printing for public distribution those large volumes which give abstracts or calendars of the documents which are back of 1760, and brought from the departmental offices; but, after the printing and before the publication, the volume must be submitted to the head of the particular department concerned, and he may or may not order its publication; and instances of restraining the publication for longer or shorter periods do occur. It may also happen that successive heads of departments, with the change of governments, may not agree on the question of publication, so that one government may direct publications which a succeeding government judges to be embarrassing. But these things are necessarily classed among the defects of human judgment, not to be prevented and not easy to regulate.

The offices of Government keep three sizes of official paper, and the size is indicative of the character of the document, and is a guide in classification. The ordinary foolscap is the regular official communication. The quarto sheet is the semi-official letter. The note size is the confidential and personal correspondence. A large part of this latter kind of communication never gets into the archives of the Office or of the Public Record Office, and they are the proof of the necessity that an historian should in due time find access to the private papers of a statesman and politician, if he would understand the secret purposes of leaders of Government and parties. It is this that has made of so much importance the memoirs and correspondence of political characters of the past in English history, as in that of other lands. So it appears that ministers to-day carry from office not the least considerable part of the historical material which must be a necessity to coming writers, and there is much the same necessity of guarding these private repositories against inquisitors as there is in the public archives. The awkwardness of the matter is that they are beyond official control, and statesmen in power have little to depend on to avoid such embarrassments but the general conservatism of the English character. Mishaps from such leakings do happen, and one is now under consideration—or at least a paper kept secluded in the Record Office has been made public which might well have come from a private repository where it was preserved in another copy. Perfection in the guarding of documents is probably not possible.

The Record Office is not ample enough for its purpose, and no great number of years has elapsed since its erection. There are certain old buildings surrounding it which are far from fireproof, and which it is intended to destroy so as to make room for additional buildings. One of the causes of the rapid growth of the collection is the accumulation of duplicates of papers and the amassing of papers of little or no value among the quantities turned in from all these sixty independent repositories when the office was established. Therefore a few years ago her Majesty gave her approval to an act which enables the custodians of the Record Office to convert, as they have done within a few years, a good many tons of paper into pulp, they being sent to the Stationery Office for the purpose. The rules under which the committee of three who ultimately decide the fate of a document act are very stringent, and they involve ceaseless scrutiny of even minor attachments or endorsements, printed lists of proposed sacrifices of papers, and the needful examination of such lists by those classes of officials who have particular concern with papers of the sort.

JUSTIN WINSOR.

FATEHPUR.

INDIA, December, 1890.

AGRA is the show city of India. It has, indeed, nothing of the same type with the wonders of Madura and Benares. In Madura the pagodas, or pavilions, are more towering than anything else in the heathen world. In Benares the line of palatial temples, unbroken for a mile along the river-front, has no rival anywhere. But in Agra forts, palaces, mosques, and especially tombs, are architecturally of a higher type, and waken a more diversified interest. The fame of these marvels, especially that of the Taj, has echoed through the world. Hence a stranger approaches them with extravagances of expectation which nothing can satisfy.

Fatehpur, two and twenty miles from Agra, in a dry and thirsty land scarcely habitable but for governmental irrigating canals, and distant from railroads, is little known and less visited. Accordingly the traveller who turns aside from the beaten path, discovers it with the zest of surprise. His wonder grows as he finds the ruins as solitary and tenantless as Pompeii, and in such perfect preservation that he refuses to call them ruins at all. Fatehpur was founded by Akbar, the greatest of the Great Moguls, about 1570, and, in the judgment of the highest Indian authorities, is the most express and lively image of his genius so far as bodied forth architecturally; for Agra was the creation of many emperors, while Fatehpur began and ended with Akbar. He made it all.

His works there stand on a steep hill or acropolis rising sharply from the dead level of a wide prairie. His choice may have been determined by a site so defensible and commanding. Lack of water forced him to make Agra as a twin capital, but he kept on building in Fatehpur, where his grandest edifice was not finished till the forty-sixth year of his reign. Akbar's choice of a site may also have been fixed on Fatehpur by a quarry, close at hand and inexhaustible, of the richest red sandstone. This quarry still sends building material to Agra.

The walls of Fatehpur, on low land circling the hill, were seven miles in circuit, and are still standing. The handiwork of Akbar on the height includes a triumphal arch, castle gateways, mosques, halls of audience and judgment, tombs, stables, hospices or rest-houses for pilgrims, and a vast number of apartments, which move the more of wonder because their purpose is not known, and is often beyond probable conjecture. All seem built to last for ever. Red sandstone is throughout the chief material for pavements, walls, pillars, and even roofs. It was quarried in masses so large, and those combined so artistically, that not only broad corridors, but broader rooms are thus covered. But the widest spaces are overarched by sandstone domes. Some of these are *sui generis*, in a style suggested by the long slabs of sandstone. The greatest astonishment of visitors is, however, excited by the air of freshness and newness in every hall and room, as if the masons had just made all ready for furnishing. No stucco, plaster, or paint has ever marred the smooth-hewn surfaces. In places it is inlaid with many-colored stones; sometimes it is carved in low relief, sometimes marble veneers are pieced so delicately as to be mistaken for lace curtains, or are floreated in more exquisite patterns than the grain of sandstone allows.

The approach to Akbar's edifices is by ascending a staircase thirty feet high. This construction is similar to the ascent to the Propylæa before the Athenian Acropolis. But the portal above—which serves alike for the gateway of the wall and for an arch of triumph—belittles everything in Athens. It is twice as high as the Parthenon itself ever was, and, indeed, is perhaps the highest ever reared. The height above the threshold is 130 feet. Was there ever any other city gate so high? If the staircase which forms its pedestal be added, the altitude—160 feet—will equal that of Napoleon's grand arch in Paris, which is far the highest ever built. Akbar's arch is adorned with polychrome floreated inlays, and on a band of cream-colored sandstone, enclosing its entrance on each side, we read, if we know Arabic, its date, A. D. 1601, and the words: "Jesus, on whom be peace, said, 'The world is a bridge; pass over it, but build no house on it. The world endures but an hour; spend it in devotion.'"

The wooden gate, beneath a demi-dome, is thrown back far in the gateway. It is a foot thick, has a wicket, and has many a horse-shoe ornament nailed upon it. Passing within we are in a court 444 feet by 372. A broad corridor runs round it, behind which on two sides are many scores of rooms of rest for wayfarers, ever hospitable to all comers. On our left is a mosque said to be a copy of that in Mecca. Its floor and walls are polished marble, and its vast domes rich in ornament. In this court is the tomb, in the highest Moslem style, of Selim, a fakir or hermit held in highest honor by Akbar, and who died in 1571. The story is that Akbar was overwhelmed in sadness when, visiting Selim here, he was told by him that he could never have a son living to succeed him unless some one would die to secure him that boon. The son of Selim, however, a precocious little child, seeing Akbar's gloom, cried out, "I will die for you!" and did die at once. This child's tomb is on the left, just outside the court. Another gate of this court is a worthy pendant to the grand portal. Passing in, we come to Akbar's seat of judgment between the lower and higher courts of justice. Round the former are rooms of rest for suitors waiting for the imperial decisions.

Beyond these courts are many smaller buildings well suited to human uses. There is a little mosque for women—three dainty dwelling-houses, with walls abounding in reliefs and inlays both on sides and ceilings, as well as light marble trellises. These were abodes of three of Akbar's wives, one Hindu, one Moslem, one Christian. The last is identified by certain Greek crosses and the wings of the Angel of Annunciation. The abode of another of the imperial favorites is now used as a school-house where a hundred children of neighboring peasants are instructed. Another structure with more than a hundred pillars rises to the height of five stories. Others, fantastic and freakish, are nondescripts, yet all of choice stones and goodly, with not an inlay effaced and not a flower obscured. Others are said by antiquaries to be intended for games like

blindman's buff, or chess-boards, where each check is a foot square.

Further within is the stable. Stalls for 106 horses are still perfect even to rings in the rock for halters. Others are ready for camels and elephants. The gate in the rear of the palace is twofold, inner and outer, in order to be more defensible. On each side of the outer entrance stand two elephants of more than life size, and placed so high that their trunks could interlock over the keystone of the gate. In truth they did till broken off by Aurung-Zeb in an iconoclastic fit, in which he also broke off the heads of many elaborate carvings in the queenly apartments. Below the elephant gate a monument seventy feet high marks the grave of Akbar's favorite elephant. It is stuck full of elephants' tusks cut in stone. On the high platform around it Akbar is said to have stood for shooting the wild beasts which were driven near it.

The Great Mogul's Fatehpur is a greater solitude than any desert without buildings. Loneliness is wonderfully intensified as we behold what was meant for many all alone. The feeling is cumulative as one wanders all day about the majestic pile — many houses, great and fair, without inhabitant save the school-children in a corner where they might well be passed unseen. Prescott says that no man ever spent so much on a building as the outlay of Philip II. on the Escorial. After a survey of that gloomy gridiron as well as of Fatehpur, the writer is inclined to think that the latter cost more labor. At all events, Fatehpur, which was in building during the self-same years with the Escorial, is a far pleasanter curiosity to behold and to remember. But neither of these monstrosities could have been reared by the hands of freemen, and each of them affords one of the saddest as well as most gigantic illustrations of

"The enormous faith of many made for one."

Correspondence.

TEACHERS IN COLLEGES FOR WOMEN.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: My attention has been called to the following words in an editorial article in the *Nation* of February 19, in regard to the teachers in colleges for women:

"The woman's college necessarily practises, more or less strictly, a system of seclusion for its students. It has a staff of celibate [women] instructors living within its own boundaries. It follows, from the nature of the case, that students are largely restricted to the influence of the feminine intellect, both within and without the lecture-room. It is not assuming too much to say that such men as find their way as professors to the women's colleges are, with a few notable exceptions, the most inexperienced of their profession, who are using the post in hand as a stepping-stone towards the first vacancy they can fill in a non-feminine institution."

I quote these lines merely to draw attention to the fact that they do not at all apply to the teachers in the Harvard Annex, nor to the life of the students there. There is no "system of seclusion" there; there is no "staff of celibate [women] instructors living within its own boundaries"; and certainly "such men as find their way as professors" to that institution are not "among the most inexperienced of their profession."

The students at the Harvard Annex are treated as if they were women with a purpose, who had advanced beyond the period of leading-strings; there are no women among the instructors; and the "men who find their way as professors" to its class-rooms are men who have previously been appointed to corresponding positions in Harvard College.

Doubtless there are other colleges to which your remarks in these respects do not apply, though the exceptions will not at all lessen the value of your statement that "the influence of the masculine upon the feminine mind, or the reverse," is good for both.

Arthur Gilman.

The Harvard Annex, Feb. 20, 1891.

A CARICATURE.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: As one of Sylvester's pupils, I wish to express my regret that the *Nation* should have reproduced a passage so ill-calculated to give a correct impression either of his personality or of his influence, as that which was quoted in a note in your current issue. The intention of the writer may have been good enough, but no reader would gather, from what he says, that Sylvester's bursts of "rhetoric" were merely the overflow of that burning enthusiasm for his science which animated him constantly, which inspired his pupils (at least for the time) with something of the same ardor, and which enabled him, when past the age of seventy, to kindle a remarkable mathematical revival at Oxford upon his return to England. It is to be regretted that if any personal sketch was to be presented to readers who have not known Sylvester, it should have been one showing such bad taste, and preceded by the use of a silly nickname which, I believe—and for the credit of Johns Hopkins students' sense and breeding I trust that I am right—was never in use among the students at Baltimore. X.

February 22, 1891.

THE NEW WORKINGMEN'S INSURANCE LAW IN GERMANY.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: This law went into effect on the 1st of January, 1891, and to-day, in the *Tägliche Rundschau* of Berlin, occurs the following item, which shows the interest already taken by the people: "Up to date [January 29], in this city, 100 persons have received aid by means of the new Insurance Law, and in a few weeks the number will have reached 300. The workmen of Berlin who have already received their insurance cards number 650,000."

It may not be without interest to your readers to learn some of the practical workings of this law. All persons who have passed their sixteenth year and who earn their living by daily labor *must* insure themselves. This class includes all dependent workmen, clerks, apprentices, naval laborers, and all who have a business of their own the income of which does not exceed 2,000 marks. With those persons who have not yet passed their fortieth year, and who have worked themselves out of the above-mentioned classes, the insurance obligation is optional.

The applicant for insurance receives free an authorized insurance card from the appointed official in the district where he lives. This card is ruled off with fifty-two different spaces to be filled by insurance stamps differing according to the class in which he belongs. Class i. includes those whose yearly income does not exceed 350 marks; class ii., those whose income is 350 to 550 marks; class iii., 550 to 850 marks; class iv., over 850 marks. In class i. the stamp costs 14 pfennigs; in class ii., 20 pfennigs; in class iii., 24 pfennigs; in class iv., 30 pfennigs.

Although this card is intended to be filled with fifty-two stamps, the law allows forty-seven as a yearly minimum guarantee of insurance. When the card is full, it must be exchanged at the district office for a new one, and the owner is credited with the amount of his old card. If one of these cards should accidentally be lost, the laborer must immediately announce the fact to the authorities of his district, and furnish proof as to the amount it represented, upon which a new one will be issued covering the loss. Those who are drawn for military service are exempted from paying their insurance charges as long as their work is in that department, and their insurance account passes on into class ii. for that length of time.

Insurance stamps are sold at all post-offices, and are bought by the employer. It is his business to have them placed weekly on his workman's card. On payment of wages he has the right to deduct half of the cost of the stamps, bearing himself also half of the burden. In case the laborer is an odd-jobber rather than a steady employee, the person who first hires him in the week must pay the employer's share of the stamp. In this class are commissioners, messengers, and persons working by the hour or day. Should a man be compelled to stop work on account of illness, his insurance continues without payment of stamps, on the evidence of a physician's certificate as to the nature and duration of his illness.

A workingman desiring to increase his insurance may be reckoned in a higher class than his income naturally places him, by paying the premium of that class. The class of persons with whom the insurance obligation is optional *must insure at their own cost entirely.*

Now as to the benefits of the insurance. Every insured person receives fifty marks yearly from the Government at the expiration of his term. One who has a claim on the invalid's annuity receives, in addition to the Government allowance, sixty marks yearly from the Association. Any person has a right to such an annuity who is unable to work, *i. e.*, is in such health that he is not able to earn the minimum yearly wage. Exceptions to this are such as have made themselves unfit for work by attempting suicide or by committing crimes which bring them into prison. And if a workman is unfitted for labor on account of accident, then he receives help on condition that he is not a beneficiary of an Accident Insurance Association. Before he can claim an invalid's annuity he must have paid into the treasury the value of two hundred and thirty-five weekly stamps; but in this number are included also those which were not paid during temporary illness or military service. The invalid's claim being granted by the Association, his account with the treasury stands thus: He receives first his grant of fifty marks yearly from the Government and the sixty marks annuity of the Insurance Corporation; second, for every stamp which he has paid he receives back a percentage of the same in the following manner—for every fourteen-pfennig stamp, two pfennigs; for every twenty-pfennig stamp, six pfennigs; for every twenty-four pfennig stamp, nine pfennigs, and for every thirty-pfennig stamp, thirteen pfennigs. The time of his illness and that spent in military service is reckoned in class ii. at six pfennigs per week.

To explain further, let it be supposed that an invalid has laid his claim before the Association, and, at the time of his petition, has to his credit 100 stamps in class i., 150 stamps in class ii., 50 stamps in class iii., and 300 stamps in class iv. He has also been sick forty weeks,

and has spent ten weeks in military service. In such a case the man's account should be this :

Government grant	50 marks	
Annuity from the Association	60 marks	
100 stamps in class i.	2 marks	
150 stamps in class ii.	9 marks	
50 stamps in class iii.	4 marks	50 pf'gs
300 stamps in class iv.	39 marks	
40 weeks' sickness	2 marks	40 pf'gs
10 weeks in military service		60 pf'gs
	167.50	

There is a "recommendation to mercy" in the operation of the law during the next five years, which may be illustrated as follows : A man on the first of January, 1892, becomes an invalid. Up to that time he has paid for 50 stamps, but then fail 185 stamps. If this man can prove that for five years before he became an invalid he was a workman in good standing, the authorities *may* allow his claim to an invalid's annuity.

The payment of this annuity to the invalid takes place monthly at the post-office of the district in which he lives. Sometimes, when an invalid is a forest or farm laborer, he may receive two-thirds of his allowance in kind, and a man proved to be a drunkard *must* be paid in food and clothes. In making claim to an annuity, the petition is first sent to the head office of the district in which the insured resides. If the claim is granted, the man receives a notice as to where and when he will be paid. If it is not granted, the petitioner has four weeks in which to make an appeal to an arbitrating council composed of two insurance officers, an employer, and a workman, chosen from the insurance circles. If this council refuses to allow the man's claims, he has as a last resort an appeal to the Government Insurance Commission.

The workman who reaches seventy years without necessity for invalid insurance has a claim to an "old-age" annuity. If for any reason he is receiving aid from an accident-insurance association, then the old-age annuity is only allowed so far as is necessary to make with the two an allowance of 415 marks yearly. Before one can have any claim at all, however, he must have registered to his credit 1,410 stamps. The petitioner in this case, as in the other, receives first the 50 marks from the Government, and then the following percentage on the stamps paid in: For every stamp in class i. he receives 4 pfennigs; in class ii., 6 pfennigs; in class iii., 8 pfennigs; and in class iv., 10 pfennigs.

As only 1,410 weekly payments are permitted to draw any insurance, if more than that number have been paid, a certain percentage of the amount is reckoned in the higher classes. For example: A laborer has, at the end of his seventieth year, 1,800 payments credited to him, 500 of which are in class i., 400 in class iii., and 900 in class iv. Further, he was for forty weeks sick and fifty weeks in the military service, so that ninety weeks are counted in class ii. In such a case the reckoning would be—900 payments in class iv., 400 in class iii., 90 in class ii., and 20 in class i. Consequently, 480 of the class i. payments are not counted, and the man's bill against the Insurance Association would be as follows :

Government grant	50 marks	
900 stamps in class iv.	90 marks	
400 stamps in class iii.	32 marks	
90 stamps in class ii.	5 marks	40 pf'gs
20 stamps in class i.		80 pf'gs
	178.20	

As in the invalid's case, there are certain instances in which the operations of the law may be considerably shortened, so that men now in advanced life may not be entirely shorn of its advantages. For instance: The law allows the workingman who, on the 1st of January, 1891, was over forty years of age, to diminish the number of his payments by as many times 47 (minimum yearly amount of payment) as he has years in excess of forty. If he is forty-four years of age, 47 is multiplied by 4, which yields 188, and he then needs only to make 1,222 payments before he receives his age annuity. And if a workman was seventy years of age when this law came into effect, he multiplies 47 by 30, which gives 1,410, and, therefore, is not compelled to pay anything, provided he can furnish proof that he has been in a good working condition 141 weeks just previous to the time when the law went into operation.

The payment of the age annuity takes place in the same manner as in the case of the invalid, and if the workman in this instance as in the other is a forester or farmer, he is liable to receive part of his insurance in kind ; if a drunkard, the entire allowance will be paid to him in food and clothes. This old-age claim is preferred as explained above.

The officers of the Insurance Association are allowed to grant to any insured person medicinal aid if the temporary illness is likely to develop into a prolonged illness. This feature of the law becomes of great importance since Dr. Koch's discovery of a cure for tuberculosis, as this disease predominates among the working classes. The Association has the right to command a laborer who is affected with partial tuberculosis to submit himself to the Koch treatment at the Association's expense. Should the man refuse to do this, he runs the risk of eventually losing his right to claim an invalid's annuity.

Female workers and servants who have married before any claim to insurance is valid, will receive back the half of the amount which they have paid in stamps. If a man dies before he is entitled to an annuity, his widow and children under fifteen years of age may receive the half of what has been paid by him. The children of a widow who are under fifteen years of age, are entitled, on the death of their mother, to the half of what she had paid on her insurance.

This law is emphatically a poor man's law; the employer of labor, the capitalist, and the State having no advantage whatever in its provisions. It had its inception under the "Bismarck dynasty," and bids fair to be a success under William II. J. F. WILLARD.

BERLIN, GERMANY, January 29, 1891.

Notes.

THE change is announced, since June 1, 1890, of the New York agency of Macmillan & Co. into a distinct business under the same firm-name. This house will still act as agents for the London firm of Macmillan & Co., and for the publications of the Oxford and Cambridge University Presses. The head of the business direction will be Mr. George P. Brett.

Harper & Bros. announce 'Our Italy' (*alias* Southern California), by Charles Dudley Warner; 'Reminiscences of President Lincoln,' by L. E. Chittenden; 'Oberammergau, 1890,' a poem by William Allen Butler, illustrated; a Life of Sir Robert Peel, by Justin McCarthy; 'Pharaohs, Fellahs and Explorers,' by Miss Amelia B. Edwards; and 'Lamb's Tales from Shakspere's Tragedies,' edited by Dr. W. J. Rolfe.

J. B. Lippincott Co. have in press 'The Old Navy and the New,' by Rear-Admiral Daniel Ammen; 'Aids in Practical Geology,' by G. A. J. Cole; 'An Introduction to the Study of Metallurgy,' by C. Roberts Austen; and 'The Design of Structures,' by S. Anglin.

D. Appleton & Co. will shortly publish 'A Plea for Liberty,' a body of essays by different hands, including Mr. Herbert Spencer, edited by Thomas Mackay. It is of anti-Socialistic tendency.

G. P. Putnam's Sons announce 'The Life and Writings of George Mason' of Virginia, edited by his great-granddaughter, Miss Kate Mason Rowland, in two volumes; 'The Industrial and Commercial Supremacy of England,' by the late Prof. J. E. Thorold Rogers; 'Chapters on Banking,' by Prof. Charles F. Dunbar of Harvard; and a "Darro" edition of Irving's 'Alhambra,' ornamented with Moorish designs, and illustrated with special views in photogravure.

A boy's story, 'Master Rockfeller's Voyage,' by W. Clark Russell, will be brought out, by arrangement with the author, by Thomas Whittaker.

Maj. John Johnson's 'Defense of Charleston Harbor' has been received, deservedly, with so much favor that it has already passed to a second edition. The publishers are Walker, Evans & Cogswell Co., Charleston, S. C.

We can recommend every one to procure the little pamphlet called 'Social Diseases and Worse Remedies' (Macmillan), in which are bound up Prof. Huxley's ten letters to the *Times* on the subject of Gen. Booth's new scheme for Darkest England, together with a short preface, an essay on "The Struggle for Existence in Human Society," and the "articles of war" of the Salvation Army, the form of application for appointment as an officer in that army, the doctrines and the declaration. In fact, these extraordinary official documents are alone worth the price of the pamphlet to any thoughtful person.

The late Gen. Sherman, shortly before his death, arranged for the continued publication of his 'Personal Memoirs' through Chas. L. Webster & Co. of this city, who accordingly have just brought out this ever-instructive and captivating work in a style uniform with the Memoirs of Grant and Sheridan—a conjunction which must be allowed to be most fitting. The edition is numbered the third, but it has no fresh preface. The second was issued in 1885.

As we have noted before, 'Adventures on the Mosquito Shore,' by E. G. Squier (Worthington Co.), is a reprint of 'Waikna,' which dates back to 1855. Some rather curious results of the use of the old plates come to light. The pseudonym of the old title-page, "Samuel A. Bard," properly gives way to the author's real name on the new one, though the assumed name is allowed to stand in the body of the book, to the unnecessary mystification of the modern reader. The sixty illustrations of the original edition become sixty-six in the new, through the intercalation of several "process" pages and the omission of some of the old full-page wood-cuts. This accounts for the way in which p. 223 follows p. 220 in the reprint; an illustration stood there formerly. There is also a strange failure of the designer of the new illustrations to get into harmony with the editor; the frontispiece takes its text from the omitted preface of the original, and refers to page 5—a page which does not exist in the reprint. Some incidental statements of the book—as, for instance, that "paper is getting dear and scarce"—have a curious sound under date of 1891, though this particular assertion may have been made in prophetic foresight of the McKinley Bill. On the whole, the narrative retains its interest, and, with its attractive blending of fact and fancy, makes very agreeable reading.

The Scientific Publishing Co. of this city

sends us Wedding's 'Basic Bessemer Process,' translated from the German by Wm. B. Phillips and Ernst Prochaska. To those who are specially interested in iron manufacture, even if only from a purely scientific point of view, this work will be of great value. It contains a full historical account of the development of the so-called basic-lining Bessemer process as now practised in Europe, though not as yet to any great extent in this country, while a supplement by one of the translators, Mr. Prochaska, gives the details of the application of the same fundamental principle to open-hearth furnaces. The credit of the successful introduction of this first-class improvement is due to Sidney Gilchrist Thomas, whose first English patent bears date April 10, 1879. The principle involved is simple; the success of the process in removing phosphorus almost wholly from iron depending upon the fact that phosphorus, oxidized in presence of bases—lime, magnesia, etc.—yields phosphates of the bases, which may be slagged off and removed, while in the presence of silica the removal is possible only to a limited extent. The principle involved was not new, but Thomas made its application a success. The work is full of details of the application, and must take its place as a standard book of reference.

The Harvard Annex is to be credited with a piece of technical work which compares favorably with the best of that done by the young men. It is a contribution from Prof. Mark's department, the Zoölogical Laboratory, of the Museum of Comparative Zoölogy, viz., No. 7, vol. ɔx, of the Bulletin, entitled "The Origin and Development of the Central Nervous System in Limax Maximus," by Annie P. Henchman. This paper, of thirty-nine pages and ten plates, attests good powers of observation, extensive knowledge of methods in microscopy, familiarity with the literature of the subject, and ability to delineate well either in text or drawings.

Henry Drummond's latest work, 'Pax Vobiscum,' has recently been translated into Danish. The Danish translation of the same author's 'The Greatest Thing in the World' has already reached a fifth edition, and shows no signs of diminishing in popularity.

The phototype edition of the Older Edda, of which mention has already been made in these columns, will be published on or about the first of April. Subscriptions for it may still be sent, by members of the Society for the Publication of Old Norse Literature, at the reduced price of ten kroner, or by others at twenty kroner. The annual fee of the Society is five kroner, which entitles the member to the publications for the year.

According to an article in a Danish journal, the book-production of Denmark and Norway shows a decided falling off during the past two years. The number of works in the department of belles-lettres published in the two countries during 1888 amounted to 300, while in the following year it fell to 229, and in 1890 to 201, of which 79 were translations. Of the 122 original works, 100 appeared in Denmark. It must not be concluded from this, however, that Norway's literary activity is so far inferior to that of Denmark. Many of the Norwegian authors, Björnsen and Ibsen among others, invariably publish their works in Copenhagen, in order to reach a larger circle of readers, and possibly, too, in order that their books may have a better dress. It is interesting to note in this report that memoir literature is greatly on the increase in the North. Periodical literature more than holds its own in Denmark, and the decrease in the book production is undoubtedly due, for the most part, to this fact.

M. Grandidier, of the Académie des Sciences, offered last month to the Academy a note upon the origin of the name of Madagascar, which he maintains, in spite of all contentions, is not a name that was given to the island by its aborigines. The island that Marco Polo describes under the name of Madagascar, or Magastar, the country of Magdocho, was situated on the east coast of Africa, a little north of the equator. Martin Behain, misinterpreting Marco Polo, set down on his celebrated globe of 1492 a great imaginary island to which he gave the name. When the Portuguese discovered our present Madagascar (Isle St. Lawrence it was first called) in 1500, the geographers set it down in its proper place, but made no change in Martin Behain's island. This last was soon found, by navigators who sailed over its site, to be non-existent. Finally, the cartographer Oronce Finé, in 1531, put the two islands down as one, under the names of Madagascar, or St. Laurent, and to him, according to M. Grandidier, the present misnaming of the island is due.

Since the record of the will of Col. John Washington, the immigrant, was copied and produced in these columns by Mr. M. D. Conway, the original document has been discovered, and will be sold, we understand, next month in Philadelphia. A copy has been made by Dr. J. M. Toner, and will doubtless soon be published in comparisou with the more or less mutilated record.

There is an odd blending of ancient and modern in the copy of *Al-Mokattam*, the leading Arabic daily of Cairo, for January 20, 1891, with a leading article on "George Bancroft, Statesman, Historian," on the morning after the cable announced the death of Mr. Bancroft. But quite as startling are two cuts by way of advertisement, one of a well-known American hair-restorer and another of a prestidigitateur's performance.

The School of Political Science, Columbia College, is about to begin the publication of a series of monographs under the general title, "Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law," chosen mainly, but not exclusively, from among the doctors' dissertations of the School. They will be published at irregular intervals, but will be paged consecutively. "The Divorce Problem" and "History of Municipal Land Ownership on Manhattan Island" are the topics of the first two numbers.

The American Economic Association, whose Secretary is Prof. R. T. Ely, Baltimore, offers prizes for essays on the improvement of country roads and city streets; Col. Albert A. Pope of Boston supplying the sum of five hundred dollars for two prizes of $300 and $200 respectively. The essays should not exceed 25,000 words, had better be type-written, and must be in the Secretary's hands by November 15, 1892, with fictitious signatures.

—The first number of the *Economic Review*, "published quarterly for the Oxford University Branch of the Christian Social Union," made its appearance in January. The *Review* is to be devoted primarily to the discussion of the moral aspects of economic questions and economic principles; and the spirit in which this task is undertaken, as shown both by the brief editorial "programme" and by the character of the articles, is such as to warrant the expectation of much useful service in a region which is to-day of paramount interest and importance. For it is plainly not at all contemplated by the conductors of the *Review* to offer to their readers the flowing generalities of theoretical morality as the solvent of those practical difficulties which now more than ever beset those who wish to think truly and act justly in economic matters. The editors will, therefore, not endeavor "to draw a sharp line between the spheres of the economic moralist and of the scientific economist"; and they even hope to make their journal a meeting-ground for the adherents of opposing methods in economics, in the belief (which we consider well grounded) that they have much more in common than is generally supposed, and that the helping on of a better understanding between them would be a great service to economic study. The articles, which are all signed, evince in every case a spirit of candor and moderation which deserves high praise; but some of the principal articles are disappointing by reason of a want of strength or fibre. This is true of "The Ethics of Money Investment," which is well enough as far as it goes, but really leaves the question just as it finds it; "The Moral Factor in Economic Law," which lacks clearness; and "The Progress of Socialism in the United States," which, while it conveys a considerable amount of information, is too loosely put together to give one a coherent view of the situation; and this looseness is reflected in a large number of verbal inaccuracies, such as (Ely's) 'Socialist Aspects of Christianity,' instead of 'Social Aspects'; "Senator Ingolls [*sic*] spoke in the *House*"; "Brooke farm," etc. There is an able article on "Some Economic Aspects of the Eight-Hour Movement"; and the scope and utility of the *Review* may be indicated by stating that it contains, besides, articles on "The Educational Value of Coöperation" and on "Locke's Theory of Property," several vigorous book-reviews, Notes and Memoranda, and what promises to be an extremely useful department giving summaries of "Legislation, Parliamentary Inquiries, Official Returns." What is said in this last department in connection with a Parliamentary Report on Children's Life Insurance makes painful reading.

—Some light has at last been thrown on the puzzling question lately raised by us in regard to the various dates assigned for the death of Margaret Fuller Ossoli. Comparison of different copies of the original edition of her 'Memoirs' by Emerson, Clarke, and others (2 vols., Boston, 1852), shows conclusively that the original mistake was made there, in assigning (vol. ii., pp. 341–42) July 15 as the date when the *Elizabeth* reached the Jersey coast, and July 16 as the date when she was wrecked. The error was apparently at once discovered and quietly corrected in the plates, for most of the copies of that edition have the dates correctly given as July 18 and 19. But the first mistake got itself perpetuated, apparently, in the cyclopædias and other books of reference, and none of their editors seem ever to have referred to the later editions of the original Memoirs, or to the two Memoirs more recently written, all of which give the correct dates. The only exception we have yet encountered is in Mrs. Sarah K. Bolton's 'Girls who Became Famous,' where the true date is given. It is all a curious instance of the difficulty of converting history or biography into an exact science.

—A distinguished general of our civil war writes to us of the great soldier just taken from us:

"One who served as a subordinate, near to him, may be permitted to say that, when the war closed, had it been a question among his subordinates whom they would follow in another great campaign involving their lives and the fate of their country, they would unhesi-

tatingly have answered, Sherman! With him they felt sure that great results would be secured with the least expenditure of the country's greatest treasure—the life of its patriotic soldiers. His mingling of careful thought and intellectual plan with his strong blows and unflinching tenacity gave the constant and encouraging stimulus of the conviction that too much was not paid for our victories, and a succession of them would not undo us. And then to see the brusque and soldierly abruptness of common intercourse change in the fire of a great battle to a well-poised and elegant politeness—to see the quiet and calm thoughtfulness overspread his face when great things hung on the order he was to give; to feel that a great mind and heart were working more grandly under the strain of a supreme crisis in war—all this begot a faith and a courage which taught men by personal contact the value of a hero, and stimulated a personal love that made them willing to follow him out of the world in the storm of battle, or to go at his beck."

—In the tons of chaff scattered broadcast at the expense of the national Treasury, it is gratifying to find now and then a few grains of real value. With characteristic Congressional wisdom, however, the good books printed for the Government are apt to be issued in such a small edition as to be practically out of reach. Here, for example, is a series of bibliographies on the languages and customs of various Indian tribes, of each of which only a hundred copies are printed. In the particular case of Mr. Wilberforce Eames's 'Bibliographic Notes on Eliot's Indian Bible, etc.,' a very limited reprint will make its value known to bibliographers and to students generally. Mr. Eames gives a brief statement of the principal events of Eliot's life, of his labors among the Indians of New England, and of his translations into their language. He sketches the conditions upon which the work was carried on, first as an individual enterprise and then with the help of the 'Propagation Society,' and he gives the details of the expense and number of each issue of Eliot's various translations and an account of his other works. Then, with the true zeal and spirit of a professional bibliographer, Mr. Eames traces the history of these books, showing how soon they ceased to have any value for the Indians, who soon died out, and how for a century or more the books were neglected as having little or no value. Then he shows the gradual rise of a zeal for collecting Americana, so that the Bible, which originally cost seven shillings and sixpence—the copy in the Congressional Library has the price marked on the second title—is now eagerly sought for and bought after sharp competitions at $1,200 or more, and he follows the fate of well-known individual copies from hand to hand and from one collector to another. A few early copies, some in the original binding, are still piously preserved, and their story too is clearly told, while, as if by way of contrast, we see what it cost the sixth lineal descendant of Eliot himself to get a copy to present to his sister, in whose collection it naturally takes a prominent place. Then we are shown the voracious collector typified in Brinley, at whose sale his half-dozen copies were eagerly bid up, and on the other hand the conservative love of books displayed by John Carter Brown and Robert Lenox, from whose libraries the copies bought by their founders have not been allowed to go. Mr. Eames corrects some slight errors of the greatest authority on this and many other recondite subjects, Dr. J. Hammond Trumbull of Hartford. He notes the somewhat significant fact that while the second edition was still a new book as times went then, it had the odd fortune of being put under an interdict by Pope Clement, lest it should be spread through the Roman Catholic natives of the South American colonies. Perhaps equally noteworthy is the fact that one of the printers was an Indian educated at Harvard, and to his care was due the good proofreading.

—We have received from the Librarian of the Tokyo Library and Tokyo Educational Museum in Uyeno Park, Tokyo, a very interesting little pamphlet of 124 pages, 70 of which are in Chinese and Japanese and the remainder in English. It is a catalogue in summary of the books, as they are now arranged on the best American plan, in this Government library. In the addition to the treasures which are to be unlocked only by those who are familiar with Chinese characters and the Japanese *Katakana*, and of which a large part consists of history, there is an exceedingly well-arranged collection of works in foreign languages, chiefly English. These have been catalogued by Mr. I. Tanaka, who spent several months among the libraries of the United States and Europe, and has now applied to this, the chief collection of books in Japan, the methods of classification which experience in the Western World has proved to be so excellent. In the little pamphlet before us, only those foreign books which relate to Japan have been catalogued singly. The others have been grouped under special headings and subdivisions. Further, all Encyclopædias, Dictionaries, and works of reference, as also the foreign and Japanese Bibliographies and Catalogues, are arranged in special groups. A list, too, is given of the chief foreign periodicals which are taken in the library. The little pamphlet, though so modest in size and weight, is an earnest of the work that is yet to be done in exploring the region of the printed sources of knowledge in Japan. Mr. Tanaka has already begun Japanese bibliographies of special subjects, in which the literature of Japan is notably rich. Suggestions to this effect have been made by American scholars, and the work will be followed up as thoroughly as the time and money at the command of the librarian will admit.

—We note with pleasure the appearance of a new edition of the Old High German 'Monsee Fragments' by an American scholar, Mr. G. A. Hench, the publisher being Karl J. Trübner of Strassburg. It is, to be sure, a work for the specialist in Germanic philology, but as it is a pioneer venture of American scholarship into a field hitherto left altogether to the Germans, a word or two concerning it may not lack interest for the general reader. The 'Monsee Fragments' consist of the mutilated remains of a ninth-century codex which contained Matthew's Gospel, two anonymous homilies, a tractate of St. Isidore, and a sermon of St. Augustine; all in Old High German with the Latin original accompanying. The codex appears to have been written, according to the editor, in the early part of the ninth century at the monastery of Monsee in Austria. In the fifteenth century it was cut up and used for binding other codices. Towards the end of the eighteenth century these codices, together with the rest of the Monsee collection of books, were incorporated with the Imperial Library at Vienna. Here the mutilated MS. remained unnoticed until 1834, when it came under the eye of the librarian, Stephan Endlicher, who at once discerned its importance and communicated his discovery to Hoffmann von Fallersleben. The two then searched for the pieces of the codex, pieced together and deciphered what they found, and published such fragments as, when put together, made a considerable part of a page. A later editor, Massmann, added other fragments, but allowed numerous errors to creep into his work. In 1868 two more fragments were found and published by themselves. Portions of the manuscript were collated for a new edition by the late Prof. Scherer, but a new and careful collation of the whole remained a desideratum. Mr. Hench, by using a magnifier and holding the parchment up to the light, has, in spite of time, succeeded in reading the MS. more closely than any of his predecessors, and correcting many errors of omission and of commission. The text is accompanied by a grammatical treatise and a glossary. The whole, it may be added, is preliminary to a new photo-lithographic edition of the Old High German Isidore, which Mr. Hench is preparing in the intervals of professional duty at the University of Michigan. The Isidore has already been announced by Trübner as a forthcoming number of the well-known series, "Quellen und Forschungen."

—In November last the discovery of the original codex of Luther's 'Meditations on Christ's Passion' (*Betrachtungsbuch über das Leiden Christi*) was announced by the German press and created considerable excitement in antiquarian and artistic circles. It consisted of silver plates containing the text and numerous illustrations and arabesques exquisitely engraved, alternating with leaves of parchment adorned with exceedingly fine drawings. It was assumed to be the work of the famous engraver Heinrich Aldegrever of Soest, and a gift of the Elector to the reformer. Offers of purchase came from various persons, among others from the Duke of Saxe-Coburg and the German Emperor. No expert, not even the cautious and experienced Director of the Prussian Museums, Dr. J. Lessing, seems to have entertained the slightest suspicion of its genuineness. At length Prof. Wormstall of Münster, in Westphalia, began to express doubts, and his skepticism was soon shared by other connoisseurs. In consequence of the discussion thus called forth, the codex was placed on exhibition in Münster, where a young man named Karl Flüthe from the neighboring town of Telgte saw it and declared that he had made the whole of it, including the carved ivory cover, and, what was more, proved his astounding assertion by producing several of the first draughts of the designs. He then stated that during the last two years of his apprenticeship to the engraver Heck of Münster this work was given him to do by his master "for practice," and that he was kept so busily at it that he often complained of this severe task to his parents when he visited them. He had no idea of the intentions of his master in having these engravings made, and never knew what had become of them until he saw them in book-form. His models were originals of the sixteenth century contained in numerous works which his master either owned or borrowed. Heck has been arrested, and not only admits the truth of his apprentice's story, but also confesses that he has fabricated many "antiquities" in this manner and made money by it.

LESLIE'S OLD SEA WINGS.

Old Sea Wings, Ways, and Words, in the days of Oak and Hemp. By Robert C. Leslie. With illustrations by the author. London: Chapman & Hall; New York: Scribner & Welford. 1890.

It is with a feeling of regret that the timeliness of this book must be acknowledged. Old things are passing away in the sea-going world; the introduction of steam, the use of steel and iron in construction, and the multi-

plicity of complicated machines on board ship, have made great changes in the vessels that now go into deep water; and, alas, with the disappearance or diminution of sailing craft, built or framed with oak and rigged with hemp, goes much of the romance of sea-going as well as of the poetry of motion. This book, then, serves a useful and interesting purpose in keeping alive, by print and picture, the memories of ships and rigs gone or passing away, and, by recording the traditions and language of the sea and seamen, forms a link between the past and present. It is most fortunate that one so competent as Mr. Leslie proves himself to be, both with pen and pencil, has undertaken this somewhat technical work, which, with his evident tastes, must also have been to him a labor of love.

For many years sailing-vessels have given up the rôle of mail and passenger-carriers, and have been relegated to the duty of carrying freight alone; and since the appearance of the economical freight steamer of the type to which the name of "tramp" so closely clings, their work in this capacity is being restricted more and more to coarser and bulky cargoes and to the least profitable trades. One important trade, however, is left to sailing-ships, and that is the carrying-trade between England and Australia, in which the brave westerly winds in the "roaring forties" serve as a rapid and reliable means of passage. In this trade, outwards by the way of the Cape of Good Hope, and homeward by the way of Cape Horn, are to be found the best and most modern types of the sailing-vessel of the day.

The author traces through many and various stages the development of the ships and sailing-vessels of the present from the earliest known times, giving as one germ the flying proa of the Friendly Islands (known to modern geography as the Tonga group). He finds with some reason, in this primitive rig and sail, a resemblance to the wings of a flying bird. The evolution of the modern frigate-built ship is also traced in its varying stages from the xebec and galley of the ancients. The outgrowth of the yachts of the present day, both American and English, is also shown—the English cutter from the old king's and revenue cutters of former days; the American sloop yacht from the Hudson River sloop; while as progenitor of the *America* and *Sappho* type of schooner-yacht he names the New York pilot-boat. The conservatism of the sea still gives the name of revenue cutter to the steam and other vessels of our revenue marine, which are utterly unlike the revenue cutter of the eighteenth century.

The adaptation of sail, spar, and hull to local conditions of wind, weather, and topography is sketched in a readable way in the fifth chapter, excellent examples being found in the Scheveningen boats, the Italian lake craft, and the dahabeeyah of the Nile. Cases actually exist, however, as in San Francisco, where Italians import with themselves the characteristic craft of the Mediterranean, meeting occasionally vessels rigged Chinese-fashion as representatives of the extreme East and of a still older civilization. As another verification of the saying that there is nothing new under the sun, we read with interest a quotation from Le Compt, the Jesuit who, in 1690, writing of certain boats used by the Chinese for passing dangerous rapids among rocks, says: "They divided them into five or six apartments, separated by good partitions, so that when they touch at any place upon a point of rock, only one part of the boat is full, whilst the others remain dry, and give time to stop the hole." It is a singular fact, also, that the Chinese junks, notwithstanding their lumbering appearance, can, from the construction of their sails—matting stretched on bamboos—trim their sails and lay their course closer to the wind than the ordinary craft of other maritime countries. The Bermuda pilot and sail-boats are their nearest rivals, as they claim to be able to trim their booms to 15° and to be able to work readily within eight points. In treating of characteristic sail-boats the author fails to notice one distinctively American sail-boat—the cat-boat—so prevalent in and about Newport and the enclosed bays on the south side of Long Island.

We find two chapters devoted to figure-heads of ships, and, written and illustrated as they are in a most pleasing manner, they are certainly among the most entertaining in this interesting book. Wood-carving fostered in seaports by the demands for figure-heads and elaborately carved gangway boards has become almost a lost art. Of the vessels in our navy the only one in service that can be recalled with a figure-head is the *Thetis*, which carries upon her bows an effigy of the mythical mother of Achilles. Upon the departure of this vessel for her last Arctic cruise from Mare Island, this figure-head was the recipient of many floral gifts, the bright color of the California roses contrasting vividly with the pure white of her drapery.

Among other matter which the author has unearthed from the old sea literature which is to be found in England, is a narrative of the loss of the *Royal George* which will be new to many. This account, written by a survivor in the old *Penny Magazine* in 1834, states that the loss occurred as follows:

"The ship was inclined at an angle of between twenty and thirty degrees, her top-gallant masts on end, and the ship in charge of a second or third lieutenant. Admiral Kempenfeldt, of the blue, then over seventy, was being shaved in his cabin by the ship's barber, while most of the hands below were busy stowing rum casks—hoisting them in from a lighter lashed to that side of the ship into which the short spit-head sea was already washing through the lower deck ports; these ports having to be all open to allow the great guns to be run out on that side to help give the ship the required heel. Yet, so far, no anxiety about the stability of the ship seems to have been felt by any one; and, sailor-like, the men on this lower deck 'were enjoying,' says the writer, 'a rare game, hunting mice that had been driven up from below by the water in the ship's bilge.'

"The carpenter, who was superintending the work outside the ship's bottom, appears to have been the first person to think it time to make some change in the ship's position, and mounted to the quarter deck to ask the lieutenant in charge to give the order 'to right ship.' The lieutenant, however, gave him a very short answer, and the carpenter left the quarter-deck, but soon afterwards returned and repeated his request and warning. This time the reply was, 'D——e, sir, if you can manage the ship better than I can, you'd better take command.' However, shortly afterwards the lieutenant ordered the drummer to be called to beat 'to right ship.' It was too late, for, the writer says, 'there was no time for him to beat his drum, and I don't know that he even had time to get it.'"

A very wide range is taken in this book in its treatment of nautical subjects, the author entering into the much-discussed subject of the advisability of the modern cruiser carrying sail—a matter occupying naval minds both here and in Great Britain. Our lack of coaling stations makes it more pertinent to us even than to the English. However, we think the rôle of commerce-destroying will have to be conceded by Americans to be as impracticable for our navy as it is inefficient in its vital effect upon a maritime war.

For a layman, the author of this book is wonderfully correct in his illustrations and technical discussions and definitions. We have detected but a few errors or omissions. In his description of the mainsail he is hardly right when he states that the clews change in name when a ship goes about. The clew becomes a weather or lee one as the ship tacks, but it remains always the clew; and the rigging hauling it aboard or aft is changed—not the name of the clew of the sail. The author may have been misled by the expression that the ship is on the "starboard or port tack," which arises from the more correct and longer expression that the ship has its "starboard or port tacks aboard." On page 184, Nelson's Captain is referred to as his sailing-master, the words, "Anchor, Hardy, anchor!" having been addressed by Nelson to Hardy as the Captain of the *Victory*. In the definition of the nautical manœuvre of easting, we notice an incompleteness as it refers only to a fore-and-aft-rigged vessel. These, however, are but slight blemishes in a book singularly successful and interesting. It will be gratifying to those whose profession is that of the sea, or those who are interested in the persons and craft that go upon the sea, to find this subject treated in so sympathetic and genial a manner by a layman so competent and accurate. The illustrations are both numerous and successful. The book should be a favorite with intelligent yachtsmen, and have a place in the library of every yacht-club.

Alexander Hamilton. By William Graham Sumner, LL.D. Dodd, Mead & Co.

In this volume, which fills a niche in the series devoted to "The Makers of America," Prof. Sumner has endeavored critically to ascertain the distinctive character and function of Alexander Hamilton, considered as a constructive statesman, by first endeavoring to ascertain his peculiar place in our political history. The author holds that it is only by a study of the social and political environment in which Hamilton was called to play a leading part, that we can explain to ourselves the reason and ground of the paramount rule of conduct which he so uniformly prescribed to himself in seeking to infuse greater energy into the structure and administration of the Federal Government. Prof. Sumner shows at great length and, as it seems to us, with entire conclusiveness, that this policy of Hamilton had its rational explanation, if not always its complete justification, in grave disorders of the time dating from the outbreak of the Revolution. It is shown that the anarchic methods allowed to themselves by the patriots of the Revolutionary period, in dealing with royalists and with "suspects," had for their natural effect to work a gradual, but, in the end, a deep-seated, distemperature of the whole body politic, and that under the influence of this distemperature the people grew intolerant of law and order precisely in proportion to their need of an energetic government to protect them from themselves. Not only were the institutes of law and order rudely shaken by the violent separation of the colonies from the mother country, but the very cement of society was in danger of being destroyed by arbitrary processes of mob-law extending through the length and breadth of the land at the will of irresponsible committees, acting in the name and under the color of "patriotism."

In order, therefore, to find the place of Hamilton in our annals, Prof. Sumner portrays with much minuteness the special defects and faults of American public life from 1765 to the formation of the Constitution. Such an exposition, as he rightly conceives, should be the

background for the portrait of a statesman who deliberately and of set purpose devoted himself to the task of reëstablishing the institutes of stable government on a soil still quaking from the shocks of civil war and intestine feud. The captious reader might perhaps object, on grounds of literary art, that the author has bestowed more care and labor on his background than on his portrait, but the cavil would be more nice than wise, for it is only by the aid of such an elaborate background that the striking traits of Hamilton as a "maker of America" can be put on the historian's canvas with sharp definition and due proportion of parts.

Dr. von Holst has complained that the American people are too much disposed to canonize the heroes of the Revolution and the founders of the Constitution. In like manner it is common to assume that whatever the American people did in bringing on the Revolution, and in conducting it to a successful conclusion, must be held up for laudation and never for historical criticism. Hildreth, it is true, boldly avowed in the preface to his history that he meant, "for once," to present the founders of the American nation "unbedaubed with patriotic rouge," and we are glad that Prof. Sumner has followed the example of Hildreth by throwing his rouge-pot out of the window before sitting down to give us a pen-and-ink sketch of Hamilton in his political surroundings. The sketch gains verisimilitude in gaining truth and reality.

With all the freedom of his criticism, the author does full and frank justice to the elements of greatness in Hamilton's career. It may even be said that he exalts that greatness by showing that the whole theory on which Hamilton acted, as an "apostle of energy" in government, was untarnished by ideas of personal interest and selfish ambition. He deliberately took the unpopular side in a day of political giddiness and revolt. He took this side because, to borrow the word of Talleyrand, he "divined" that America (as well as Europe after the convulsions of the French Revolution) required a strong government for the repression of anarchic tendencies which had struck a deep root in American soil.

It need not surprise us that in testing the economic and financial opinions of Hamilton by the light of modern economic science, Prof. Sumner finds it easy to show that the notions of the great Federalist leader were often crude and superficial, as might be expected in the case of a man who had been early caught in the meshes of the then current mercantilism, and who, under the exigencies of his busy professional and public life, could hardly find time for the profound study of economic problems. Nothing in the writings of Hamilton can be cited to show that he had ever read a line of Adam Smith or of the French economists who preceded him. The biographers of Hamilton hitherto have not been economists or financiers. They have taken him on trust in this particular, one after another, and, being blind leaders of the blind, have here fallen into a ditch.

The special measures of administration with which the fame of Hamilton is identified—the Funding System, Assumption of State Debts, the National Bank, etc.—are examined by Prof. Sumner with no fault-finding spirit, but with that critical incisiveness which belongs to a writer who holds clear and strong opinions in political economy, and who always has the courage of his opinions. We wonder, however, that in professing to "have subjected Hamilton's opinions on economic, and more especially on financial matters, to a thorough examination and criticism," he should have omitted all reference to the testimony which the great "apostle of energy" has left behind him against the cheap but perilous expedient of paper money issued by authority of Government, whether with or without the quality of legal-tender. Hamilton should have had the credit of his perspicacity in this matter, if only the better to gauge the lapse of our first disobedience under this head.

We could wish that the literary style of this work were always as correct as it is vigorous and expressive. The sentences are sometimes so careless in their structure as to suggest that the writer has a disdain for literary form. Sometimes, too, this carelessness strikes deeper, as when (p. 243) we stumble on a passage like the following, purporting to be a citation from the writings of Hamilton: "I will here express but one sentiment, which is, that dismemberment of our empire will be a clear sacrifice, of great positive disadvantages, without any counterbalancing good, administering no relief to our real disease, which is democracy, the poison of which, by a subdivision, will only be the more concentrated in each part, and consequently the more virulent." Readers who know their Hamilton are likely to resent such a mangling of his text. What Hamilton wrote was this: "I will here express but one sentiment, which is, that dismemberment of our empire will be a clear sacrifice of great positive advantages, without," etc.

The French Invasion of Ireland in '98. By Valerian Gribayédoff. New York: Charles P. Somerby. 1890.

THIS volume is, in the words of the author, "an effort to rescue from comparative oblivion one of the many extraordinary episodes of the great French revolutionary war"—Humbert's descent upon Killala in August, 1798, with but 1,100 men of all arms, his maintenance in the field for three weeks in the face of great difficulties, his defeat of superior forces brought against him, his march of some 120 miles for the Irish capital, and his own defeat and surrender at Ballinamuck, 50 miles in a direct line from where he landed. Mr. Gribayédoff has given himself conscientiously to his task, has consulted most available authorities and sources of information. It is somewhat surprising, however, that Grillon's 'La France et l'Irlande pendant la Révolution,' published in 1888, appears to have escaped his attention. He has not added much to our knowledge of the episode, but he has produced an eminently readable and useful book, that should find a place in every library making any pretensions to completeness regarding British history. Its publication will leave no excuse for any responsible person again stating, as our author says Lord Wolesley did on a late occasion, that "the United Kingdom had not been insulted by the presence of an armed invader since the days of William the Conqueror." The illustrations are admirable and emphasize the spirit of the text: one at page 136, is peculiarly affecting, where an advanced sentinel of the finally victorious British force looks out over a lonely lake and ruined cabin on a hillside dotted with the bodies of the unfortunate Irish auxiliaries slaughtered in cold blood after Humbert's surrender.

After having read this book in conjunction with the wider view of the episode afforded in the twenty pages which Mr. Lecky devotes to it in the thirtieth chapter of his 'England in the Eighteenth Century,' the ordinary student of history may rest satisfied that he has a tolerable grasp of the subject. The most interesting points brought out by the narrative are the extraordinary spirit and effectiveness of the unkempt Republican levies of which Humbert's force was principally composed; the entire unpreparedness of Ireland for serious revolt, even considering the desperate valor which after a short time was infused into a considerable number of those who joined the invaders; the barbarous ferocity meted out to the miserable peasantry of the occupied district after the surrender, and, hence, the quenchless fountains of bitter memories opened in the hearts of the people. Bishop Stock of Killala and his family were from the first and all through prisoners in the hands of the French and their allies. His 'Narrative' will ever form the basis of any effective history of the transactions. Those who seek to make out the nature of Irishmen to be different from that of ordinary mortals, would do well to ponder upon much that the Bishop has written. "During the whole time of civil commotion not a drop of blood was shed by the Connaught rebels except on the field of war." "The rapacity [of the victorious British troops] differed in no respect from that of the rebels, except that they seized upon things with somewhat less ceremony and excuse, and that his Majesty's soldiers were incomparably superior to the Irish traitors in dexterity at stealing." Our author might have added another to the many forcible extracts he has made from the Bishop's Narrative from the pages where he tells of how he was justly reproved by one of the rebels for speaking lightly—as "only a few cabins"—of the houses of the people being burned by the King's troops.

Of all the many planned French landings in Ireland in 1797-8 Humbert's was the only one that reached fruition. It came at about the most inopportune and hopeless period in the contest between the United Irishmen and the Government. Yet we must confess that we rise up from Mr. Gribayédoff's book with the conviction that none, even the most powerful of them, would have been at all likely in the end, under any circumstances, to have succeeded. So far, Irishmen have little cause for self-satisfaction in the outcome of combined revolutionary movement in their own country; they have ample basis for it in the individual heroism displayed all through their history—even in the sad episode with which the book before us is concerned.

Life of Arthur Schopenhauer. By Prof. W. Wallace. London: Walter Scott. 1890. Pp. 217.

SCHOPENHAUER was not an amiable man. He was generally in a querulous mood towards the whole world in general and almost everybody in it in particular. Not even with his mother did he live on amicable terms. Before he parted with her she avoided meeting him, and they communicated with each other by letter, though living under the same roof. In 1814 they separated, and he never saw her again, though she lived twenty-four years longer. When Feuerbach wrote in his memoirs: "Madame Schopenhauer, a rich widow. Makes profession of erudition. Authoress. Prattles well, and intelligently; without heart and soul. Self-complacent, eager for approbation, and constantly smiling to herself. God preserve us from women whose mind has shot up into mere intellect"—Schopenhauer agreed that this silhouette was true to life, and remarked that "he could not, God forgive him, keep from laughing." It must be remembered, however, that for this state of affairs the fault lay largely with Frau Schopenhauer, who, at the age of forty, took up the literary profes-

sion, when her mind, which had never been domestic or emotional, "shot up into mere intellect."

In other respects, too, the acrid pessimist had only too good ground, personally speaking, for despising mankind as he did. When he had finished his principal work, 'The World as Will and Idea,' at the age of thirty, he wrote, in offering it to the publisher, Brockhaus, that it was a book "which would hereafter be the source and occasion of a hundred of other books, . . . clearly intelligible, vigorous, and not without beauty." And a few years before his death he wrote: "Subject to the limitation of human knowledge, my philosophy is the real solution of the enigma of the world. In this sense it may be called a revelation. It is inspired by the spirit of truth; in the fourth book there are even some paragraphs which may be considered to be dictated by the Holy Ghost." Whatever exaggeration of vanity there may have been in Schopenhauer, there can be no question that he is the clearest philosophical thinker Germany has ever produced, and, with the exception of Heine and Goethe, the greatest literary artist; indeed, no age or country has perhaps produced a writer who had a greater command of the power of stating a philosophical truth in picturesque, poetic language, that has the effect of a ray of electric light illuminating a dark corner of the mind. He knew at that time, as we all do now, how superior he was in these gifts, as well as in independence of thought, to Schelling, Fichte, Hegel, and the other university professors of his day, with their obscure artificial systems, vainly struggling to break through the meshes of the theological web which had so long been spun around free thought. Yet how did the world treat him? The answer to this question constitutes one of the most shameful chapters in the story of what is the greatest blot on the German name —the disgraceful treatment of their men of genius during their lifetime.

'The World as Will and Idea,' which, like Plato's 'Republic,' will be read 2,000 years after its author's death, was published in 1818; yet although only 800 copies had been printed, the second edition did not appear till twenty-six years later, when its author was already fifty-six years old; and, what is worse, when he wrote to the publishers, inquiring about the sales of the book, he was informed by them that the greater part of the edition had been disposed of at waste-paper price. The second edition, indeed, was only launched after Schopenhauer had agreed to ask no remuneration for it. Seven years later his second great work, the 'Parerga und Paralipomena,' which was destined first to popularize his name, was refused by three publishers, and was at last brought out only through the efforts of a friend, Schopenhauer receiving eight free copies as sole remuneration for the two volumes! It was not till the very last years of his life that a few signs came to him that his real greatness as a thinker and writer was beginning to be appreciated. His lectures on philosophy in Berlin had also been neglected by the students, while those of the "charlatan" Hegel attracted such eager crowds that some of the hearers made their way into the lecture-hall by the window. So little was Schopenhauer's greatness understood that, even during his latter years, at Frankfort, "he was better known as the son of the celebrated authoress Johanna Schopenhauer than for his personal merits."

All these things surely afforded some legitimate cause for practical bad temper and theoretical pessimism, especially in the case of a writer whose inherited bump of vanity was so abnormally developed. They also serve as some excuse for his special contempt of his countrymen and his well-known Anglomania, which he showed by his constant reading of the *Times*, by associating on his travels almost entirely with Englishmen, by using the English language in his account-books, etc. If, in the street, any one diverged to the left, he would exclaim, "Why don't the blockheads turn to the right? An Englishman always turns to the right." He felt so sure of his command of the English language that he proposed at one time to translate Hume, and in 1829 he wrote a letter to the editor of the *Foreign Review and Continental Miscellany* offering to translate three of Kant's works; one of the chief claims urged by him being that "a century may pass ere there shall again meet in the same head so much Kantian philosophy with so much English as happen to dwell together in mine." Yet he was doomed to another disappointment—not even as a translator was he to be encouraged and appreciated. Perhaps we should add, as a further mitigating circumstance which must affect our estimate of his character and teachings, that he came of a naturally irritable stock. The theory that genius and insanity are cousins is illustrated in his case by the fact that, besides himself, his mother and his sister were gifted writers, while, on the other hand, an uncle of his was an imbecile from his youth up, and his father was under suspicion of having committed suicide. We might even find some cause, if not justification, of his especial contempt for women in the information that "the damsels in the drawing-room [at Weimar] would giggle at his grim gaucheries, and even the reproof of a Goethe would hardly convince them that this silent and unapproachable youth could be worth serious attention." Goethe's early appreciation of Schopenhauer's intellect is one of the few redeeming features in this picture of Germany's ignoring of one of her greatest geniuses. On the other hand, Prof. Wallace draws up an interesting comparison (p. 142–3) between Goethe and Schopenhauer on their travels in Italy, the poet filling his letters with objective sketches of all he sees and does, while the philosopher fills his note-books with moral and pessimistic reflections which might have been written anywhere else just as well.

Prof. Wallace's biography is based, of course, on the works of Gwinner and Frauenstädt, and though it also attempts to give a résumé of Schopenhauer's principal writings, it was obviously impossible, in the short space at command, to do this in a very satisfactory way, and the interest of the volume, therefore, centres in the biographic portions, the most readable of which is the section on Schopenhauer's personal habits in later life. "Whereas, as a general rule, his life, like his philosophy, was modelled on the lines of Kant's example, he regarded Kant's early rising as a wanton waste of vital energy, avenged by the dotage of his declining years." How far Schopenhauer's prophecy, that his great work would hereafter be "the source and occasion of a hundred of other books," has already been realized, is shown by a useful nine-page appendix, containing a catalogue of books and articles by and on Schopenhauer, which, though less complete than Laban's 'Schopenhauer Literatur' (123 pages), covers the more important writings on the life and works of the famous pessimist.

The Antiquities of the State of Ohio. By Henry A. Shepherd. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co. 1890. 4to, pp. 139. Illustrated with maps, plans, views, and relics.

THIS volume forms a part of the 'Popular History of the State of Ohio,' and the author's object was to bring together, in a compact shape, the information which he found floating around in regard to the works of the mound-builders. To this end he republishes the accounts of a number of recent explorations, though it is upon Squier and Davis's monumental work that he chiefly depends. Naturally enough, there is a varying degree of merit in these different publications. Some of them are good, some have been superseded by later surveys, while others are so full of speculations as to the origin and uses of these structures as to impair the value of those portions of the work which are purely descriptive. Moreover, it must be remembered that in some instances these accounts do not agree even in so simple a matter as the measurements of length and breadth, and hence, to assert, as is done in the title-page, that this is a "full and accurate description of the works of the Mound-Builders," is, to say the least, premature.

We might also take exception to the statement in the publishers' preface that "there can be little doubt that a people much superior to the Indians once occupied the central portion of the United States." Theoretically, we suppose, there is no reason why a "publisher" should not be a competent judge in an ethnological matter, provided he has sufficiently studied the subject; but when a "publisher," speaking as such, favors us with an *ex-cathedrâ* opinion upon a point about which students differ, we may be excused for reminding him of the proverb which enjoins a shoemaker to stick to his last. In the present instance, this course is the more justifiable because, unless we are mistaken, one of the publishers has done more or less work in the kindred science of archæology, and, consequently, he must have known that a number of ethnologists do not admit that the central or any other portion of the United States was ever inhabited by a people superior to, or different from, the recent Indians. In fact, it is believed to be within bounds to assert that the tendency, to-day, is to the opinion that the mounds and earthworks of the Ohio Valley of every sort and description were quite within the range of the efforts of the recent Indians.

Les Origines de la Restauration des Bourbons en Espagne. Par A. Houghton. Paris: Librairie Plon. 1890.

THIS substantial volume of 400 pages is ostensibly only a political history of Spain for the year 1874, yet its author, a veteran newspaper correspondent, brings to his task such a prolonged and detailed acquaintance with Spanish affairs that his book goes far towards lighting up the dark places in the whole political movement of modern Spain. M. Houghton was an eye-witness of many of the events which he describes, and has had the advantage subsequently of intimacy with many of the leading actors in the rapidly shifting scenes of a crowded year, so that his narrative is as impartially accurate as we are likely ever to get. When Castelar's history of the period comes out, it will be fuller, but can hardly fail to be more partisan.

The year opened with the Republic, born out of due time, in a critical condition, owing to the bitter and imbecile wrangling of the leaders who had brought about its establishment. Castelar appears to have done all that a mortal could during the period of his Presidency, but

could not command a majority in the Cortes. When the vote of want of confidence was passed, in spite of his eloquent defence of his Administration, the triumphant Opposition were suddenly thunderstruck by a message handed to the presiding officer by an aide-de-camp of Captain-General Pavia, setting forth that soldier's "regret at finding himself under the sad necessity of urgently begging the President of the Assembly to order the Deputies to leave the Hall of Sessions." This *coup d'état* of the bluff Captain-General was very neatly executed, but was a bungling piece of work after all in its larger relations, as the worthy soldier did not know what to do with the Government after he had thus placed himself at its head. He appears to have been a Republican and Liberal at heart, and to have imagined that the Republic could be consolidated and made more efficient by a new deal all around. But the only result was the quasi-dictatorship of Marshal Serrano. Then followed the months of alternate vigor and feebleness in the conduct of the campaign against the Carlists, the amazing blindness to the bold intrigues of the Alphonsists, and, finally, the other stroke by the army December 29, when Alphonso was proclaimed King at Sagunta by General Campos, and Serrano, with a curious mixture of prudence and patriotism, resolved to make no attempt to put down the spreading military insurrection, and fled to France.

This course of events M. Houghton details for us with great intelligence; but, as we have said, the chief value of his book lies in its illuminating comments on the political ideas and methods of the Spain of to-day. For example, he brings out again and again the surprising obtuseness of Spaniards to the immense evils of military interference in civil affairs. To them it seems as legitimate to overturn an administration or a government by a pronunciamiento as by outvoting it. It is mostly a question of convenience.

"When one hears Spanish officers and politicians speak with such naïveté about acts which seem so unheard-of and unintelligible in other civilized countries, one is almost ready to believe that the human mind suffers eclipses and changes due to the climate, the environment, the race, heredity, the past, traditions, precedents, and all those conditions which make up that political and military way of looking at things so peculiar to Spanish civilization, and so deeply rooted in it, even in the nineteenth century."

Much light is also thrown upon the inevitable tendency of Spanish political parties to split into warring cliques, making party government almost impossible except under the form of a coalition. A leader of the merest faction will be as haughty and *intransigeant* as if he had half the Cortes back of him. Government thus becomes a sort of guerilla warfare, the Premier who can make terms with the largest number of petty chiefs being the man to be in power, though able to stay there only until his rival can make more comprehensive combinations than his own. The Republic would not have fallen when it did but for such disgraceful squabbling within the Republican party. The real reason for Sagasta's sudden fall from power last summer was his inability longer to bid high enough for some of the free-lances that had been fighting under his banner for a time. Yet, with all this, political parties and antagonistic leaders display the greatest deference to each other. Nor is it all merely the grandiloquence of Spanish politeness. Says M. Houghton, "They treat each other quietly with the greatest regard, in order to obtain reciprocal favors when the wheel of Fortune turns against those who momentarily enjoy her smiles." For many other such suggestive appreciations, as well as for the considerable historical value of the book, it deserves commendation.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Aitken, Isabella. Bohemia, and Other Poems. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. $1.
Allen, J. H. Positive Religion. Boston: Roberts Bros. $1.25.
Arnold, Sir E. The Light of the World. Funk & Wagnalls.
Austin, Alfred. Savonarola: A Tragedy. Macmillan & Co. $1.75.
Bartlett, G. C. The Salem Seer. U. S. Book Co.
Bentham, J. A Fragment on Government. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Macmillan & Co. $2.
Block, L. J. Dramatic Sketches and Poems. $1.
Brooks, Phillips. An Easter Carol. E. P. Dutton & Co. $1.
Burt, Mary E. The World's Literature. Chicago: Albert Scott & Co. $1.
Call, Annie P. Power Through Repose. Boston: Roberts Bros. $1.
Campbell, Prof. J. The Hittites: Their Inscriptions and their History. 2 vols. A. D. F. Randolph & Co. $6.
Cotterill, J. H., and J. H. Slade. Lessons in Applied Mechanics. Macmillan & Co. $1.25.
De Gubernatis, A. La France. Florence: G. Civelli.
Dodge, Col. T. A. Hannibal. [Great Captains.] Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $5.
Edwards, G. M. The Iliad of Homer. Book XXII. Cambridge: At the University Press.
Graham, R. H. Geometry of Position. Macmillan & Co. $1.50.
Greenough, J. B. Livy. Books I. and II. Boston: Ginn & Co. $1.35.
Gréville, Henry. A Mystery. Cassell Publishing Co.
Gilpin, W. The Cosmopolitan Railway. San Francisco: The History Co.
Halévy, L. A Marriage for Love. Chicago: Rand, McNally & Co.
Harris, Bishop S. Thoughts on Life, Death and Immortality. Thomas Whittaker. 75 cents.
Herron, Rev. G. Message of Jesus. Fleming H. Revell. 20 cents.
Hiorns, A. Mixed Metals. Macmillan & Co. $1.50.
Howe, E. Handel and Haydn for the Sunday-School. Charles T. Dillingham. 25 cents.
Huxley, Prof. T. H. Social Diseases and Worse Remedies. Macmillan & Co. 30 cents.
Jastrow, M. A Fragment of the Babylonian "Dibbarra" Epic. New York: N. D. C. Hodges. 60 cents.
Kemble, Frances Ann. Further Records. 1848–1883. Henry Holt & Co. $2.
Keynes, J. N. The Scope and Method of Political Economy. Macmillan & Co. $2.25.
King, Captain C. Two Soldiers and Dunraven Ranch. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. 50 cents.
Lee, Mary C. In the Cheering-up Business. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $1.25.
Loney, S. The Elements of Statics and Dynamics. Part I. Macmillan & Co.
MacCarthy, Emma. Congressman John and His Wife's Satisfaction. G. W. Dillingham.

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MARCH 5, 1891.

The Week.

It is somewhat uncertain what the upshot of the Mail Steamship Bill and the Post-office Appropriation Bill may turn out to be as regards the fortunes of the steamship companies concerned. The Senate appropriated $1,250,000 for the transportation of foreign mails for one year. Apparently this puts a limit on the power of the Postmaster-General. There were some lively fluctuations in Pacific Mail shares in the stock market on Monday, betokening that the speculators are themselves in doubt how much they will get. They have calculated upon $600,000 as the portion of that company, but if $1,200,000 is the limit for everybody, they will have to take less. There will probably be some heart-burnings in the antechamber of the Postmaster-General after Congress adjourns. Whatever the Pacific Mail Company gets, over and above its present compensations for carrying the mails, will be clear gain, unless the Pacific railroads absorb the surplus by cutting down their subvention in proportion to the largess of the Government.

An intimation comes from Washington that if the Direct-Tax Refunding Bill becomes a law, two consequences will follow: First, there will be a movement in the several States to have the money distributed to the individuals who paid it, or their heirs, in order to carry out the intent of Congress. Second, there will be a movement in Washington to have the income tax that was collected during the war refunded. Surely no reason can be found for paying back the one more than the other. There is no reason why Congress should stop at the income tax. There were taxes on billiard-tables, carriages, and pianos during the war, likewise on gross receipts, on sales, on manufactures, on trades and professions, and other taxes since repealed, amounting in the aggregate to $256,000,000 in a single year. Here is a magnificent chance for refunding. The opportunity to "work" the State Legislatures to procure a distribution of the refunded direct-tax will, of course, not be neglected. Precedents will be found in the distribution of the surplus of 1837. In some of the States this money was distributed to the towns in proportion to population, and in others it was distributed to the inhabitants. In Maine, for example, each man, woman, and child received between two and three dollars. There is provender enough in this restitution to support a lobby of each Legislature for several years.

Mr. Plumb of Kansas let a good-sized cat out of the bag on Monday when he contributed certain interesting facts within his own knowledge as to the framing of the McKinley Bill. When that measure passed the House, it did not extend the sugar bounty of two cents a pound to maple sugar. Mr. Plumb stated that the clause in favor of the owners of maple orchards was added to the bill in the Senate at the request of the Vermont Senators, and he asserted that this bounty was agreed to on the statement of the Finance Committee that it would help Mr. Morrill to be re-elected to the Senate. "Republican Senators," goes the report, "were personally solicited by members of the Finance Committee to vote for the bounty on that ground. That was the reason he voted for it, and he did so with the distinct understanding that the paragraph should be knocked out in conference committee. But when the conferees took hold of the Tariff Bill, the other Vermont Senator, Mr. Edmunds, threatened, in writing, that if the maple-sugar bounty was not left in, he would vote against the whole Tariff Bill. That letter was now in the pocket of a Republican Senator, and it showed by what sort of Yankee trick the bounty had been obtained for a few persons in the little State of Vermont." Nobody questioned the truth of this interesting revelation.

Bills for the relief of the United States Supreme Court have been talked about so long without getting beyond the stage of talk, that it is a welcome surprise to find that such a measure has at last actually passed Congress. The bill creates a court of appeals in each of the nine judicial circuits, which is to consist of two of the existing Federal judges, and one new judge in each case, to be appointed by the President. The decision of these appellate courts is to be final in a certain class of cases, and thus the number of cases that can be carried to the Supreme Court will be materially reduced. It is hoped that, when the new system is running smoothly, the highest tribunal will be able to keep up with its work for the first time in a great many years, and so render speedy justice, instead of making litigants wait two or three years for a decision. The passage of this act is one of the very best things done by the Fifty-first Congress.

The nine new judges are to be appointed by a Republican President, and some disposition was manifested by the Democrats in Congress to secure a provision that some of the number should be taken from their party. The attempt to insert such a provision in the law, however, failed, as it ought to have failed, for nothing could well be imagined more abhorrent to sound ideas regarding the judiciary than the formal recognition of the partisanship of judges. A due sense of propriety should suggest to the President the wisdom of not taking all of the new judges from his own party simply because he has the power, just as the Republicans of Vermont, although they have always had the power to make their bench unanimously Republican, have been accustomed to allow the Democratic minority representation upon it. But, after all, it makes little difference whether a judge is called a Republican or a Democrat, so long as he is of the type of the late Justice Miller of the Supreme Court, who, although a Republican, was as good a States-rights man as any Democrat could ask for, and did not hesitate to annul for unconstitutionality acts passed by his own party in Congress. Happily the President has set so high a standard of judicial appointments in his selections for the Federal bench thus far that there is good reason to hope he will give the country nine good judges. If he selects men of the same type as Brewer and Brown, his appointees as Supreme Court judges, nobody will have any right to complain. Indeed, it may be said that, if Mr. Harrison had kept the general level of his Administration up to the standard of his judicial appointments, it would have been a far greater success than it actually has been.

The selection of Mr. Blair of New Hampshire for the Chinese mission will cause profound satisfaction in two hemispheres—in the Western because it gives us an assurance that the path of usefulness is not yet closed to him, as we feared it might be, and in the Eastern because there is no country in the world as ripe for reform just now, and as eager for reformers, as China. That he will be speedily taken out of our service for that of the Central Flowery Kingdom we have very little doubt. The Chinese have already employed foreigners in nearly every department of their administration except education, and they will almost certainly seize on Mr. Blair for the superintendence of their elaborate system of competitive examination for college degrees and Government offices. His fame as an educational reformer has already penetrated the Board of Foreign Affairs, and will have penetrated the Board of the Vermilion Pencil and of the Blue Sealing-Wax before he reaches Hong Kong. President Harrison, indeed, might as well be now looking around for his successor. There is only one thing that can prevent his success in his new sphere, and that is the hostility of the Jesuits. That powerful order is probably more powerful to day in China than in any other country. Many of its agents are Mandarins of high rank, disguised, of course, as Buddhists. They know Mr. Blair well, through his attacks on them in the debates on his Education Bill and his exposure of their doings in American newspaper offices. That they will try to poison the minds of the Empress Mother and the young Emperor against him is what may reasonably be expected; but Mr. Blair's arrival in person will make short work of their intrigues.

The Connecticut fugitive from justice for

whose requisition Gov. Hill declined to recognize Gov. Bulkeley's request, has been set free in this city. Another fugitive, the horse thief now in jail at Carmel, N. Y., is hoping to regain his liberty in the same way soon. It is said that Gov. Bulkeley will send a requisition for him to Gov. Hill, and the latter declines to say what he will do about it in case it arrives. He evidently has some doubt about both the legal and political wisdom of his first refusal, or he would not hesitate about following it with a second. His remarkable conduct has made him more enemies than friends among the Connecticut Democrats, for all the respectable portions of the party there, as well as the leading Democratic newspapers, condemn him as being entirely without justification in law. Even so devoted a supporter of the Governor in this State as the Brooklyn *Eagle* has felt obliged to rebuke him for his course, saying that Gov. Bulkeley, under the Constitution of Connecticut, "is required to continue" the discharge of the duties of the office until his successor has been duly qualified; that as Governor *de facto* he is "entitled to all the respect due to a Governor both *de jure* and *de facto*"; that the "legal aspects of the case are not affected in the slightest degree by the quarrel of contentious politicians"; that Gov. Hill's refusal "was obviously based upon a misconception" of Gov. Bulkeley's legal status, and that Bulkeley's requisition "was entitled to receive as much credit as would be given to a similar request preferred by the Governor of any other State."

The bitter war which is raging among the Republicans of New Hampshire is casting much light upon political methods in that State, and especially upon the character of "Bill" Chandler, so long the boss of the Republican party. It has always been believed that the Chandler ring have used their influence over the Federal courts as a club for Democratic heads, and one specific instance of the sort is given by Herman W. Greene, member of the Legislature and now, as for some years past, a prominent member of the Republican party. Nearly thirty years ago Mr. Greene made oath that he was a resident of Boston, and therefore not subject to the draft in Hopkinton, N. H., where he had formerly lived. In the year after taking this oath, having meanwhile returned to Hopkinton, where he has lived ever since, he was elected moderator of the town meeting. Upon these facts Chandler had him indicted for perjury in the United States Court, saying, to quote from Mr. Greene's speech, that "he could indict me for a crime that would make me cease to be a Democrat and be a cowardly cur of a Republican," and having the complaint "signed and sworn by a military tramp that happened to be at that time within the limits of this State, and who left before it came to light and before I was arrested." Mr. Greene's interesting narrative proceeds as follows:

"But I heard some information of it, and I called upon Mr. William E. Chandler and he frankly told me that he knew nothing of such a matter whatever, and that he would not in that instance make a complaint for a crime against me. He had it in his pocket signed then, and had me arrested when the complainant was in Virginia, and he knew there was no law in New Hampshire under which he could make that complaint as a lawyer and a man, and no facts upon which to support it. Four times between the making of that complaint and my discharge in the United States Court, Chandler said to me this: 'Mr. Greene, if you will abandon your Democracy and come to the rescue of the Republican party in your town, this prosecution shall be withdrawn.' Respecting myself, resenting the insult, I replied to him in the plainest language."

A bill has been introduced in the Kansas Legislature to prohibit the making of contracts payable in gold. There is not much probability that such a bill will pass, or that it will have any other effect than to drive capital out of the State, and make the condition of borrowers considerably worse than it is. But the introduction of such a bill raises the question of the competency of legislation to prohibit the making of contracts, not immoral *per se*, by private individuals. If a contract may not be made in terms of gold, may the Legislature also prohibit contracts in which parties agree to deliver wheat, iron, or brick, or to convey real estate, or to perform labor? In times like these, when the idea is rife that one kind of money is as good as another, and better, too, and that the quantities of goods that money is exchanged for are not to be taken into the account at all, all sorts of rattle-brained projects will be put on foot, to the detriment mainly of the projectors. One thing is certain, and that is that Kansas will be a good State for capitalists to avoid if she puts herself in the attitude either of annulling contracts already made, or of prohibiting the making of such as the civilized world considers innocent and lawful.

We have received from Mr. Frederick Wm. Luttgen of this city a plan, or device, for a "supplementary silver coinage." The plan has been copyrighted, but the writer authorizes us to publish it, and asks us to give our opinion of it. He begins by showing that it is impossible for one nation or even for an international conference to maintain a fixed ratio of 1 to 16 between silver and gold, or any other ratio. "This is no more in their power," says Mr. Luttgen, "than it is in their power to regulate the weather." Here we agree with Mr. Luttgen perfectly, and we congratulate him on the felicity of his expression. Nevertheless, he thinks that something ought to be done for silver. So he proposes that the coinage ratio be changed whenever necessary so as to correspond with the market ratio of the preceding twelve months. If, for example, the market ratio for the past twelve months has been 1 to 19, let the coinage ratio for the next year be 1 to 19. Then the Government should purchase 200,000 ounces of silver bullion daily, and in case the market price of silver continues to fall, the purchases should be increased in a proportionate sum. There are several other devices auxiliary to this one, which we need not enumerate, because our criticism goes to the root of the whole scheme and of all other schemes having a similar purpose. We are opposed to any and all projects which have it for their aim to do something for silver, or for lead, or for tin, or for Babbitt metal, or for tea, or for coffee, or for newspapers.

Local Assembly 1562, Knights of Labor of the city of Brooklyn, have "tumbled to" the merits of the silver legislation now in force, and have petitioned Congress to take into consideration in like manner their claims as producers of useful articles by buying at the market price a sufficient amount of shoes, for example, "for a year's supply," and issuing certificates thereon redeemable in gold, silver, greenbacks, or shoes. If an emergency arises, such as a shortage of revenue, the certificates may be redeemed in shoes only at the market price. Of course this arrangement for supplying currency to the people would not be limited to the shoe trade. Money might be "based" on hats, on carpenter work, on plumbing, or on machinery. Indeed, the more fixed and permanent the property, the more secure would the currency be. In view of the success which has attended the experiment of buying silver and steadying the price of that commodity, the plan of Local Assembly 1562 is certainly worth a trial. We trust that the K. of L. in other parts of the country will push it vigorously.

The Philadelphia *Press* asks us whether the prices of carpets have advanced or not since the passage of the McKinley Bill, and intimates pretty strongly its belief that they have not. We have made some inquiries on the subject, and have received answers from competent authorities to this effect: Manufacturers of carpets have advanced their prices 10 per cent. This advance was announced by circular some weeks ago, and the circulars have not been withdrawn or modified. The advance was made necessary by the increased duties on carpet wool. Retailers' prices have advanced in some places and in others not. They have advanced on some kinds and on others not. There is a considerable stock of the old make still on hand, and these are still sold at the old rates. As a general rule, consumers have refused to pay advanced rates for carpets. Whether an advance corresponding to the manufacturers' advance, or any advance at all, can be obtained by retailers after the old stock is entirely gone, is not yet known. This is the sum and substance of the best opinion we have been able to get. It is within our knowledge that in New York the leading retailers have advanced the price of ingrain carpets ten cents per yard. If, after all, the price is no higher than before, the futility and uselessness of the McKinley Bill as to this particular matter is evident. The retailer has lost his profit and nobody has gained it, not even the domestic wool-producer, because he does not produce this kind of wool at all. American industry is not

usually "protected" by putting a new burden on the manufacturer unless somebody else gets a benefit from it.

The effort which has been made unsuccessfully in Massachusetts at the two preceding sessions of the Legislature to pass a corrupt-practices act, will be renewed at this year's session. The measure of former years has been revised and made more stringent. It provides that every committee or organization which receives and spends money to promote the nomination, election, or defeat of any candidate for State, county, city, or town office shall have a treasurer, through whom all expenditures shall be made, and that all such treasurers, all candidates for nomination or election, and all persons expending for such purposes more than $25, shall file with the Secretary of the Commonwealth, or, in case of municipal elections, with the city or town clerk, a detailed statement under oath of the aggregate of all sums received and of all the expenses and disbursements. The bill also prescribes the form of the account, and requires State officials to supply printed forms to committee treasurers, candidates, and others applying for them. Instead of penalties for failure to comply with the requirements of the law, authority is given to the courts to compel delinquents by proceedings in equity to file the specified statements. This is a different measure in many respects from either our New York law or any pending bill in other States, but it is evidently the result of careful and intelligent study of the problem which it seeks to solve, and seems well calculated to make the undue and improper use of money in elections, without detection, extremely difficult, if not impossible.

The proposed appointment of a commission to sit on the "Labor Question" is undoubtedly one of the little bits of preparation the English Tories are making for the general election. They want to come before the country, at the dissolution of Parliament, as the poor man's friend *par excellence*, without saying exactly what they are going to do for the poor man. Commissions of inquiry of this sort in England are very slow-moving bodies. They sit a long time, adjourn very frequently, hear clouds of witnesses, and draft their reports in a most leisurely manner, so that it is safe to say that the report of this commission would not be ready before the general election; but the mere sitting and taking testimony would spread abroad the belief, or would be meant to do so, that the Ministry had some grand scheme in mind for the improvement of the condition of the working-classes. There is no likelihood that they have any plan whatever for dealing with the present hostility in England between labor and capital, and the chances are that their commission will aggravate it. A great deal of the present strife is due to unreasonable expectations excited by the encouragement given two years ago to the strike of the dockers. It was taken as a confession on the part of the middle and upper classes that there was something terribly wrong in the conduct of employers which legislation could promptly cure. Ever since then the Dock Companies have not had a quiet day, and unskilled labor all over the country has been thrown into wild disorder.

The French Chambers have voted $100,000 for the concession of the excavation at Delphi which our Archæological Institute thought it had secured, and have got the prize. There was hardly any opposition to the vote, first, because it is part of an arrangement for a commercial treaty, and, secondly, because it puts France on an equality with Germany in the field of archæological exploration. Germany has got much glory out of Olympia, so France must have a chance to get glory out of Delphi. As the "finds" made by the explorers cannot, we believe, be taken out of the country, nothing but the credit of adding to our knowledge of the history and arts of ancient Greece is to be had from the concession. The readiness of private individuals in America, through the Archæological Institute, to make up the amount, was used by the French Minister as an example in asking for the appropriation. The willingness of private persons in this country to do such things probably surprises Frenchmen as much as the readiness of the Government to do them in European countries surprises some of us. It would probably be impossible to explain intelligibly to some of our Congressmen — Senator Plumb of Kansas, for instance — the attitude of the French Government towards art and literature, or justify to him a vote of public money for the purchase of pictures or the sending of young men to Rome to study art. But the Greek side of this Delphi transaction would be made comprehensible to him by showing that the admission of dried currants to the French markets at lower rates of duty was part of the consideration. "Ah! now," he would say, "you begin to talk sense."

As the detailed returns from the Spanish elections come to hand, the triumph of the Conservatives appears to be even more sweeping than the telegraphic despatches indicated. The new Cortes will be composed of 265 supporters of the Administration, as against only 68 followers of Sagasta, 27 Republicans, and 23 of all other factions. Even in the cities, notably Barcelona and Madrid, which were supposed to be Liberal strongholds, the Government candidates polled a surprising vote. But two Liberal candidates pulled through in Madrid, while six Conservatives were elected. The Republicans are delighted at the good showing they made in the voting. In Madrid, for example, they polled 17,247 votes to about 35,000 for all shades of monarchical candidates. One-third of the total vote in the very capital of the kingdom cast against the monarchy is certainly a significant, perhaps an ominous result of the new law of universal suffrage. At the same time, it is a curious fact that there never has been a Cortes in which so many titled Deputies sat as will be present in the body just chosen. Still, this may not mean the predominance of the aristocracy in the lower house, as many of the counts and marquises elected to it made their canvass on the basis of a hearty acceptance of the people's right of representation, and presented the novel spectacle of nobles of Castile going hat in hand to ask the votes of peasants and laboring men. The cabled reports of Republican rioting in Barcelona appear to have been exaggerated; Salmerón was fairly defeated—at least, the Election Board, containing a majority of his sympathizers, so declared. Castelar himself narrowly escaped defeat.

From German criticisms on the recent Government Commission appointed by Emperor William to deliberate upon a reform of the Prussian schools, it would appear that the high expectations with which the calling together of this body was welcomed have by no means been fulfilled. From the very beginning the transactions of the conference were handicapped by the high-handed manner in which the Emperor forced his own views and propositions upon the assembly, entirely disregarding the official programme laid out by the Minister of Public Instruction. One of the most important subjects before the conference was the question of the future relation between the Gymnasium and the Realschule—the question whether the latter should be lifted up to the standard of the former; whether its scope should be widened so as to embrace both ancient and modern literatures and the sciences; whether the social status of its graduates should be raised so as to give them access to the universities; whether, in short, the high school of the future should be a reorganized Realgymnasium. But the debate on this point was cut short by the Emperor's statement that he should like to see all existing Realgymnasia abolished, and that in future he should veto the establishment of a single new one. And the same autocratic tone he maintained towards almost every question brought up in the conference. The result is, that the commission has been discharged without having accomplished a single reform of any consequence, except, perhaps, the abolition of Latin composition in the Gymnasia. Meanwhile, a new commission has been appointed, with Dr. Hintzpeter, the intellectual adviser of the Emperor, as Chairman, to draw up a detailed scheme for a new high-school curriculum; and undoubtedly the imperial views will find an adequate expression in the resolutions of this committee. What the effect of the Emperor's attitude in this whole matter upon the public mind has been, may be judged from a witticism now current in Berlin. Query: "Was ist der Unterschied zwischen dem lieben Gott und Kaiser Wilhelm?" Answer: "Der liebe Gott weiss Alles, Kaiser Wilhelm weiss Alles besser."

THE CHILIAN CONFLICT.

THE contest now raging in Chili between President Balmaceda and Congress is a very interesting study in government for foreign observers, however disastrous it may be for the Chilians themselves. It has brought to the arbitrament of the sword questions which have within the present century made great disturbance in nearly every parliamentary country. There is in it a bit of French, of German, of Danish, and even of American history, but it is Denmark which supplies the situation most closely resembling that which exists to-day in Chili. Here in the United States, and in England, it seems now to be a settled maxim of party government, accepted by all parties, that no matter what differences may prevail between the Executive and the Legislature, the appropriations necessary to keep the existing machinery of administration in motion shall always be made—that is, that expenses of the army, navy, and civil service for one year at least shall be voted. But this rule has not been fully accepted in other parliamentary States. During the earlier years of Bismarck's career, when he was fighting the Prussian Parliament, they refused him his supplies, and he levied them by royal authority. In Denmark for many years the Radical majority in the Chamber has regularly refused to vote any money whatever for the maintenance of the Government, and the Ministry has just as regularly levied by royal ordinance as much money as it needed. In France a modification of this kind of demonstration has long prevailed—consisting in making the appropriations in twelfths (*douzièmes*)—that is, giving the Ministry enough money for one month, and reserving the rest for further consideration, in order not to bring the wheels of administration to a full stop. In all these cases, the object is the same—the expulsion from office of an obnoxious Cabinet.

The temptation to resort to this mode of ejectment is very strong in every country in which the existence of the Ministry is dependent on the will of the parliamentary majority and the traditions of parliamentary government are not very deeply rooted. One can hardly conceive of it as possible in England, but the French came near it under both MacMahon and Grévy. The kind of situation which calls it forth was to be witnessed in this country in Andrew Johnson's day, and closely resembled that which exists to-day in Chili. If the majority in Congress, strongly disapproving as it did of his "policy," had refused to make any appropriations whatever until he either resigned himself or appointed a Cabinet selected by the majority, they would have done almost exactly what the Chilian Congress are now doing. The expenses of the Chilian civil and military service are already settled by law as ours are, but they need, as ours do, an annual vote of Congress to provide the money for them. This the present Congress has refused to make, as a means of coercing the President into abandoning the practice of influencing the nomination—or "naming his successor," as we should call it—now of long standing in Chili, and into appointing a Cabinet agreeable to the majority. The Government of Chili is, in truth, very much in that family stage in which ours was down to the election of Andrew Jackson. That is, it is in the hands of a small body of highly respectable gentlemen of good family, who expect to divide the offices among themselves and nominate their successors, as the American Congress used to do, and expect their recommendations to be accepted as directions by the voters. In trying to "name his successor," President Balmaceda is only doing what others have done before him, and which might be done with impunity if he had a majority in Congress on his side. But this, owing to causes too numerous to describe here, he has not. The majority are bitterly opposed to him.

An attempt at reconciliation which was made last year broke down in October by the resignation of a compromise Cabinet, and he then adjourned, as he has the Constitutional right to do, the extra session which he had called. When Congress is not in session, it is represented by a permanent Commission composed of its own members, which acts as a sort of Supervisory Board towards the Executive. This Commission kept up the hostility to him, and ended by proposing to call a convention of all members of both houses to take part in its deliberations, or, in other words, an extra-constitutional body, and opened a regular campaign against the President throughout the country, very much like that which the Republicans carried on against Andrew Johnson in 1866. The Commission then, in December, called on him to convene Congress to discuss the budget, but he replied that the reasons which satisfied him that it was proper to adjourn Congress in October, prevented his calling it together again in December. He took the ground which he maintains in the manifesto which has just reached us, that he represents the Chilian people more clearly and authoritatively than the majority in Congress; that his motives are purer and his wisdom greater; and that he is now the sole defender of the Constitution against malignant enemies. In fact, he almost exactly occupies the position occupied by President MacMahon as against the French Republicans in 1877. On this issue the Congressional majority have taken up arms.

It may seem very extraordinary that, as the Congressional elections take place this month and the Presidential election in June, both parties should not be willing to wait and let the voters, as the French did in 1877, decide between them. But this suggestion touches at once the weakness of the Chilian Constitution. Chili is not a democratic republic like France or the United States. It is, as Rome or Venice was, an aristocratic or oligarchical republic. The government is carried on by an upper class, whose decisions are registered by voters with a property qualification. There is, therefore, no tribunal outside the political class, as there is in France, or England, or the United States, to which an appeal can be made when this class is hopelessly divided. When Pompey and Cæsar cannot agree in Chili, therefore, they have to fight now as they had to fight 2,000 years ago in Italy.

A GREAT REVELATION.

NOTHING in recent political history is more interesting than the gradual transfer westward of the operations of the Cobden Club. Twenty years ago, its worst work was done almost exclusively in the States along the eastern seaboard. At that time it spent most of its corruption fund in New York, in the payment of free-trade editors and orators and the diffusion of pernicious books and pamphlets, although no inconsiderable sum found its way to Boston for the same fell purpose. Its seductions, too, at that time were rendered all the more powerful by its practice of paying in gold when we were living under the régime of irredeemable paper. People who never saw or handled any kind of money but dirty greenbacks or national-bank bills were naturally dazzled by the display of "British gold" which the Club was always careful to display before the eyes of faltering or unprincipled protectionist orators and writers. Many a man, doubtless, who at that period would never have succumbed to paper money, was easily overcome by one peep into the small canvas bags from which the agents of the Club paid American traitors the price of their iniquity.

Since the resumption of specie payments, we have every year heard less and less of the work of the Club in these regions. The *Tribune* and the Philadelphia *Press* and all the other high-tariff organs ceased, little by little, to speak of it in explanation of the activity of the free-traders, and confined themselves simply to quotations from British journals showing the devilish satisfaction experienced in England at any signs, however delusive, of a better market in the United States for British goods. These extracts brought out finely the demoniacal desire of British manufacturers to furnish the American people with cheap clothing, but they did not answer the question, What was the Cobden Club doing with its enormous annual revenue? Where was the gold going which the members of the Free-Trade League, the venerable William Cullen Bryant, and other free-trade editors at one time pocketed so freely?

The answer to these questions, as we now know, is and was that the exposures made in the East had proved too much for the agents of the Club. They had been followed up more closely than they could bear. One of their conversations, overheard in a cheap restaurant by a correspondent of the *Tribune*, was of itself sufficient to make New York and the other seaboard cities too hot for them. They had to betake themselves to the West, in reliance on the simplicity of the agricultural mind, the greater distance from Europe, and the reputed greater venality of the Western editors and legislators. In fact, they were directed to go West by the authorities in London, on the assumption

that their money would go further there in the purchase of votes and influence, and that they would there be safer from detection. Mongredien's brochure attempting to show American farmers that they were out of pocket by the tariff, revealed clearly the quarter to which the Club was then directing its labors.

We are glad to say that its agents have at last been caught also in the new field, and there is a fair prospect that before Congress meets again there will be no corner of this vast continent in which one of them can carry on his nefarious game without being discovered and dragged to light. To the *Iowa State Register*, a paper edited by a leading Republican statesman, Mr. Clarkson, the late Assistant Postmaster-General, belongs the honor of having at last succeeded in bringing home to the Western public the exact nature and extent of the corrupting and impoverishing influence exerted by the Club. In what is, in our opinion, the boldest article we have ever seen in a newspaper—we say "boldest" having in our minds the unscrupulousness of the men who serve the Club "in our midst"—he brings to light facts which promise to destroy the Club's powers of mischief everywhere. The more important portions of it we extract entire :

EXPOSING COBDEN CLUB INFAMY.

The British Cobden Club, which has so brazenly attempted to control the business policies of the world in the interest of England's trade, by the corrupt use of fabulous sums of money, is now threatened with complete exposure through publication of the Club's secret accounts! Strangely, too, the exposure is said to be the result of the methodical methods of Prince Bismarck, who obtained a copy of the Cobden Club's secret accounts through the connivance of the German Embassy in London. This startling news does not originate with the *Register*, but we find it in a special despatch to the St. Louis *Republic*, the leading Democratic paper of the Mississippi Valley, as follows:

"LONDON, February 9.—A curious libel case has just been before the law courts in Sweden. It appears that a Swedish newspaper named *Motalaposten* accused certain persons of high social position, one of these being the late General Director of Customs and another the present Lord Lieutenant of the county of Stockholm, with having received subsidies from the Cobden Club amounting to £120,000 for carrying on a free-trade agitation in their country. The Court dismissed the libel, the writer pleading that all the statements were true, claiming that Prince Bismarck had been able, through the German Embassy in London, to obtain a copy of the Club's secret accounts, and these accounts fully bore out the statements that had been made. The writer of the article received his information in such a way that there could be no question about its authenticity, and he further alleged that these secret accounts would be very soon published in Berlin."

The reader will bear in mind this is not the evidence of a Republican paper. It was sent as a special from London, England, to one of the principal Democratic papers of the United States! The evidence was sufficiently strong for the Swedish court to dismiss the libel suit against a newspaper that had made the charge that the General Director of Customs and Lord Lieutenant, high officials in Sweden, had "received subsidies from the Cobden Club amounting to £120,000 forcarrying on a free-trade agitation in their country"! The despatch strongly adds that "thewriter of the article received his information in such a way that there could be no question about its authenticity"! That evidenc was enough to convince the Swedish court, and it should be sufficient to convince the people of all the world, that the Cobden Club is spending many millions of dollars every year to control the markets of the earth in he interest of the manufacturers of Great Britain, who contribute the Cobden Club funds to accomplish that very purpose.

The concluding portion of Mr. Clarkson's brave but painful revelations will be read with mingled sorrow and indignation by every lover of his country, and indeed by every good man and woman. From this it appears that the Cobden Club expended $5,000,000 (five millions) in buying votes at the last election, and of this $500,000 in Iowa alone. This is very bad, but it is something with which, on a smaller scale, we are unhappily more or less familiar. What will shock people most is the news that the *Leader* of that State was receiving a subvention of thousands of dollars from the Club four months before the election; that the Chicago *Tribune* also has been long kept alive by a monthly subsidy from the same source, supplemented, however—to tell the entire truth—by another subsidy from "The Brewers' and Distillers' Trust." Who of us here at the East had any idea that the Chicago *Tribune* had been one of the first and most costly victims of the Club's seductions?

The impending production of the Club's "secret accounts," however, relieves us from the necessity of further comment at present on these disclosures. The dismissal by the Swedish court of the libel suit against the *Motalaposten*, on the promise of the editor to publish these accounts in Berlin with the kind assistance of Prince Bismarck and the German Embassy in London, is the handwriting on the wall for the free-traders all over the world. The Cobden Club has gone on for years publishing annual statements showing that its income was only about $5,000 per annum. It now appears that the secret books showed receipts amounting to many millions—say $10,000,000. There is little difficulty in detecting in these remarkable exposures the hand of some of the lawyers who wrest unclaimed English estates for American heirs from the rapacious maw of the Queen and the Lord Chancellor; but Mr. Clarkson is none the less entitled to the credit of being the first to lay the infamy really bare.

GOV. ABBETT'S SCHEME OF TAXATION.

IT seems to be thought by most people that they ought to enjoy the blessings of good government, as they enjoy those of the sunlight, without any great exertion on their part. Whether they ought to do so or not, all history teaches that as a matter of fact men do not long enjoy these blessings upon such terms, and the pleasant dream is invariably followed by a rude awakening. The people of New Jersey are now passing through an experience of this kind. A large proportion of the most intelligent citizens of that State have concerned themselves very little with what goes on at Trenton, and they now find that their Governor, whose policy and methods closely resemble those of Gov. Hill of New York, has brought before a subservient Legislature a scheme of taxation of the most revolutionary character. What he expects to gain by it we do not know, but what he should gain by it is a permanent opportunity to devote himself to his private affairs.

The bill reported by the Commission on Taxation is too long to be here considered in detail. It is full of obscurities and of objectionable features which can be appreciated only by lawyers, but its principal innovations are of a nature to be understood by every one, and should be known by all persons who contemplate making New Jersey their residence. The leading administrative feature is the establishment of a supreme board of inquisitors with arbitrary powers, who can revise and alter at their discretion the assessments and other proceedings of local officers and boards. For the exercise of functions that would be a strain upon the wisdom of Minos, the members of this Board are to be paid $2,500 a year; but their patronage in the employment of assistants and attorneys is limited only by the approval of the Governor. We cannot determine from the bill whether any appeal to the courts is allowed from the decisions of this Board. Apparently the only remedy is the dubious one of a certiorari proceeding, but it is not clear that the acts of the Board can be reviewed in this way. It is not often that any officers under a free government are given such arbitrary powers as are here provided. As an illustration of what they can do, it is enough to point out that they are empowered to compel all the adult residents of the State owning personal property worth over two hundred dollars to make sworn answers in writing to *any* questions prescribed by the Board, under penalty in every case of one thousand dollars.

The most revolutionary changes, however, relate to the assessment of personal estate, which is defined to be "everything which is subject to ownership not included in the term 'real estate.'" No deduction is to be made from any valuation of either real or personal estate except for debts of record in the State. Strictly speaking, this would seem to apply only to judgments, as the bond in case of mortgage indebtedness is not usually recorded. If this strict construction is not the true one, real estate mortgaged to non-residents would pay taxes only on the equity of redemption—a result which we can scarcely believe even the framers of this bill to have intended, as in a short time the amount of exempt real estate would enormously increase. As to the manner of assessment, it is necessary to quote the language of the bill:

"On the first Monday in April in each year, or as soon thereafter as practicable, and before the first Monday of June, the assessor or other taxing officer shall call upon each person within his taxing district, and furnish him or her with proper blanks, to be furnished or prescribed by the State Board of Taxation for the purpose; but if it be known to the assessor or taxing officer that *such person* is under the age of twenty one years or is non compos mentis, then he shall make such service upon the guardian, trustee, or other representative of *such person* under the age of twenty-one years or non compos mentis; and thereupon *such person* shall make to such assessor or other taxing officer a full, correct, detailed, and itemized description of all the personal estate of which *such person* was the owner on the first Monday of April of the current year; *such person* shall also, at the same time, make a full and true statement in like manner, in writing, distinctly setting forth a full, correct, detailed, and itemized description of all the personal estate held, possessed, or controlled by him as executor, administrator, guardian, trustee, receiver, partner, agent, attorney, president, or accounting officer of a corporation, consignee, bailee, or in any representative or fiduciary capacity; and he

shall fix what he de ms the true value thereof to each item of personal estate, whether the same be owned by him personally or held by him in a representative or fiduciary capacity, for the guidance of the assessor or other taxing officer, who shall determine and settle the true value of each item after an examination of such statement, and also an examination under oath of the party, if he deem it necessary, or he may adopt the valuation of the party."

The italicized words are an example of the ambiguities of the bill. It is further provided that every resident as aforesaid must make oath as to all property held by him in a representative or fiduciary capacity, and also as to any attempts made by him to evade taxation of his personal estate. The place of record of all debts of record in the State must also be stated, and all personal estate held in either an individual or representative capacity claimed to be not taxable must be included in the list. Every adult male is subject to a poll-tax not exceeding one dollar.

It has been supposed that there were certain advantages in organizing corporations under the New Jersey law, and the Sugar Trust was reorganized as a New Jersey corporation. The predicament in which such corporations may find themselves next April appears from the following provisions. The personal estate of every corporation organized under the laws of New Jersey shall be taxed where the principal office of the corporation is situated, and the personal estate of all other corporations doing business in the State shall be taxed where it is found. Taxes assessed upon shares of stock or registered bonds of any New Jersey corporation shall be first liens upon such stock or bonds. The bill, it should be noted, does not apply to railroads and canals. There is a general provision at the beginning of the bill "that all real and personal estate *within this State*, whether owned by individuals or corporations, shall be taxed at the true value thereof," etc., and it might be supposed that this would exempt personal property the situs of which was without the State. But the other provisions of the bill are inconsistent with this view, and it seems to be intended that such property, if owned by a resident of New Jersey or a corporation formed under the New Jersey law, shall be taxed in New Jersey.

The entire stock in trade, therefore, of all such corporations, as well as of individuals doing business outside of the State, their merchandise, bills receivable, book accounts, money, good will, and the contents of their safe-deposit vaults, must be reported in detail to the assessors of New Jersey, and pay taxes in that State. A commission merchant residing in that State and doing business in New York, must pay taxes upon everything that is consigned to him as well as upon his own capital, including all debts due him, without any deduction for what he owes except to the extent that he is a judgment debtor in New Jersey. It is obvious that this would mean ruin to many such dealers. If an institution, firm, or individual has on its hands as its own or for collection on the first Monday of April checks or notes to the amount of a million dollars, while its or his like obligations to the same amount are in the hands of another person, both parties are to be taxed, each upon a million dollars, although upon a settlement of accounts the whole of these obligations would be wiped out, and the total wealth of both parties might very probably not exceed a half a million—upon which they would also pay taxes. A wholesale dealer buys a bill of goods of an importer and gives his note for the price. Both are taxed, each for the full value of the goods. The wholesale dealer sells the same goods to a jobber, who gives his note for the price. Both are taxed. The jobber sells to the retailer on the same terms, and again both are taxed. These transactions might very well take place within the usual period of credit, with the result that the retailer would be taxed on the goods and the other three would be taxed upon the notes, and if the notes were put in the hands of their attorneys, the attorneys would be taxed for them, too. It would be as well to tax all sales of property and have done with it.

As we have seen, New Jersey corporations would have to pay taxes in that State upon their stock, wherever situated, except what was invested in land without the State, while resident stockholders would also pay upon their shares of stock, and under the laws of some other States stockholders outside of New Jersey would also be taxed on their shares. This would be a serious blow to these concerns, but the mischief would spread wider than this. The stock certificates of these corporations would cease to be negotiable, for no one could tell, without having a tax search made, that a certificate bought by him was not subject to the lien of taxes unpaid by some New Jersey holder.

It would be foolish, in the present state of public opinion, to expect sympathy for the owners of corporate property assailed by demagogues, but widows and orphans may obtain more commiseration. No executor, administrator, or trustee, if this bill becomes law, can without perjury fail to report for taxation all the property of those whom he represents, no matter though they and their personalty have never been in New Jersey. Such property consists to a large extent of securities bearing interest at a rate determined by the fact that they are usually untaxed. The common sense of property-owners revolts at the idea of double taxation; and when real estate is taxed without any deduction for mortgages upon it, it is so palpably unjust to tax the mortgages as well that the whole community has long acquiesced in the disregard of the letter of the statute. The proposed act would have consequences that cannot be accurately predicted. Lenders of money would insist that borrowers should pay the increased tax, but if the act were generally evaded, the income of trust funds that must be invested within the State might be seriously impaired.

That evasion would be general goes without saying. The proverb, "Ask me no questions and I'll tell you no lies," is always in point in such attempts as this. Rightly or wrongly, men simply will not, even if they could, make out lists containing every item of property, tangible or intangible, which they possess, and turn them over to tax-gatherers. Conscientious people will be distressed by their position, but self-preservation is the supreme law even with them, while unscrupulous persons will of course return nothing the ownership of which they can conceal. To make the bill symmetrical, every one should be required to swear to the truth of his return of his own property as well as of that which he holds for others. There would at least be systematic injustice in that, while the present scheme would principally affect certain defenceless classes. It might properly be labelled "An Act for the confiscation of property belonging to widows, orphans, and helpless persons, and to corporations, and to cause truthful persons to remove from the State." It would put a premium upon falsehood, and, as the report of the Connecticut Commission conclusively showed, the premium would be effective.

"This act shall take effect immediately." Unless the citizens of New Jersey bestir themselves, they will find that they are saddled with a most vexatious, unnecessary, and injurious law, to comply with the provisions of which will occupy a large part of their time this spring. Farmers must stop their work to make lists of their tools and animals, business men must go through all their books and stock in trade, women must abandon their spring cleaning to make "full, correct, detailed, and itemized" lists of all their furniture, dresses, jewelry, books, and household goods, with their values—in short, the entire possessions of the inhabitants of the State must be written down and assessed in the space of two months. It may be trusted that the intelligent members of the community will see to it that legislators who vote for this measure shall not be returned at the next election—a much better plan than to abandon their residence in the State, a step which many of the well-to-do class are now making up their minds to take.

RECOLLECTIONS OF SHERMAN AND PORTER.

FEBRUARY 22, 1891.

THE air is full of Sherman and Porter and their great deeds, and I cannot, if I would, help turning back to some reminiscences of them both.

The first time I remember seeing Gen. Sherman near at hand was at the grand review at Washington in May, 1865, when, dismounting from his horse at the grand stand, as his army marched by, he ascended the steps to meet the President and Cabinet. My seat was close by, so that I could almost touch him as he passed up, and I can never forget his firm, vigorous step, still less the nervous quivering of his lip and the bristling up of his tawny moustache as he met Secretary Stanton, who had treated him so roughly about Johnston's capitulation. He drew back as Stanton stood ready to extend his hand, and, bowing slightly, took his seat. It reminded me of a tiger-cat or lion meeting an enemy and ready to spring at his throat. There is no question that Sherman, though a generous enemy, was a good hater.

The next occasion which brings him to mind is my return from Florida in 1870, when I met an ante-bellum acquaintance, Col. Archie Cole. He had been on Lieut.-Gen. Joe John-

ston's staff, and told me, in grandiloquent language, of the plans they had concocted for trapping and destroying Sherman at Atlanta, which he said would have changed the whole result of the war. These plans, he boasted, were only disturbed by Jefferson Davis's appointment of Hood in the place of Johnston. I heard the story without much accepting it, but did accept Col. Cole's invitation to meet Gen. Joe Johnston at his rooms at a Savannah hotel, where, accordingly, I encountered the great rebel, and got from him a pretty strong confirmation of the idea, then prevailing among Gen. McClellan's friends, that he (McClellan), having the ironclad *Merrimac* on his flank at Norfolk, was fully justified by military axioms in going to Yorktown instead of taking the James River base before the wonderful *Monitor* met and repulsed the Confederate ram.

I did not ask Johnston about his proposed capture of Sherman, but on my way North met and sat by the latter at Wm. H. Aspinwall's dinner party in New York, given to Gen. Sherman two or three days after I had seen Johnston and his staff officer at Savannah. Among others, there was present a rebel from Richmond, perhaps a Major-General, who was then making iron at the Tredegar Works. In a pause in the conversation I said to Gen. Sherman: "I have just been South, where I saw your old opponent, Joe Johnston, and had a talk with him and one of his staff officers; the latter thought you were in a very tight place at Atlanta, and that Johnston's removal changed the whole history of the war. I suppose when Gen. Johnston was removed by Jeff Davis, you must have been mighty glad to see him replaced by an inferior, madcap soldier like Hood? How was it?" "Well," said the General, with his usual frankness, "of course I was glad to lose Johnston from my front, but it really made no great difference in the long run, and one day, when Johnston (who had been at West Point with me) and I were sitting under a shade tree in North Carolina waiting to hear whether his terms of capitulation were ratified by Grant, I said, 'Tell me, Joe, did it make any difference except a few days more or less in time and some bloodshed? We had beaten you then, and, with the pick of the Northern armies at my elbow, you could not long have stopped our march.' Johnston readily acceded to that," said Sherman, "and that was the simple truth and all there was to it."

Finding him ready, as usual, to speak out, notwithstanding his having the rebel Major-General sitting opposite, I said, "I saw too, General, what they call down there 'Sherman's monuments'—blackened chimneys and ruins—painting you as quite a monster of cruelty." The General's face grew grave, and he tersely said, the company all attention now, "I'll just tell you the only case when I hesitated to push discipline and punish my officers for wilful destruction. Of course marauders and camp-followers burned, robbed, and committed outrages we could not always reach, but the one other case was this. One day Col. —— of the ——th Ohio, was brought to headquarters under arrest for burning a plantation-house. On being questioned he said:

"'Well, General, I have no defence to make; shoot me, but hear my story first. [He was not a literary fellow, and did not put into Latin "Strike but hear."] Escaping from prison some time ago, I was caught by bloodhounds and d——d rebels, and brought to this plantation house; while I lay there, torn and bleeding, the owner came out and kicked and cursed me, and I swore if I lived I would pay him off. I have gone and done it, and am now ready for a file of men and muskets to square my accounts.'

"What," said Sherman, "could I do? I had to pass it by quietly, but that was the only case when I forgave such a breach of the orders only to burn buildings under certain exigencies of war." All this was said earnestly, but without exaggeration, and I shall not soon forget his face and the withering look he cast at our vis-à-vis rebel, who sat and took the medicine like a good enough fellow as he really was.

The last time I saw General Sherman was when Porter brought him in the *Tallapoosa* to Cape Cod and stood next to him at a deer hunt. The General was brimming over with the enjoyment of his holiday, and when at night the boys and girls sang his old war songs, I thought they would never get him back to the ship.

My first meeting with David D. Porter made a great impression on my mind. It made very evident the contrast between army and navy, which I have ever felt when comparing the two. It was in the early part of 1862 Washington city was like a camp. Orderlies' horses were tied to every gate-post or galloping through the street like mad; the War Department was full of the pomp and circumstance of war; sentinels and plumes were at every door and at every corner, and access to Secretary Cameron's headquarters was difficult except to those decorated with two or three stars. On the other hand, the Navy Department, where Secretary Gideon Welles presided, was quiet as a church on collection day; but my good friend Captain Fox, who then perhaps ranked as Lieutenant-Commander, was Assistant Secretary, and really ran the whole concern, except the Cabinet meetings and the politics, which that Ancient Mariner Gideon himself attended to very well. I was in full affiliation with the navy, and had the entrée to all its doors—indeed, to this day, some thirty years' distance, some of the old clerks and door-keepers open to me now when I call, as if I had a right to go and come anywhere there.

Leaving the noisy War Department one day, where I had transacted some business for Gov. Andrew with Secretary Cameron, I sauntered in to see Capt. Fox, who was quietly smoking his cigar, and, if I mistake not, sitting with his legs around the back of a chair, warming his back at the open fire. With him was a small, dark man, with little show of uniform or buttons, to whom I was introduced, he being then Capt. Porter. He had been on furlough, commanding merchant steamers, perhaps, on the Pacific side of Panama; but Fox, with an eye to vigor and efficiency, had called him back into the navy and put him at the head of the bomb-fleet, then bound south to cooperate with the army in taking New Orleans—a most important command. It was a strong contrast to get ten minutes with him and Fox outside of the bustle and show of the army, and hear that he was just taking his leave on this important and delicate service.

I said good-bye, and think that the next time I saw him was when he was drilling his fleet off Fortress Monroe, preparing to attack Fort Fisher. I was again with Fox, having brought Gen. Grant down from his headquarters below Richmond, he and Fox coming to plan the Fort Fisher enterprise, in which Gen. Butler's powder-boat played such a characteristic but useless part. Admiral Porter gave us breakfast on board the flag-ship, and then made the signal for a drill of the fleet, practising for Fort Fisher by a sham attack on Fortress Monroe. In an incredibly short time the boats were around the Admiral's flag-ship; then came the signal for attack on the fortress, and the men swarmed and waded ashore. All was done with the efficiency and dash which marked our navy throughout the rebellion.

The third and last time that I ever saw Admiral Porter, as it was also the last time I saw Gen. Sherman—by a strange coincidence that seems odd at this sad time—they came together to the Cape. Admiral Porter was then, as always, quiet and efficient, and showed but little change in manner from the time when I first saw him starting out on his famous expedition to New Orleans. Admiral Alden, who led the advance at New Orleans in the *Brooklyn*, when Farragut passed the forts, was also one of the party, as brave an officer as we had in the navy, though not so lucky as some. The three cannot fail to occupy a high place in our gallery of heroic Americans. To end with Sherman—

"Staunch to the last, though age had tamed his strength,
And fell disease had clutched his mortal frame,
His spirit stood unmoved, until at length
The welcome summons from his Maker came.

"His sword hangs rusting on the darkened wall,
His hand shall grasp its trusty hilt no more.
Obedient to the great Commander's call,
He has departed to the further shore."

THE LATEST PHASE OF THE IRISH SCHISM.

THE ENGLISH LIBERAL VIEW.

LONDON, February 14, 1891.

NEARLY three months have now passed since the verdict against Mr. Parnell in the English Divorce Court brought about that schism in the Irish party which has fixed the attention of our politicians during every day since, and now at last the failure of the efforts which have been made in the last six weeks to bring about Mr. Parnell's retirement seems to show that the rent cannot be mended. Your readers will remember that when Messrs. O'Brien and Dillon returned from the United States to France, they made vehement efforts to bring about a reconciliation, addressing themselves alternately to Mr. Parnell and to the Irish majority which had just deposed him in London and defeated him in the Kilkenny election. It was so obviously to Mr. Parnell's advantage to get these two influential leaders on his side if he could, that he jumped at the chance of negotiating, and so obviously the duty of the Irish majority to lose no fair chance of healing the split and getting rid of Mr. Parnell quietly, that they did not hesitate to join in the negotiations. No one, however, who has studied Mr. Parnell's character and analyzed his tactics after the struggle with his former followers began, could have seriously expected him to retire. He was evidently playing a game in which he might have something to gain, because he might hope to divide them and to win over the impressionable Mr. O'Brien, while he had nothing to lose, because he could at any moment declare that the terms proposed for his retirement were insufficient to protect the interests of Ireland.

This is what he has in fact done. He began by promising to abdicate, at least for the present (since he was cautious to keep free from permanent engagements), if assurances were obtained that the home-rule scheme contemplated by the Liberal party would be sufficiently large and complete. Mr. Gladstone, who, though sometimes hasty in moments of excitement, is very wary whenever he feels that the position is critical or delicate, absolutely refused to have any sort of communication with Parnell. When the leaders of the Irish majority approached with inquiries, he

could not refuse to answer them, for he had promised to resume relations with the Irish party so soon as it had replaced Parnell by a new leader, and he saw that as Parnell's strategy was to accuse them in Ireland of placing blind confidence in their English allies, it was only fair they should have something specific to say. However, he judged it wiser to give no opening to misunderstandings by oral interviews, and accordingly formulated his views on the provisions of a proper scheme of home rule in two short memoranda bearing on the questions of the control of the Irish police and the powers of an Irish Legislature over the land question. These have already been published. The views therein expressed did not go beyond what was implied in the bill of 1886, nor beyond what nine-tenths of the English Liberal party hold to be needful. They are indeed absolutely prescribed by the circumstances and conditions of the case. To the Irish majority, and, it would seem, though the facts are not yet quite clear, to Messrs. Dillon and O'Brien also, Mr. Gladstone's replies seemed satisfactory. But Mr. Parnell, finding it difficult to protract the negotiation further, and (as report says) in a moment of irritation, declared himself dissatisfied, and required the Irish majority to insist upon a further condition regarding the police. They, thinking such a condition needless and the demand for it a mere pretext to avoid the fulfilment of his promised retirement, refused to press Mr. Gladstone further; he insisted, the negotiations collapsed, and, as you know, the two exiles forthwith surrendered and were lodged in Clonmel Jail. Knowing that they would have no opportunity for six months to come of defending their position against any attacks that might be made upon them, or of denying any misconstructions that might be put upon their words, Messrs. Dillon and O'Brien, in their respective manifestoes, wisely confined themselves to expressions of regret that the attempted *modus vivendi* had failed. But it is pretty well known, and will doubtless have been made known in America before these lines reach you, what their sentiments, and especially Mr. Dillon's, are.

What is the upshot of the whole affair? How far has it altered the relative position of the two Irish sections and affected Mr. Parnell's future? Very little. The position is much the same to-day as it was the day after the Kilkenny election showed that in the rural districts of Ireland Mr. Parnell is weaker than his antagonists. The Irish majority has kept its ranks closed; the bishops have repeated their declaration against the co-respondent of the divorce-court action. On the other hand, no prominent Parnellite has renounced the deposed leader, though several are believed to remain reluctantly in his camp. Neither has anything novel been elicited regarding the plans of the English Liberal party. Mr. Gladstone's utterances on the questions of police control and land legislation are exactly what every one would have predicted. All that has happened is that two months have been spent in parleyings which have shown the dispassionate observer that there is no principle involved in the Irish schism, nor anything to be settled, except the purely personal question whether Mr. Parnell shall still lead the Nationalist party. It is fair to say that neither party shows signs of exasperation. The lapse of time has softened such hostility as existed in December, nor is there any likelihood that it will again become acute. The interest of both sections is to avoid collisions in the House of Commons, where every sharp word would give occasion for merriment and mockery to their common foes. Even in Ireland it is doubtful whether either section will gain anything by attacking the other. If seats should become vacant, there may be contests like that of Kilkenny, but in most cases it will be possible to predict beforehand whether a Parnellite or anti-Parnellite candidate has the best chance. Those who know Ireland declare that in the rural districts the influence of the clergy is supreme, and that Parnell's nominees would succeed only in Dublin, Limerick, and one or two other towns. It is far from certain whether he could hold Cork city.

A more important question is how the schism, if it continues up till the next general election, will affect the results of that election in Ireland and in Great Britain. As regards Ireland, everything will depend on whether Mr. Parnell and his opponents can arrange some sort of compromise which will not divide their voting strength in the constituencies where the Nationalist party is least safe. If they can, the next election will show few changes. A seat or two may be won by the Tories in Ulster, a seat or two lost, but the general result will be unaffected. But should Parnellite and anti-Parnellite candidates oppose one another, their division may in eight or nine constituencies let in a Tory. This would be a serious blow, for the Home-Rule party have been accustomed in argument to rely very much on the fact that 86 out of the 103 members from Ireland are Nationalists, and that even in Ulster the Nationalists have a member more than their opponents. The danger is so obvious that if it is incurred, it will be because passion has overcome policy in the breasts of the rival Irish parties. That Mr. Parnell will abandon his pretensions to lead is improbable, for he is possessed by a sort of Napoleonic confidence in his star, a belief that he alone can lead his country to victory, and that his own cause is her cause. Neither can the majority yield. Many of them have now formed a rooted distrust of him, and any surrender to him would discredit the home-rule cause in England. If both sides are wise, they will agree not to fight with one another except where the weakness of the Tories enables them to do so with impunity.

As respects England, the most singular feature of the last three months has been the contrast between the attitude of the so-called "upper classes" and that of the rank and file in the two political parties. The former thought Mr. Parnell's disgrace and the split that followed, and the angry recriminations of the two Irish sections, a fatal blow to the home-rule cause. Mr. Chamberlain and most of the other leading Tories and Anti-Home-Rule Liberals declared that the battle was won: Mr. Gladstone's policy was dead, and nothing remained but for it to be buried and him to retire from the scene. This was the universal belief of the fashionable world, of the landed gentry, of the upper strata of the mercantile and professional world. It was shared by most of Mr. Gladstone's followers in these classes—classes in which, it need hardly be said, he has a very small percentage of support. On the other hand, the mass of the Liberal party seem to have remained quite unaffected by these new phases of the question. Some of them would probably have "rebelled" and refused to vote if Parnell had remained leader of the Irish forces. But when he had been deposed, they considered that the Irish party had set itself right with its English friends, and, having made up their mind against coercion and in favor of an Irish Parliament, they were not going to be diverted from their purposes and convictions by any passing incidents. This is the only adequate explanation of the election at Hartlepool, which so alarmed the Cabinet that they abandoned the idea of dissolving Parliament, and is confirmed by the greatly increased majority which the Liberals have obtained at Northampton. For the moment, therefore, the prospects of the Government, lately deemed so bright, have again been clouded, and the expectation of an early dissolution has receded. The Liberals are cheerful, and some think the chance of their getting a large majority nearly as good as it confessedly was four months ago. I doubt this, nevertheless, if Mr. Parnell and the majority led by Mr. McCarthy can be induced to adopt discreet tactics. If there is no recrudescence of Fenianism in Ireland, and Mr. Parnell's attacks on Mr. Gladstone and denunciations of England find as little echo as they have hitherto evoked, Mr. Gladstone may in less than two years from now be forming his fourth Ministry. His vigor and his willingness to undertake all sorts of political and unpolitical work seem unabated. T.

THE IRISH LIBERAL VIEW.

DUBLIN, February 18, 1891.

THE imprisonment of Dillon and William O'Brien leaves the political field more than ever free for Parnell to pose as the leader of the Irish people, and to claim the merit, as he has not scrupled to do, of the work of these two men, who have for years been in the forefront of the battle both in Ireland and in Parliament. If Parnell's motive is merely personal ambition, the temporary removal from the scene of two men, either of whom, if free, would have had as much personal influence with the Irish people as himself, must seem to him and his adherents a distinct gain. A comparison of his and their political records is distinctly unfavorable to Parnell. For several years he has remained in a condition of political apathy, in mysterious seclusion, rarely appearing in the House of Commons, never in Ireland. On many critical occasions, when counsel was wanted and command would have been welcomed, he was not to be found; even his address was unknown. As the formal medium of communication with the Liberal leaders, he concealed from his most influential followers the terms proposed by them and accepted by him, and is convicted out of his own mouth by his speeches subsequent to these negotiations, both in 1886 and in 1890, and by his recent manifesto, of having been ready to agree to a home-rule scheme which he must have known would be distasteful to his followers and to the Irish Nationalists, and which admittedly was insufficient to set the Irish question at rest, or remove the Irish difficulty from the field of imperial politics.

During this period Dillon and O'Brien have been unceasingly engaged, in Parliament and in Ireland, in conducting the affairs of the party with wisdom and courage. Both of them have won a high place in the esteem of all who know them either as political opponents or as friends. It is indicative of Dillon's chivalric nature that the occasion for which he is now in prison, and that for which he underwent a previous term, were both cases in which he was not the originator of the local agitation. He had advised a more prudent course in one case, and had not been consulted in the other; but when appealed to by the farmers in difficulty and almost on the verge of defeat, he threw himself unhesitatingly into the struggle.

Even supposing that Parnell remains for the present the dominant personality in the Irish

movement, the schism in the hitherto solid ranks seems to me far from being the great evil it is represented to be. The organization was resting on a very insecure foundation—an informal, unacknowledged, but practical dictatorship. Elected year after year as Chairman of the Parliamentary party, Parnell, for the last four or five years, has neither led the party nor consulted with them except upon rare occasions. Absent on many a critical occasion, he has unexpectedly put in an appearance on others, and taken his followers aback by his action and speeches, notably when he supported the Conservatives in the grant of a dowry from the nation to the daughter of the Prince of Wales, and by a startling and novel proposal on the Land Question, sprung without notice on his colleagues and the Liberal leaders in the midst of an important debate. His influence alone induced the Irish members to accept, though with some reservations, and with apologies to their constituents, Gladstone's very inadequate home-rule proposal in 1886; and he had apparently led Gladstone to believe that his followers would agree to the still more unsatisfactory proposals discussed at Hawarden in 1890.

The dissatisfaction with his leadership evinced by the present schism is due to long latent discontent, not merely to the result of the divorce case and Parnell's subsequent attitude. His demeanor in Committee Room No. 15 during the debates of the Irish party, his vaporing when outvoted about being the leader of the Irish people, and his refusal to submit to the majority's decision, amounted to a claim to an absolute dictatorship.

The result of the schism is that we have now two Irish parties in Parliament, vying with each other which shall best serve the country; the extent and meaning of home rule has been defined, and a zero line has been laid down which will make a sham measure impossible of acceptance in Ireland. Reservations to the Imperial Government of police control, of appointments of judges and magistrates, of questions of local taxation, could no longer be agreed to by Irish members. Complete independence in local matters, combined with complete solidarity in imperial questions, is the only principle on which a successful home-rule measure could be passed; and the more this question of reservations is debated in public, the less will the framers of the new Irish Constitution be likely to err.

It is quite on the cards that Parnell may again be the *de facto* leader of the Parliamentary party, for the electors who now support his opponents may have to choose between him and the English Liberals, if the present Irish majority fail either through internal dissensions or for want of money. Experience has taught us that the good intentions of English Liberals have never been translated into legislation in accordance with Irish ideas except when supported by a strong Irish vote. The Irish electorate will be more disposed now to look to measures and not to men. If Parnell had led his party during the past five years in the spirit in which he has conducted his secession campaign, the defection in consequence of the divorce case would have been much smaller than it is. He has been taught a lesson which will have enduring consequences; from the recluse, the cold and unimpassioned speaker, distant in manner to his colleagues, apathetic, negligent of business—sometimes on the score of health, sometimes on the ground of constitutional wisdom—he has been transformed into the vigorous man of action, the impassioned platform orator, appealing to sentiment and patriotism, exhibiting a new-born enthusiasm and sympathy for the evicted tenants and laboring classes. Reticence as to what should constitute a home-rule bill is replaced by an elaborate detailment of his requisitions. The selfish audacity with which he has claimed credit for the work so ably done by his former lieutenants, recalls Napoleon's jealousy of other successful generals and to some extent goes down with the multitude.

The weakness of the larger wing of the Nationalist party consists in its having a few members who are English Liberals rather than Irish Nationalists; in want of money, for most of the campaign funds were under control of their adversaries; in, for the present, a lack of a newspaper to replace the *Freeman's Journal*. Many of the Irish members could not afford to live in London during the session on their own resources, and still less could afford the expense of contested elections. It remains to be seen what funds will be provided by the public for these purposes, but it is extremely probable that some of the most useful members may have to retire for financial reasons. Neither wing of the party can expect to obtain the same money support that has been given here tofore, and for the present it is supposed that what was known as the Parliamentary Fund is wholly in the hands of Parnell. The new paper, which is to be called the *National Press*, will make its appearance next month, but till then the anti-Parnellite members are practically voiceless except so far as the provincial papers, with their limited circulation, go.

Taking the situation as a whole, it seems to me that the home-rule cause is now on a better basis than before the schism. Ireland, though divided in opinion about men, remains solid as to measures, and the country is better informed, and can express an opinion on the subjects in controversy more freely, than during the hole-and-corner negotiations carried on by Parnell, who apparently resented inquiries, and kept his colleagues as well as the country in the dark as to what he was demanding and what he was prepared to agree to.

AN IRISHMAN.

POPULAR ENGLISH PAPERS.

LONDON, February 11, 1891.

THE fertility of the newspaper press in England of late years is a subject which calls for more attention than it usually receives. Americans are supposed to be the greatest newspaper readers in the world, and so, perhaps, in a certain sense, we are. We may, individually, read a greater number than people of other nationalities. But a glance at one of W. H. Smith's railway book-stalls shows that we are really far behind the English in the endless variety of little sheets published. If the character of a nation can be determined by what it reads, much useful instruction is to be had from the study of current publications meant to appeal directly to the public taste. It is therefore important to note that still more striking than the variety of English papers and periodicals is the fact that a large proportion are worse than worthless from a literary and artistic (for many are illustrated) standpoint.

We have not much to be proud of in some of our great dailies, with their Sunday editions overflowing with gossip and small talk and fashion and society news; and we have our fair share of periodicals that might be dispensed with altogether. But, at least, at our newsstands prominence is given to the better magazines and better papers, both foreign and American. In England there are the well-known morning dailies, dull and decorous, taken in by everybody, as much a matter of course as the daily supply of bread and milk; and there are the political and literary weeklies, several ably edited, with a very limited subscription list, however. But far more prominent than these are the innumerable insignificant little sheets, quite without reputation, and unheard of outside their own circle of readers—for readers they must find somewhere, or Mr. W. H. Smith, who is a cleverer man of business than leader of the House, would not offer them for sale. The most popular of these are of the *Tit-Bits* order, composed of odds and ends, stray snatches of reading, taken from the press of the whole world. Others depend upon, not their contents, but the prizes they offer, by which the true Briton's love of gambling is encouraged. Many cater to the hobby of a special class, whether it be a particular branch of sport or society gossip and scandal; for while the Englishman lavishes abuse upon the gossiping tone of our papers, he carefully reserves separate organs for his own society news, so that he may always know exactly where to find it, and be able to take it in large doses all at once. Then there are papers of the *Ally Sloper* character, alleged comic journals, but unintelligible to most men, and the cheaper illustrated papers, whose only claim to success is the trifle charged for matter that nobody ought to want. Indeed, the number of these publications would be almost incredible to any one who had not seen them spread out on the book-stalls, where they are so much more in evidence than anything else. For one *Nineteenth Century* or *Saturday Review*, there are piles of *Tit-Bits*, *Short Cuts*, *Pearsons*, *Answers*, *Funny Folks*, *Snacks*, *Scraps*, *Pelicans*, *Hawks*, to mention a few. Only a little better are gossip-mongering weeklies like *Truth* and the *World*. And these are the papers that sell. Of *Tit-Bits* alone, such a large edition is published that, I understand, it has to be printed in at least two different towns.

There is no doubt that these innumerable publications are the outcome of general and free education. A hundred or even fifty years ago, they would have been impossible, since then there would have been but too small a minority to whom such trash could have appealed. It may be thought a hopeful sign that so many people can and care to read nowadays. But the quality of the literary (?) fare provided for them makes one wish they had never as much as learned their alphabet. It may be that the people must be educated up to the standard of the class with whom for generations education has been a right; they must perhaps have to begin with simple reading; but, simple as it may be, if not good as well, they will never get beyond it. The man whose mind has been filled with *Scraps* and *Snacks* will rarely be able to digest more substantial mental food. It is, as Sir Walter Scott wrote in his Journal, when speaking of the necessity of bringing standard works within the reach of all ranks of readers: "To make boys learn to read and then place no good books within their reach, is to give men an appetite and leave nothing in the pantry save unwholesome and poisonous food, which, depend upon it, they will eat rather than starve." I have lately seen it argued that the modern fertility of the press should distress no one, since educated people are not compelled to look at every new production. But the evil done to the many who accustom themselves to reading what over here has been christened the "new journalese," and to seeing illustrations that defy

every canon of good art, is not easily calculated. Their artistic and literary sense must in the end be dulled for ever, and they will become eventually utterly incapable of appreciating good art and good literature. This is why one watches with such interest each new journalistic venture, hoping against hope that, by setting itself a higher standard, it will help to elevate the public taste to which it caters.

Last year, of the many papers added to the already enormous supply, only three were of note. These were the *Speaker*, the *Review of Reviews*, and the *Daily Graphic*. Of the *Speaker* it is useless here to say anything. It belongs to the weeklies of comparatively limited circulation, and has no influence upon the great mass of readers. As everybody has been assured again and again, the success of the *Review of Reviews* has been phenomenal, and its editor's telegraphic address, "Vatican," points to the universal sway to which he aspires. At first it is not easy to understand why such a miracle of bad paper, bad printing, cheap illustrations, and cheaper sentiment should succeed; but the *Review of Reviews*, thanks to its editor's relations with Gen. Booth, has the support of the entire Salvation Army, while it is also bought by the many who delight in getting for sixpence that which they think people have hitherto had to pay shillings monthly or a club subscription yearly to obtain. The *Daily Graphic*, as an illustrated daily, has had, of course, many difficulties to surmount, but the shortcomings of a printing-press not yet perfectly adapted to meet its requirements cannot be held responsible for poor or amateurish illustrations. The *Daily Graphic* does occasionally give its printers a chance to show what they can do with good drawings. But the most that can be said for it is that it has lived a year, and promises to increase in public favor. Certainly in 1890 there was no notable new journalistic experiment which could help to raise popular journalism from the slough of mediocrity and worse into which it has fallen in England.

With the new year, again, three new papers have seen the light—the *Anti-Jacobin*, *Black and White*, and the *Strand Magazine*. The first, a weekly, though it differs from the *Speaker* in its political principles, is like it inasmuch as it addresses but a small audience and can have no substantial effect, for good or evil, on the great populace that reads and enjoys *Tit-Bits* and *Ally Sloper*. *Black and White*, on the other hand, aims at reaching the thousands as well as the hundreds. It is an illustrated weekly, the rival of the *Graphic* and the *Illustrated News*, and its success, therefore, must depend chiefly on its illustrations. If these two papers had kept to the high artistic level which they attained in the beginning, in the days when English draughtsmanship was greatest, there would be no room for a third. But they have both degenerated year by year, though they still maintain their old standing because of the Englishman's preference for that with which he is most familiar, and his curious conviction that anything, especially any drawing, that is actually printed and published in England must be good. For a well-edited illustrated weekly, therefore, the field is practically open, and the managers of *Black and White* say they are determined to surpass everything that has yet been done. To be honest, their first number, the only one which has as yet appeared, is not reassuring. Judging it by its illustrations, to its editors names are of more importance than the work to which they are signed: a picture is still a picture, whether good, bad, or indifferent, while there seems somewhat of a want of judgment in wasting a good wood-engraver's time in reproducing drawings which would really come better by "process," and a want of artistic feeling in enclosing all the large prints in inartistic lines cut to look like a frame. How many years is it since the *Graphic* gave up doing very much this same thing? However, allowance should be made for first numbers, and it may be that *Black and White* has a brilliant artistic, as well as financial, future before it.

As for the *Strand Magazine*, I do not think I should even refer to it had I not seen such misleading statements written in its praise by English correspondents of American papers. It is merely an enlarged and monthly *Tit-Bits*, intended solely for the *Tit-Bits'* class of readers. It is published by the same proprietor, Mr. George Newnes, who, of all men, has known best how to make a newspaper pay, but who is looked up to as a public benefactor by the British great lower middle-class. His magazine is, on the whole, better than one expected; it is made up chiefly of translations of well-known and no longer new French, German, and Russian stories, and its illustrations might be a great deal worse. But, as a sixpenny magazine, it does not compare with the *English Illustrated*, which, dull and uninteresting as it often is, sometimes does publish good engravings and drawings and gives only original matter in its letter-press. Those who think Mr. Newnes's magazine wonderfully cheap at sixpence forget to compare it with the *Century* and *Harper's*, which are, after all, one only double, the other a little more than double its price, but infinitely superior in every way.

It is frequently said that the demand creates the supply, that the people like bad art and bad literature, and, therefore, that only second and third-rate publications have any chance of success; or, as Whistler has it, when that which is born of the millions goes back to them, it charms them, for it is after their own heart. It is true that the critical sense of the people counts for nothing. But the responsibility for the printed trash with which they are deluged lies really, not with them, but with the publishers and editors who furnish it. The people have always taken that which has been given them in art, as well as in literature. When good work has been provided, they have profited; when bad work is substituted, they must suffer. By stooping to the millions their standard can never be raised, and their minds are weakened, not strengthened. And to-day, when every man, woman, and child can read, the harm done by trivial, vulgar, and sensational papers and periodicals, published at a price within the reach of all but the very poor, is more serious than it has ever been before. It is for this reason that the display made in the English bookstalls is one of the most depressing sights in England.

N. N.

Correspondence.

THE WEST AND SILVER.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: I have read with great pleasure your discriminating and commendatory editorial on Mr. Cleveland's letter on the silver question, and dissent only from so much thereof as seems to convey the idea that on this question the people of the Western States are less sound than those of the East. It is a mistake to underrate the intelligence of the Western agricultural population. The result of the late Congressional elections indicates greater progress in correct economic ideas on the tariff among the farmers of the West than among those of the East. Given free silver coinage as the issue and a three months' campaign, and I undertake to say that that policy would be voted down in Wisconsin, Iowa, Illinois, and Indiana by decisive majorities. I have less knowledge as to Ohio, Michigan, and Missouri, but believe that the result would not be different in those States. Fortunately for the country, the thinking and voting are not done by the frothy politicians who vapor wildly in Congress and State Legislatures as to what the people want, seeking by extravagant advocacy of every fleeting popular folly to further their own political fortunes. All the great journals of this city are opposed to free silver, and their circulation is extensive in the States mentioned. It is easy to see that even in States further west this policy has now many more advocates than it can command hereafter. I firmly believe that right here in the great Mississippi Valley Mr. Cleveland has not impaired his hold on popular confidence by his manly and timely utterance, but strengthened and increased it rather. Comparing him with many of his critics, I can find no more appropriate characterization for the latter than in the words of Burke:

"In truth the tribe of vulgar politicians are the lowest of our species. There is no trade so vile and mechanical as governments in their hands. Virtue is not their habit. They are out of themselves in any course of conduct recommended only by conscience and glory. A large, liberal, and prospective view of the interests of States passes with them for romance, and the principles that recommend it for the wanderings of a disordered imagination. The calculators compute them out of their senses. The jesters and buffoons shame them out of everything grand and elevated. Littleness in object and in means to them appears soundness and sobriety."

S. S. Gregory.

Chicago, February 21, 1891.

DOES THE SOUTH WANT THE FORCE BILL?

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Is it possible that the Atlanta *Constitution* and other Southern papers do not foresee the probable result of their effort to prevent the nomination of Cleveland because of his views on silver, supposing that the effort should prove successful? Cleveland's letter has made it impossible—if, indeed, it was not already impossible—to elect a free-coinage Democrat as President. No one will dispute this after calm reflection. The South has not electoral votes enough to choose a President alone, and the Northern States necessary to make out the number are admitted to be against free coinage, with the possible exception of Indiana. There is no hope of sufficient aid from the West, as the Farmers' Alliance has everything in its power there which is not safely Republican. A free-coinage Democratic candidate, then, means simply an easy Republican victory, which would seemingly reverse the verdict of last November, and thus secure sufficient Republican support to pass the Force Bill and other obnoxious measures to secure continuation of power. It would *not* bring free coinage, and most surely *would* perpetuate the McKinley theory of taxation—an admirable scheme for draining the money of Southerners into the pockets of Pennsylvanians. Will the South sacrifice relief from this burden and immunity from force legislation merely to make an ineffective demonstration in favor of free coinage? If so, then the magnificent battle of the last few months, in which it has had the

aid of every Democrat and Independent of the North, will have been fought and won in vain.

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BOHEMIAN "ANARCHISTS."

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: In your issue of the 5th inst. there appears an editorial article on the "Quality of Our Latest Immigration," in which you say: "The countries which contribute most heavily to the Anarchist population of our large cities are Austria and Bohemia, and, though those countries send us some industrious immigrants who become desirable citizens, there is good cause for uneasiness in the rapid growth of additions from those quarters."

Permit me to state my belief that you are somewhat mistaken in the facts. Some years ago there were serious Anarchist troubles in Chicago, in consequence of which a number of persons were sentenced either to death or to imprisonment. The Bohemian population of Chicago at that time was already very large; it is now about 60,000 souls. The Austrians were also quite numerous. But among the persons sentenced there was not one Bohemian or Austrian, and, so far as my knowledge goes, none of them were implicated. It may be, and probably is, true that among the Bohemians of Chicago there are some individuals of Anarchist tendencies. The same may be true of other large cities, and particularly of New York. But, on the whole, their number is insignificant in comparison with the entire body of the Bohemian population of those cities, not to speak of the large Bohemian farming population throughout the Western States; and it certainly is not increasing. Wherever, in our large cities, there is a tinge of Anarchism among the Bohemians, you will find on investigation that it springs from their contact with German Anarchists here or in the old country, and that it is confined to those who imbibe it through their knowledge of German speech. It would be manifestly unjust to blame the whole German population for the existence of a certain Anarchist element in its midst; and it would be equally unfair to charge the Bohemians with Anarchism because some individuals embrace those subversive theories. Such an unfair charge, however, has been made on different occasions and blindly repeated.

In all their characteristics, the Bohemians strongly resemble the Germans, which naturally follows from the intimate contact and intermixture of those two races for a thousand years. In all our large cities where they have gained a foothold—except, perhaps, in New York, where the conditions are not favorable—the Bohemians try hard to acquire property, and their success in different cities has been quite remarkable. The Bohemian farmers in all the Western States, and as far south as Texas, have become proverbial for their thrift and rational system of husbandry. Within the last forty years they have brought large sections of country under cultivation, creating thousands of flourishing farms, and forming a most valuable class of our Western population. On the whole, the Bohemians of this country are good citizens, proud of their American citizenship, and highly appreciative of the advantages offered to them by this great country, with its free institutions. They excel as taxpayers, and business men dealing with them readily acknowledge that "bad debts" among that class of people are comparatively very rare. They can read and write in their own language almost without exception; besides, the sale of Bohemian and English dictionaries and "interpreters" in this country is very large, which proves that, as a rule, they strive to acquire a knowledge of English from the moment they land on our shores.

There are at present about thirty newspapers published in this country in the Bohemian tongue, dailies and weeklies; and of that number there is but one which may perhaps be said to further socialistic or anarchistic views. This I take to be a conclusive proof that this country has nothing to fear from "Bohemian Anarchism."—I am, sir, most respectfully yours, Charles Jonas.

Racine, Wis., February 23, 1891.

THE SPEAKER AS PREMIER.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: The *Atlantic Monthly* for March has an article by Prof. A. B. Hart which, coming from such a source, I confess to having read with extreme surprise. Mr. Hart narrates the growth of the power of the Speaker in our House of Representatives—how, in 1790, he received the power of appointment of committees merely as a matter of administration; how, inasmuch as these committees have power to strangle any legislation which they do not like, and more power than anybody else to forward any which they do, the Speaker had, by 1840, come largely to control legislation through the committees; how between 1880 and 1890 this power was reinforced by the "recognition" for party purposes as between different claimants to the floor; and how, in the last Congress, this weapon of recognition was wielded for and against the personal friends and enemies of the Speaker. Up to this point I agreed with what seemed a clear and forcible account of the greatest danger with which our Government is threatened. To my amazement, a fifth premise led up to a totally different conclusion.

There is a Committee on Rules, consisting of the Speaker and four members, two of whom belong to the minority, and, as Mr. Hart says, "are practically excluded even from the routine business of the Committee," so that the Speaker and two members appointed by himself have the power of determining what legislation shall be considered by the House and who shall be allowed to speak for and against it. And this, Mr. Hart thinks, puts the Committee on Rules in the position of the British Ministry, who determine what measures shall be submitted to the House of Commons to the exclusion or subordination of private bills. He goes so far as to think the Committee on Rules not only an evolution from, but a great improvement upon, the confusion of the committees. He says that out of more than 13,000 measures submitted to Congress, nine-tenths were suppressed by the committees, but he does not say that which one in ten was adopted was mainly determined by the operations of the lobby, or that if a further power of suppression is given to the Committee on Rules, the resultant precipitate will before long depend upon still worse considerations.

Surely Mr. Hart does not need to be told that the British Prime Minister and the Speaker of the House of Commons perform functions as wide apart as the poles. Fancy suggesting to an Englishman that the Prime Minister might as well occupy the Speaker's chair, and preside over and control deliberations, and at the same time decide what measures the House should take up, appoint the select committees to examine and report upon them, and again decide who should be allowed to speak for and against them in the House. Your hearer would in all probability burst out laughing in your face. The Speaker of the House of Commons holds one of the most splendid positions in the world for the impartiality and the justice with which he rules its deliberations, though, lest I should be accused of Anglomania, I remark that he is in this respect no whit superior to the average moderator of the New England town meeting. Being independent of and above suspicion of party, the Speaker is elected almost unanimously, and frequently the same man for two or more Parliaments. The Ministry are just as much subject to him and are treated in the same way as the most insignificant country member, while his most important function is the protection of the rights of the minority.

But there is more than this. The British Ministry are the executive power. They not only determine what measures the House shall consider, but they prepare those measures, which is the only means by which administration can be successfully carried on. They are responsible for the results of those measures, and not only are they keenly criticised while in power, but they know that even after they are in opposition, their successors will visit failures upon them and their party. Our Speaker is responsible for nothing. He has nothing to do with the Executive, and cannot be held accountable for the effect of measures. He does not even prepare them, but selects some of those submitted by other men; and though he may determine what the House shall consider, the House must pass the measure, and therefore have the nominal responsibility. In short, with enormous power and temptation, our Speaker has hardly any responsibility at all.

No doubt the present position of our Speaker is an evolution from the necessity of some leadership in such a chaotic body as the House of Representatives; and, as Mr. Hart says, inasmuch as the tendency with us is to exalt the Legislature at the expense of the Executive, the power of the Speaker will continue to increase. But that is all the more reason why good citizens should cry aloud on the corners of the streets, as they point out the danger; why they should demand the restoration of the balance of power between Executive and Legislature; why the Cabinet officers should be admitted to take part in the proceedings of the houses, in accordance with the Senate report of February 4, 1881, forming a better representative of the English Ministry and a copy more perfect than the original; and why our Speaker should be ejected from his false functions and remanded to his true and invaluable ones, those of the English Speaker and the moderator of our town meeting. G. B.

Boston, February 27, 1891.

HONOR TO WHOM HONOR.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: In July, 1888, Prof. J. H. Wright read a paper before the American Philological Association at Amherst, in which—following a hint of Busolt's—he aimed to prove that Cylon's attempt to make himself tyrant of Athens took place before the time of Draco and his reforms (and not, as generally supposed, as late as 612 B. C.), and that it stood in distinct though hitherto unsuspected relations with the social changes that culminated in the reforms of Solon.

The theory was based on an independent examination of all the evidence then available—not only the statements of Herodotus and Thucydides as interpreted by the writer, but also what he believed to have been the language of Aristotle in his lost treatise on the

'Constitution of Athens.' The statements of Aristotle Prof. Wright endeavored to reconstruct from the secondary sources—Plutarch, pseudo-Heraclides Ponticus, etc. Only an abstract of this paper (Proceedings Amer. Philol. Assoc. for 1888, p. xxvi.) was printed at the time. The treatise was afterwards rewritten, and in August of last year it was placed in the hands of the editors of the Harvard Classical Studies for publication, much enlarged and fortified by new arguments. In the ordinary course of events it would have appeared in the immediately forthcoming volume ii. But, for reasons of a purely external nature, involving blame to no one, the editors, with Prof. Wright's consent, decided to postpone the publication of this paper and to make it the initial article of volume iii.

Meanwhile come the interesting tidings of the acquisition and publication by the British Museum of a newly discovered papyrus manuscript of Aristotle's 'Constitution of Athens.' From the accounts so far published (the text of the document has not yet come to hand), it appears that this find affords the amplest and most gratifying confirmation of Prof. Wright's theory. Here, in the introductory historical sketch, where events are given in chronological order, the account of the Cylon affair (not, however, preserved in the papyrus, but only referred to) precedes that of Draco's reforms, and is separated from it by a mention of the purification of the city for the slaughter of the insurgents, and by an interesting description of the Constitution at that early period. This remarkable discovery, nevertheless, robs Prof. Wright's paper (supposing the manuscript to be authentic) of much of its independent value, since the matter under discussion is now transferred from the class of uncertain questions to that of established historical data. And the paper, as finally printed, must undoubtedly be modified here and there in accordance with the new light.

As one of the editors of the Harvard Studies, I deem it proper, in justice to Prof. Wright, to call attention to the fact that his main thesis was propounded more than two years ago, and was set forth in elaborate written form six months before the discovery of the new manuscript was known to American scholars. FREDERIC D. ALLEN.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS., February 22, 1891.

THE SIDON SARCOPHAGI.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In describing the Sidon sarcophagi (Nos. 1332, 1333) I referred to the first *fascicule* of Hamdy Bey's illustrated work as probably published at the time of my writing, which was the original intention. A letter informs me that the material for the first fascicule has been for some time in the hands of the publisher (Leroux of Paris), and that it will appear about the end of March. Besides the introduction, and part of the description of the tombs in which the discovery was made, this fascicule will contain a description and discussion of the sarcophagus of "The Weepers."

The same letter informs me that the difficult work of restoring the cover of the great sarcophagus has been completed. This cover was in 126 pieces. It was necessary to drill 266 holes, and make use of 132 bronze clamps to join these pieces together. This will give some idea of the amount of labor which has been required to prepare the sarcophagi for exhibition. JOHN P. PETERS.

PHILADELPHIA, PA., February 24, 1891.

Notes.

EIGHT lectures given a year ago at the Lowell Institute, Boston, by Mr. Louis Dyer, late assistant professor at Harvard College, have been carefully revised, and will be printed with notes and appendices under the title of 'Studies of the Gods in Greece at Certain Sanctuaries Recently Excavated,' Macmillan & Co. being the publishers. The volume will contain Dörpfeld's plan of the Eleusinian Temple from the Proceedings of the Royal Institute of British Architects, and, by permission, Elsey-Smith's plan of Patmos from the *Journal of Hellenistic Studies*.

Henry Stevens & Son, London, announce 'The Discovery of North America,' by Henry Harrisse, being a critical and documentary investigation, with an essay on the cartography of the New World, and an account of 250 ancient maps and globes, existing or lost. The work will form two large quarto volumes, with 25 facsimiles, and is set down to appear early in the spring of 1892, so as to coincide with the 400th anniversary of the discovery of America. It will be got up in three styles of varying attractiveness and costliness, and issued only to subscribers.

Charles Scribner's Sons announce as in preparation a new edition, brought down to date, of Brander Matthews's 'French Dramatists of the Nineteenth Century'; 'Spain and Morocco: Studies in Local Color,' by Henry T. Finck; and 'A Publisher and His Friends: Memoir and Correspondence of the late John Murray,' by Dr. Samuel Smiles.

Harper & Bros. have in press 'Flute and Violin, and Other Stories of Old Kentucky,' by James Lane Allen.

Mr. Richard Malcolm Johnston's volume, 'The Primes and Their Neighbors,' about to be brought out by D. Appleton & Co., will consist mostly of short stories of middle Georgia which have already appeared in the magazines. One new one, "The Durance of Mr. Dickerson Prime," will be added.

A collection of the poems of the late Horatio Nelson Powers is being edited for D. Lothrop Co., Boston, by Mr. Oscar Fay Adams.

A Life of the late General Sherman, composed by Gen. O. O. Howard and Willis Fletcher Johnson, is in course of production by Hubbard Bros., Philadelphia.

Ginn & Co. have in press 'Principles of the Algebra of Logic,' by A. Macfarlane; and the 'Prometheus Bound of Æschylus,' with Wecklein's introduction and notes translated by Prof. F. D. Allen.

An essay on Compulsory Voting, by Frederick William Holls, will be shortly published by the American Academy of Political Science in Philadelphia.

Miss Mary E. Burt, whose suggestive and original little book, entitled 'Literary Landmarks,' we had occasion to recommend some time ago, carries out the plan there described for the teaching of literature by publishing the first of four volumes on 'The World's Literature' (Chicago: Albert, Scott & Co.), as a course in English for schools and colleges. The book is made upon a singular plan. Instead of reducing to her own words the authorities upon which she has drawn, Miss Burt has simply made long extracts from them in the original pages. The consequence is, that there is very little matter in the volume which could be protected by an American copyright. The subject treated is the Myth in general and Homer and Hesiod. The method followed is to reprint *in extenso* from Ruskin's 'Queen of the Air' and Carlyle's "Hero as Divinity," and also less generously from the works of J. Addington Symonds, Max Müller, and Gladstone. Homer is then treated by giving long extracts from Earl Derby's and Butcher and Lang's translations, attention being confined to the character of Achilles and Ulysses. Hesiod occupies only a few pages at the end. The scheme of abstracting in this way sufficient portions of the greatest works of the world's literature to give a knowledge of their nature and their sequence in civilization, may well prove useful for younger students and those who have little leisure and some desire for acquaintance with these works; but the question of the rightfulness of such free use of "authorities," for which it is not stated that permission was obtained, is a nice one, though an international copyright law probably would decide it very quickly, so far as the future is concerned. Apart from this consideration, the work is very well done, and should be serviceable in the study of literature by students of high-school age.

A brief and carefully systematized account of English Versification (Leach, Shewell & Sanborn) has been prepared by the Rev. James C. Parsons for the use of schools. It is the result of the author's experience in teaching, and shows acquaintance with what has been written upon English metres by the most learned authorities. The scheme includes a description, with examples, of all varieties of metre, together with notices of the methods by which writers of verse endeavor to vary the normal line, and at the end there is added also an account of the stanzaic forms of poetry, including the recent French importations. The author's judgment is good, and, though the work is elementary and occasionally stiff, the neophyte in verse may profit by the rules and suggestions which constitute the substance of the volume.

Mr. A. Wilson Verity edits for the Pitt Press Series of the Cambridge University Press (Macmillan) Milton's 'Arcades and Comus,' with the elaborate apparatus of notes and introductions characteristic of the present standard of school texts. The little essay on the history of the masque in English is the most notable feature of the volume, and gathers together much that is of interest about this literary form. All that is known of 'Comus,' biographically and bibliographically, is to be found here, and in the appended notes there is a large amount of philological learning. This last matter is, in our judgment, much overdone. The editor is somewhat more free than most of his predecessors in admitting Milton's obligations to preceding poets in English, but not more free than his citations justify him in being. Milton took epithets from other poets as Gray took them from him, and he also imitated the melodic structure of his favorites. The editor finds a pleasant name for this "plagiarism," styling it "the lampadephoria of literature." The work is very thoroughly done, and errs only by that excessive elaboration which it seems impossible to counteract.

Sir Philip Sidney's 'Apologie for Poetrie' is edited in the same series and with the same care by Mr. Evelyn S. Shuckburgh. He follows Arber's reprint of the 1595 edition, which, however, he has taken the pains to collate with an original in the British Museum. The spelling is not modernized. A very serviceable Life is furnished, in which, it is to be observed, the date of Sidney's birth is given as November 30, 1554, instead of November 29, on the authority of a MS. Psalter in Trinity College Library. There is no elaborate literary criticism or other extraneous matter, and the notes, though of the usual fulness, are more marked

by the illustrations they afford of contemporaneous literature than by philology. The edition is at all points admirable.

Mr. E. C. Wickham's edition of Horace is now completed by the publication of the 'Satires and Epistles,' with an explanatory commentary (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Macmillan). It is of the same standard of excellence that marked his first volume, which was issued some fifteen years ago. The Latin text is constituted on the principles which were then set forth, and which Mr. Wickham has seen no reason to abandon. There are essays on the contents and nature of the Satires and Epistles, the collation of the Queen's College MS. is finished, and the volume ends with two good indexes to the entire work.

The historical and descriptive volume, called 'Hampton and Its Students,' published by the Messrs. Putnam in 1874, closed with a notable selection of fifty slave songs arranged by the musical director at Hampton. These have now been issued by themselves, by the same firm, under the title 'Cabin and Plantation Songs as Sung by the Hampton Students,' but with a considerable accession from the Fiske Jubilee Collection and from other sources. And inasmuch as Hampton trains the negro and the Indian together, three Sioux songs have been added; besides which one Japanese, two Hawaiian, one Chinese, and one Turkish song are introduced with reference to the varied nationalities in a certain Hampton choir whose portraits serve as frontispiece. This enlarged edition will, we hope, not only meet with favor for its own sake, but also redound to the advantage of the institution from which it emanates, and which may fairly be called the most interesting as it is one of the most deserving in the whole country.

We have already reviewed the 'Letters of Lord Chesterfield to his Godson,' and it is enough to say of the authorized American edition before us that it appropriately forms part of the Messrs. Putnam's pocket series of "Knickerbocker Nuggets," filling two volumes.

A correspondent complains that purchasers are in danger of being misled by the action of Dodd, Mead & Co., publishers of "Histories of the Old World," in adopting into that series Mr. S. Baring-Gould's 'Germany, Past and Present,' and lettering it 'History of Germany' on the back, as if a distinct work. Still, it is to be hoped that few persons buy books merely from the backs.

The bound volume of the *Overland Monthly* for the last half of the last year is numbered the sixteenth, and is a pleasant reminder of the maintenance on the Pacific Coast of the solitary literary magazine west of the Alleghenies that can rank with the best of those to the east. It does not, of course, draw upon the same variety or degree of talent which is at the command of editors on these Europe-fronting shores; but, if its cup is not large, it serves to drink out of, and the editing is serious and high-minded. The department of book-reviewing is carefully cherished, and is noticeably comprehensive. The *Overland* sometimes attempts pictorial illustrations, but the present volume is devoid of them. Every one who has a just conception of the tone of society in California must feel an interest in the success of such an influence for good as this publication, which has had its period of storm and stress and is doubtless still not unattended by discouragements.

The two chief theatrical annuals in our language, the British '*Era* Almanack' and the 'New York *Clipper* Annual,' try to make up for their obvious inferiority to their French rivals by a greater promptness in publication. The most interesting part of the '*Era* Almanack' is the account of certain "Old London Theatres," with reproductions of old plates. The "Record of New Plays," etc., is as valuable as usual; and the more literary portions, stories and the like, are quite as valueless as usual. The Records are also the most useful part of the 'New York *Clipper* Annual,' which contains four pages of portraits of American actors and actresses.

The latest American novel to be included in the series of foreign works of fiction published in Paris by Hachette is a translation entitled 'Monsieur Barnes de New York.'

The sixth part of the supplement of 'Danmarks Statistik' (The Statistics of Denmark) contains many statements of interest to students of economics. Figures in regard to the public debt, the condition of the treasury, the income and expenses of the State, the different budgets, the number and size of the schools, and many other matters connected with the public administration, are given with great fulness. The account of taxation in Denmark is of special value, showing as it does a considerable increase in returns since 1877. The pension list has been sensibly lowered since 1867. A great decrease is noted also in the tax on brandy, due in the main to the more general use of beer among the lower classes. Students of pedagogics will find many interesting figures under the head of education. In 1875 women were for the first time admitted to the University, and since then sixty-one have been matriculated. The number of theological students has advanced greatly during the past ten years, and, if the proposed increase of the Copenhagen churches be carried out, will undoubtedly increase still further.

Carl Schoenhof, Boston, sends us samples of the "Biblioteca Italiana" issued by Hachette & Co., with English vocabulary and notes. These handy and inexpensive little volumes contain comedies by Goldoni, Alfieri's "Oreste," Maffei's "Merope," and a couple of tales by G. Carcano. They are well adapted for the private study of a language far too generally neglected among us.

There was, after all, a certain undue haste in the recent publication of Aristotle's 'Constitution of Athens.' Mr. F. G. Kenyon, M.A., Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, had the good luck to discover it more than a year ago in the first roll of papyri given him to examine. The secret, kept for more than a year, threatened to leak out early in January last. Hence the full account of the startling discovery which appeared from the Museum authorities on the 19th of that month, and which did really take most of the knowing ones by surprise. Within ten days of that time, the text, with Mr. Kenyon's minute commentary, was in the hands of subscribers. But now the book has suddenly disappeared from the market, and there is delay in the promised publication of the facsimile. Rumor has it that, in the haste of publication, the accentuation of the text was intrusted to unskilled hands. The original papyrus shows only three accents and two breathings.

The University of the State of New York has lately issued a bulletin from its Museum in Albany on our local building stones, by Prof. John C. Smock, now State Geologist of New Jersey. An earlier bulletin by the same author gave a list of the quarries in the State; the present number contains a description of the quarries, with an account of the various kinds of stone they yield and a reference to the more important edifices throughout the State in which the stones are used. A map indicates the distribution of the quarry districts.

In this connection we may call attention to Bulletin No. 3 of the State Geological Survey of Missouri, where Mr. Arthur Winslow holds the position of State Geologist. This Bulletin contains an account of the clay, stone, lime, and sand industries of St. Louis city and county by G. E. Ladd, Assistant Geologist, and of the mineral waters of Henry, St. Clair, Johnson, and Benton Counties, by A. E. Woodward, Assistant Geologist. Both are prepared in good form for easy consultation, with side-headings and numerous tabular accounts of structure, products, and analyses.

Bulletin No. 2 of the same Survey contains a bibliography of the geology of Missouri by F. A. Sampson: a full list of everything relating not only to the geology, but to the several organizations of the State Survey as well, such as Governor's messages and the reports of various State officers bearing on these matters. 810 titles are given. The convenient arrangement, with tables of contents, index, and other aids to practical use, will create a wide call for this bulletin. Other State surveys might well follow the example of Missouri in thus preparing an account of themselves. The Franklin Society of Providence has done so for Rhode Island, but we do not recall any other example of the kind. Lesley's 'Historical Sketch of Geological Explorations in Pennsylvania' is arranged on quite another plan, and does not pretend to bibliographic completeness. The preparation of such lists as these may be recommended to advanced students in our colleges.

Houghton, Mifflin & Co. have added to their well-known lithographic "*Atlantic* Portraits" a very successful reproduction of Mr. Gutekunst's photograph of James Russell Lowell, at life-size. To us it seems quite equal to the best of the series to which it belongs.

Mention was lately made in these columns of Mr. Sidney S. Rider's Inquiry [in his own *Book Notes*] concerning the authenticity of an alleged portrait of Roger Williams. This exposure well deserved to find a place among the Rhode Island Historical Tracts, and Mr. Rider has just issued it as No. 2 of the second series (Providence).

An account of a recent journey to Tashkent, by Capt. A. C. Yate, which is the first paper in the *Scottish Geographical Magazine* for February, adds little to our knowledge of the progress of Russia in Central Asia. Gen. Annenkoff, the constructor of the railway, was met at the bridge over the Oxus. Among other things he showed his visitor a school in which were seventy boys and girls, saying, "When I start a cantonment anywhere for my railway troops, among the first things I construct are a school and a church." It is the policy of the Russian Government in its Asiatic possessions, in contradistinction to that of the English in India, to encourage by every possible means the learning of the Russian language by the natives. This has been carried out with such success within the past twenty-five years, that "all the inhabitants of the towns, and many of those in the country, have learned Russian." Prof. J. Geikie treats of the geological results of Dr. Nansen's expedition, saying among other things that if it has "thrown no new light on the disputed question as to the cause of the high temperature which formerly prevailed in Greenland, it is needless to say that it has added considerably to our knowledge of the present physical conditions of that country."

The February Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society opens with an account of explorations made in Alaska last year by

Lieut. H. W. Seton-Karr. The scene of his operations was the mountainous region lying at the headwaters of a branch of the Chilcat River and just behind the Mt. St. Elias group. In strong contrast to this rugged glacier-covered region is the country between Lakes Nyassa and Tanganyika in Central Africa described by Mr. D. K. Cross. Here high hills, rich valleys, and undulating pasture land alternate with plains covered with gardens and plantations where "you may walk from sunrise to sunset and never be outside the shade of the bananas." The villages, built of bamboo and small round bricks, are swept daily; the natives' love of neatness extending to their cattle, which are "tended with the greatest of care, housed properly, washed and brushed down at regular periods." The ear is filled with the sound of the tinkling cow-bells and the reed-flutes of the herd-boys. The land is carefully cultivated and wonderfully productive, bearing two or three crops in the year. Mr. Cross sharply criticises Prof. Drummond's unfavorable statements in 'Tropical Africa' regarding Nyassaland, which were made from a very limited experience of the country at the head of the lake during the dry season. Mr. Cross also gives some account of a visit to the southern shore of Lake Rukwa, which he believes to be much larger than the maps represent it, estimating its length from 80 to 100 miles and its breadth 30 or 40. It is apparently drying up with great rapidity from an extraordinary and unaccountable lack of rain in recent years.

—There is little to note in the March *Century* beyond the continuation of the historical papers which are so marked a feature in the value of this magazine, but are too fragmentary to call for comment. Frémont's expeditions are the subject of a block of articles, and there is the usual collection of "Californiana." "General Crook in the Indian Country" is a cognate paper. Talleyrand's "Memoirs" continue in the Napoleonic period, and bring out repeatedly his plea that in being false to Napoleon he was true to France and Europe. Life in a Northern prison during the Rebellion is the subject of a new war article. The Thibetan journey continues its rather monotonous course. The special articles of the number are a pleasantly written account of the Century Club, with illustrations, and a description of the social aspects of Australian cities, from the point of view of a political observer. The usual fiction fills out the number.

—*Harper's* for March opens with a most dismal account of Buenos Ayres by Mr. Theodore Child. He finds the impression made upon him by the city and its social conditions "wholly and repeatedly that of coarse and brutal materialism." The volume of business done is striking, and the life of the streets noisy and boisterous, but the wealth acquired in the last ten years has been expended in vulgar, showy, and cheap ways. The architecture is described as not adapted to the country, the housing of the poor as of the worst sort, and the moral habits of the city as more offensive than elsewhere. Of intellectual life there appears to be nothing, and the dependence of the journals is mainly upon Paris. There are "no amenities of life," "no amusements except the theatre, which is expensive," "no distractions except gross and shameless debauchery," "no society," "no social leaders," "no leaders of opinion," etc. Altogether, a more unfavorable view of a great city could not well be drawn, and the sins of the Argentine metropolis must be great indeed to draw down such a condemnation from a traveller who has not shown himself narrow in interest or sympathy, or hard to please. Following upon this article comes an account of the smuggling of Chinese laborers and of opium into the United States, mainly across the Canadian border. It is the fruit of personal inquiry, and seems to be temperately written; and as the information is of a sort difficult to obtain in a trustworthy shape, the paper is of more than ordinary value as a criticism on our Chinese and customs laws. Mr. Lang's comment upon Shakspere's "Comedy of Errors" certainly makes the most of that not very popular play, and is especially felicitous in pointing out the Shaksperian element in the modification of the plot and the treatment of the characters as compared with Plautus. Mr. Laurence Hutton writes in his usual careful and encyclopædic manner of the throng of literary folk who have left memories in Edinburgh, and the article is effectively illustrated by a number of cuts which present the "gray metropolis of the North" to the eye. Two special articles, upon "American Leads in Whist" and on "Nationality in Music," deserve mention, as does also the always welcome writing of Thomas Hardy, who begins a series of papers on "Wessex Folk." Mr. Curtis, in the Easy Chair, pleads for smaller halls, shorter dinners, and fewer speakers, as a desirable reform in public dining. The number is unusually varied, and strong in each article.

—The *Atlantic*, which comes this month without any poetry, is distinguished by a number of articles of serious character, and maintains throughout a high average. The beginning of Mr. Parkman's narrative of the capture of Louisbourg is by itself sufficient to give the number unusual interest, and it is written with the author's ordinary vivacity and skill in character-drawing and in the grouping of detail. It is matter for congratulation that this striking episode of old New England life is to be treated by such a master of the picturesque in style as well as of historical knowledge; but we shall have another opportunity to speak of the work when it is completed. Of unusual interest, too, is the fragment of autobiography in which the late James Freeman Clarke tells of his school days. His education belonged to the unreformed period of our public instruction and the days before juvenile literature, when boys learned Latin before ten years of age, and were glad to read classics of their own tongue which now would be hardly endured as a punishment; but Mr. Clarke throve under the old discipline, and he spends much time in criticising our own methods of primary instruction, particularly in grammar, with all his old vigor and independence. It is a paper especially to be recommended to teachers. What improvement education has made in our country, more particularly in the college system, is the subject of the next article, on "The State University in America," by Prof. George E. Howard of Nebraska. The writer has collected his facts with great thoroughness, and he has arranged them with admirable clearness in order to show the tendency of State education in the past, and to forecast the place to be held by it permanently in the greater number of States. His comments, too, are sound and characterized by political thoughtfulness. Two other articles upon public questions cannot be passed over by political observers: Prof. A. B. Hart's brief and compact résumé of the powers of the Speaker and his place in our system as compared with an English Premier, and Prof. Hadley's survey of "The Railroad Problems of the Immediate Future." Prof. Hart seems to approve of the enlarged powers of the Speaker, and more especially of the influence which comes to him as a member of the Committee on Rules; and Prof. Hadley's position is noticeable for its reactionary attitude towards Governmental control or legislative interference with railroad business. We can only mention the sympathetic sketch of Grant White's personality, with its entertaining account of his Tory and Catholic grandfather, and the scientific discussion of the principle of heredity, which is the most "solid" paper.

—*Scribner's* continues its very interesting serial subjects of Japan and Africa, and has a few special features of note. Sir Edwin Arnold devotes much of his space to the praise of the Japanese woman, and presents her attractions in the most favorable way, not without some dispraise of ungallant, not to say barbaric man—for this last epithet, though just enough in connection with the subject, would hardly chime with the other adjectives of eulogy which the author lavishes on his favorite people. Lieut. Jephson's narrative of life in the Stanley expedition is very well done. Mountaineering has a topic in this number in the ascent of Mt. St. Elias and a description of its glaciers. The freshest article, and one which is indeed unique, is Superintendent Parsons's paper on the "Ornamentation of Ponds and Lakes," with some beautiful illustrations; but it does not permit of abridgment. Mr. Nadal's account of London and American clubs is sufficiently well-informed and comprehensive, but not remarkable in any way. An unusually carefully studied piece of literary criticism, by Mr. Clymer, deserves mention if only for its rarity. The subject, Jane Austen, is perhaps not well selected for a first essay, and in the treatment of it there is something too obvious in the emphasis put upon her provinciality, and too paradoxical in the comparison of her with Maupassant; the whole manner, too, is over-reminiscent of other critics' phrases and ideas. But these faults are of the sort usually regarded as excellent in new writers, and Mr. Clymer's patience, thoroughness, and evident desire to be just, although cosmopolitan, are traits so rare in literary criticism among us that it seems ungracious to find any fault whatever with the essay. It is to be hoped that practice will accustom him to a more original and independent method, for it is quite plain that he does not need to revert continually to Mr. Henry James, Arnold, and a half-dozen other leading critics. We observe also in "The Point of View" some well-timed and well-weighed remarks on the "remarkableness" of the literary form of Miss Emily Dickinson's lately discovered muse.

—It is only a few weeks since we reviewed with the highest praise 'The Finding of Wineland the Good,' by Arthur Middleton Reeves, and now we are called on to chronicle the untimely death of the writer, which occurred on February 25 in the distressing railway accident at Hagerstown, Ind., within a few miles of Mr. Reeves's home at Richmond. Mr. Reeves was born at Cincinnati, October 7, 1856, and consequently was only thirty-five years old. He graduated at Cornell University in 1878, having displayed great fondness for literature during his college course. He was the founder of a humorous illustrated paper of considerable merit, and the subject of his graduation thesis was Frithiof's Saga, which shows how early his tastes led him to the study of the North. In 1879 he accompanied Prof. Willard Fiske to Iceland, and began the investigations which re-

sulted in the notable volume mentioned above. Mr. Reeves intended to devote himself to the study of Icelandic literature from the point of *Culturgeschichte*, and, had his life been spared, he would undoubtedly have attained high rank as a scholar. He was one of the few Americans of independent means who are drawn to a life of letters by an irresistible vocation. The news of his sudden loss will fill with sorrow many who loved in him not the scholar alone, but the man of many amiable and charming qualities.

—The Edinburgh law publishers, William Green & Sons, have reprinted, in a handsome volume entitled 'Studies, National and International,' twenty lectures delivered in the University of Edinburgh, between the years 1864 and 1889, by James Lorimer, the eminent Scotch jurist. All but three of them had been previously published, either as pamphlets, or in one or another of the four principal law journals of England and Scotland, and they were revised, with a view to their publication in book form, by the author, shortly before his death, which occurred February 13, 1890. These lectures originated, we are told in the preface, in Prof. Lorimer's custom of spending the first hour of the session "in discussing in a popular manner what seemed to be the leading public question or public event of the day." They are mainly in the field of general jurisprudence and international law, as the following titles will show: "Reasons for the Study of Jurisprudence as a Science," "Prolegomena to a Reasoned System of International Law," "English and Foreign Jurists, and International Jurisprudence," "The 'Three Rules of Washington,' viewed in their relation to International Arbitration," "Of the Denationalization of Constantinople," and "Does the Corân (*sic*) Supply an Ethical Basis on which a Political Superstructure can be raised"?—which question is answered in the negative. There is an account of the Institut de Droit International; and two lectures, delivered twenty-four years apart, deal with the sphere and functions of an academical faculty of law, while the last lecture, "The Church and the Bar," discusses the relations between theology and jurisprudence. But politics and social science were also dear to Prof. Lorimer's mind, and the volume contains lectures on "Monarchy, Republicanism, and Democracy," "Centralization and Decentralization," "Politics as a Profession," "The Land Question," and "The Idea of the Family in Modern Society," while the German wars of 1866 and 1870 furnish texts for moralizing. Finally, of more local color are the "Story of the Chair of Public Law in the University of Edinburgh" (filled by Prof. Lorimer himself since 1862), and a biographical sketch of Prof. William Edmonstoune Aytoun, the author of 'Lays of the Scottish Cavaliers.' Prefixed to the book are two biographical notices of the author, one by Robert Flint, reprinted from the *Juridical Review*, and the other, more brief, and in French, from the pen of Gustave Rolin-Jacquemyns, contributed to the *Revue de Droit International* as the obituary notice of a *confrère* in the Institute of International Law. As a frontispiece there is an attractive photogravure of a portrait painted a few months before Prof. Lorimer's death by his son, J. H. Lorimer.

SIR WALTER SCOTT'S JOURNAL.—II.

The Journal of Sir Walter Scott, from the Original Manuscript at Abbotsford. 2 vols. New York: Harper & Bros. 1890.

The pathos of Scott's Journal appeals to modern feeling, but the whole tone of the book is "old-world." Wherein consists this "old-worldness"? There is no single line, perhaps no single page, in the whole diary which, as far as language goes, might not be written by an author living in 1891. The language is the language of an English gentleman who expresses himself with perfect ease on paper in the tone of good conversation. The Journal may, in this respect, fairly enough be compared to Anthony Trollope's Autobiography. Here and there, no doubt, may be found a word or a sentence which has a slightly different shade of meaning from any expression now current. When, for example, we are told that (say) two young ladies are girls of "good principles," we feel that the praise is not exactly the form of commendation which would be employed by Trollope, and that if he had chanced to use the same words as Scott, he would not have meant precisely the same thing as Sir Walter. "People of good principles" in Scott's circles were gentlemen or ladies who showed no inclination towards social or political doctrines which we should call Whiggish, and Scotch Tories would have termed Jacobinical, and who in their conduct conformed to the moral standard of gentlemanlike honor. But though here and there a phrase in the diary may betray that it was written sixty years ago, the number of such phrases is small. It is not the language, it is the tone, the atmosphere, so to speak, of the book, which constitutes its old-worldness. Wherein consists, one again asks, this difference of tone? What is it which makes Scott's mode of looking at life different from ours? When we remember that the Journal represents (as we have already pointed out) the feeling not so much of 1827 or 1832 as the feeling of 1800, the question before us is this: Wherein did the moral surroundings of 1800, as pictured in the Journal, differ from the sentiments and the beliefs of 1891? To answer this question fully would require years of labor, and would lead to the production of a long essay, not to say a large book. But it may be possible in the space of an article to point out, in the roughest manner, the sort of answer which suggests itself to a thoughtful reader of Scott's Journal.

The differences between the tone of 1800 and the tone of 1891 are both negative and positive. We may see this if we reflect on Scott's way of looking on the two large subjects which will always constitute the main interests of thoughtful men — politics, taken in a very wide sense, and religion, to which term also we must give a very wide interpretation.

In each sphere the distinction between 1800 and 1891 is in one sense at bottom the same. At the beginning of the century there existed a body of received doctrine or established opinion, both as to social and religious questions, which was accepted as a sort of foundation of opinion by respectable men of all classes. No doubt on this foundation very different systems were reared. Still, paradoxical though the assertion may sound, we may well believe that the real affinities in their way of looking at the world between men as different as Scott, Lockhart, Jeffrey, and Sydney Smith were greater than the differences which to these distinguished men themselves seemed so important, and that all four would have felt far more at home in each other's society than could any one of them in any society in which you could place him, could he return to life at the present day. We think, for example, of Scott as a Tory, and Sydney Smith as a typical Whig. Yet the Toryism of Lord Salisbury, Mr. Balfour, or Lord Randolph Churchill would, one may suspect, be hardly more foreign to Scott than the Liberalism of Mr. Gladstone or Mr. John Morley to Sydney Smith. Scott is known to the world in the field of politics as a Tory, who resisted even the innovations in point of the Scotch currency of such very unrevolutionary statesmen as Lord Liverpool and Mr. Croker. But he was in truth by no means a very rigid Tory; his opposition to Catholic emancipation appears to have been at least wavering, and with his sound good sense, which was backed by his natural courage, he perceived that if the Catholics were to receive political rights, a generous was far safer than a niggardly measure of emancipation.

It would, again, argue the utmost stupidity, to say nothing of injustice, if any one were to suppose that Scott did not sympathize with (to use an expression of Burke's) "those who labor and are miscalled the poor." The attachment he excited in the heart of every dependent and the affection which he poured upon every person attached to his service, argued, it may be said, merely the warmth of his heart. But his insight into the wants and feelings of those who labor was at least as marked as his friendliness towards them. It has been well said that he was the first writer of fiction who claimed our interest for persons who do not enjoy wealth. And this he achieved not by appeals to sentimentality, but by giving to farmers, peasants, and laborers, as to every other class, their rightful share in his pictures of life. The 'Heart of Midlothian' is what would now be called a romance of humble life. But the insight into the position of men and women who earn their livelihood by physical toil, is as plainly traceable in all Scott's novels as in the substantially true tale of which Jeanie Deans is the heroine.

He, moreover, constantly gives to the toiling multitudes not only his sympathy, but his respect. It is here we come to the feature which distinguishes Scott's way of looking at society from the light in which it is looked at at the present day by persons who would never fancy that they were tinged with socialism and would honestly call themselves Conservatives. The different classes existing in ancient and well-governed countries, such as England and Scotland, were, in the eyes of Scott, each and all entitled to respect. The King on his throne, even when he happened to be George the Fourth, the Peerage, the gentry, the farmers, the laborers of the country, each and all were portions of a society which excited his admiration and reverence; each and all were treated by him reverentially. We may venture to say that to him, as, it may be suspected, to almost all the more eminent among his contemporaries, the state of society in Great Britain seemed fundamentally good. A laborer who did his work well was, to a gentleman like Scott, a man to be honored. But it never occurred to him that there was anything wrong or unjust in the existence of a laboring class. He wished that the most careful consideration should be given to the feelings of the poor. A marked specimen of his feeling on this matter, no less than of his insight, may be seen in his remarks on the harm that might be done by altering the Scotch metrical version of the Psalms. But there is not in Scott a trace of the savage indignation at the state of the poor which fired the soul of Carlyle, at any rate in his youth. Still less is there anything in Scott of that half-unconscious socialism of feeling which, at the present moment, seems constantly to suggest to men and women who have very comfortable existences themselves, that poverty, or even the necessity for hard labor,

springs from bad social arrangements, and that somehow or other everybody has a right to be well off.

No doubt Scott's respect for existing social arrangements depended in part on another sentiment of his day which now has, at any rate for the time, gone out of fashion, or perhaps of existence. This sentiment was a feeling of intense pride and satisfaction in the position of Great Britain. It had its root in two facts: Great Britain had been for centuries the great free State of the world. The freedom of Continental nations was of dubious character and of recent existence. In the few countries where it existed, it was the imitator of British liberty. The great free State, moreover, was the triumphant State of the world. Look at the feelings of a German after 1870, and you have a slight though inadequate picture of the proud resolution of Scotchmen and Englishmen in 1800, and of their triumphant pride in 1815. We can now see that the genius of Napoleon was a very different thing from the masterly competence of Wellington; but, after all, it was Wellington and the country of Wellington that remained conqueror in the long contest of giants. These, it will be said, were the feelings of a Tory, not of a Whig. The remark is plausible, but superficial. Grey, Russell, Jeffrey, Sydney Smith, were at bottom as ardent admirers of the social system existing in Great Britain as was Sir Walter Scott. Hallam's conviction, uttered in 1818, that the uninterruptedly increasing prosperity of England was "the most beautiful phenomenon in the history of mankind," expressed the sentiment of a whole generation.

The political differences which divided Scott from the Whigs were in one sense superficial. They had to do with means rather than with ends. He loved the Scotland and the England which he knew; he looked upon Scotland and Great Britain as the noble product of a noble history. Changes small in themselves excited his distrust because they menaced the social condition which he reverenced, and, above all, threatened not the national independence, which had no existence, but a very different thing, the national individuality of Scotland. The Whigs, too, for the most part, prized too highly the fruits of English civilization to desire any change which shook the foundations of society. They believed in reform because they disbelieved in revolution. They most of them were firmly convinced, with Hallam, that the progressive prosperity of England was "the most beautiful phenomenon in the history of mankind." Time, it may be said, has justified both Scott and his opponents. He possessed the insight, or foresight, of genius, but was not a political philosopher. The somewhat narrow political philosophy of the Whigs was sounder than the Tory doctrine of the day. However this may be, one thing is certain: Scott and Lockhart, Jeffrey, and Sydney Smith, all looked with patriotic satisfaction on English greatness and English freedom. They were not further removed from the savage Jacobinism of 1791 than from the socialistic dissatisfaction which characterizes the England of 1891.

It is easier, in many ways, to estimate the political than the theological or religious sentiment of a past age. The difficulty is increased by a fact which itself marks something like a moral revolution. In 1800 or 1830 men were on the whole reticent about their religious beliefs, and still more about their religious disbeliefs. "Atheism," says a modern preacher, "is not now at all shy." Superstition or credulity is, he might have added, equally outspoken. The religious opinions, moreover, of a generation, even when perfectly sincere, differ a good deal from their religious convictions. On a celebrated occasion Macaulay daunted an elector who tried to "heckle" him about his religious views, by the brief statement, "I am a Christian." Scott, under like circumstances, might have said exactly the same. Neither of the two men was capable of uttering a lie; but both Scott and Macaulay were prepared on occasion to vindicate their honor by a duel. In all this there is no dishonesty, nor even, if one may say so, inconsistency. But a critic may remark that the Christianity of Scott and Macaulay was in reality a mixed creed, drawn in part from the Gospels and in part from the code of honor. Now a reader of Scott's Journal must be strangely obtuse who does not perceive that, with Scott, religion was a real thing; but, though real, it meant a somewhat different thing from the same term when applied to Wesley or to Wilberforce. It is also a different thing from the religious sentiment, often combined with very deep scepticism as to the truth of many theological dogmas, which will probably fifty years hence be noted as a characteristic of the thinkers and writers of 1891.

There is not the least trace of scepticism, in the ordinary sense of the word, in Scott's Journal, nor would a reasonable critic expect to find any trace of that sentiment. There is no reason to suppose that he would not have described himself with perfect honesty as holding the religious convictions of his countrymen. But for all that there is something in Scott's attitude towards theology different from anything we should now find in most writers of the present day. The absence of any systematic scepticism represents one side of the matter. The absence, on the other hand, of any keen interest in theological differences represents another. We have, as we read Scott's writings, to remember that the Anglo-Catholic movement, that the Rationalist movement, that the new development of Romanism, that the different sceptical movements which have marked the last fifty years in England, were subsequent to his time. We must note, also, that the religious expressions—there are not very many of them—which occur in his Journal, though not implying the least unorthodoxy, are, as a matter of fact, those rather of a Deist than of a person much occupied with Christian dogmas.

It is the historical results, moreover, of Christianity on which, to judge from one or two expressions in his Journal, he mainly based such dogmatic creed as he held. It may be suspected that, in religion no less than in politics, the leading men of Scott's time approximated more nearly to one another than they themselves perceived. No doubt many of Scott's Whig friends were sceptics in a sense in which he was not. But modern critics are apt to underrate the positive aspect of the religious convictions really entertained by the greater number of Scott's contemporaries. They most of them, whether Tories or Whigs, looked with coldness and suspicion on enthusiasm. Neither the reminiscences of Puritanism (which, be it remarked, was and is still a power in Scotland), nor the anti-religious fanaticisms of the French Revolution, were likely to commend to the men either of 1800 or of 1832 beliefs based on fervent popular sentiment. But, on the other hand, even the sceptics of the day were—in general, to say the least—convinced Deists, and many men whose want of enthusiasm kept them quite apart from the so-called religious world were firmly convinced that the truth of the leading facts of Christian history was established past a doubt by Paley and other apologists of the same school. An infidel was not only a man of bad principles, but a fool. Lord Abinger will hardly be counted as a religious enthusiast. "I recollect," writes his son, "to have heard him say that, independently of moral conviction, there was sufficient circumstantial evidence of the truths of Christianity to convince any twelve unprejudiced and enlightened jurymen. This was his remarkable legal view of the question." This was the view, sound or unsound, which lay behind the religious opinions of the leading Englishmen of sixty or ninety years back. But these opinions, combined with distrust of enthusiasm, led to that real belief in rational piety which is the true note of the generation of Scott and his associates. With some the piety, with others the rationality, of the creed was the more patent. But it was at bottom a real, genuine creed, differing in ways easier to perceive than to define from the beliefs, sceptical or anti-sceptical, of to-day. No one who reads Scott's diaries with an open eye can deny that it was a creed which, when held by men of fine natures, produced noble results.

FURNESS'S "AS YOU LIKE IT."

As You Like It. [A New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare, edited by Horace Howard Furness. Vol. VIII.] Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. 1890. Pp. ix, 452.

A PREFACE is generally the part of a book written last, and read last, or not at all. But when a new volume of the 'Variorum Shakespeare' appears, the old student of Shakspere is apt to choose the preface for first reading. Mr. Furness has a way of laying by good things for his preface, and making it an appetizer for the banquet. He begins with an essay on the value and interest of variorum notes over and above verbal explanation and antiquarian information—the penetrating and enlightening thoughts of keen intellects. Reading him here, it seems impossible not to agree with him. Shakspere is not only witty himself, but the cause of wit in others. A Shakspere symposium of Johnson, Coleridge, Hazlitt, Campbell, Christopher North, Mrs. Jameson, Lamb, Mrs. Kemble, Lady Martin, Goethe, Schlegel, George Sand, is "a feast of the gods." One, indeed, to whom literature is a by-play, who turns to Shakspere as to a comic opera to dream away an idle hour, may find all he wishes in rapid and sympathetic reading, or merely receptive hearing and seeing a play of Shakspere, and Mr. Furness says truly that we all have such moods. But this is only an introduction to Shakspere. Even in this vacant mood, pictures sink into the memory which rise again a wonder and a wild delight; expressions which cannot be forgotten suggest new thoughts, new views of life, provoke, startle, baffle us, lead us on to earnest study of the text and the context and everything that has been said about them, and of everything that Shakspere has written and everything that he was.

It is a surprise to find Mr. Furness objecting to the study in the plays of the personal history of Shakspere. That is another of the topics of the preface. He does not believe that either Shakspere's outer or his inner life is to any discoverable degree reflected in his plays. The smallest dash of the author's self would mar the characters. The whole subject of the time and circumstances under which one of the plays was written is one which with him "has absolutely no relation whatsoever to the play itself or the enjoyment thereof." But it is cer-

tain that every thought uttered in these dramas was a thought of Shakspere. Of the myriad facts and judgments which are the elements of the speeches there is no one but was drawn from Shakspere's knowledge or opinions. The words the characters used are Shakspere's; one idiom he brought up from Stratford, another he picked up in London; he caught one from Marlowe, another from Jonson; he made a third. What is a man's inner life? Are a dreamer's dreams no part of it? If one could meet Shakspere, as Jonson did at the Mermaid, and hear him talk till midnight, till morning, in his happiest vein, would that open his inner life? Did the sonnets unlock his heart? Most men's talk is a phonotype of their morning newspaper and evening magazines. The inner self is not spoken out in any phrases, facts are fables agreed upon. And yet the students of character ask triumphantly, How can a man be concealed? Phenomena which are nothings one by one, become data for the reason to apprehend, to compare, to interpret, to comprehend; we can study out the sense of cuneiform inscriptions, of hieroglyphics; no cipher can keep its secret.

It is possible, indeed, to conceive a poet who gets up baffling poems, who, when old, says to himself, Now I will write as a youth, or who stores up his experiences, as Goethe did, till time gives them poetic glamour. But Shakspere was not of this type. He uttered himself freely. Mr. Furness says: "For my part I believe that Shakespeare wrote his plays, like the conscientious player that he was, to fill the theatre and make money for his fellow actors and for himself." But it seems probable that the peculiar Shaksperian qualities were the main attraction of his plays; that he knew that the best play to fill the theatre was the play in which his genius was most manifest, in which he could work most freely and happily, in which his felicities flow through every line. Life is not shown in Shakspere as in a plain mirror. No person ever talked in the rhythm of *Hamlet*, or *Jacques*, or *Rosalind*, any more than in the strains of an opera. There is a miracle of preëstablished harmony between these dreams of beauty and music and the natural world, and there is a mounting spirit in us which proclaims these dreams more real than nature, more true than fact. To dwell content in single plays, as scenes of real life, and care nothing for the laws which govern them, the laws of the Shaksperian world, which are traits of the character of Shakspere, seems exactly parallel to the study of nature as described by Bacon: "While the Minde of Man looketh upon Second Causes Scattered, it may sometimes rest in them and goe no further. But when it beholdeth the Chaine of them Confederate and Linked together, it must needs flie to *Providence*, and *Deitie*." A single speech of *Hamlet* may please us for a time as a gem of thought; reflecting on all his speeches, we frame a character of *Hamlet;* an induction from all the speeches of all the characters in all the plays leads to the inner life of the poet.

Mr. Furness says further, that if we are to infer the experiences of Shakspere from the tone of his dramas, it would be an error to infer that a sad life prompted sad writing. He would surely retreat to an inner world of his own creation where all was fair and serene. And so Mr. Furness suggests that it was possibly from a life over which sorrow and depression brooded that there sprang the jocund comedy of "As You Like It." That "As You Like It" sprang from a sad heart seems true, but no such paradox as Mr. Furness pleases himself with, is needed to explain it. The life is led "under the shade of melancholy boughs," and one does not need *Jacques's* power to suck melancholy out of a song as a weasel sucks eggs, to find it plain in all the merriment.

"Blow, blow, thou winter winde,
Thou art not so unkinde as man's ingratitude."

We feel the winter wind from the first, and there is not a flower in the forest; there are sermons in the stones. The play is a companion piece to "A Midsummer Night's Dream"—a November day dream. We give ourselves up to the enchanter, and encounter the most surprising matters and things without surprise, as we do in our dreams. The old Shaksperian lion is here, as much at home as the deer; here are palm trees, oaks, olive trees. Time and space adjust and readjust themselves to the story, and so do the characters. *Orlando* looks in the eyes of *Rosalind* and talks love, and does not know her. The villains of the play are as good as girls. When we wake from our dream, we recognize that the magician who creates it is the same who created the dream in the wood near Athens, but that he is sadder now and older, and has a commonplace book crammed with thousands of wise saws which flow freely from all his mouthpieces, from *Jacques*, *Touchstone*, *Rosalind*, from philosophers, and fools, and girls.

HOSMER'S ANGLO-SAXON FREEDOM.

A Short History of Anglo-Saxon Freedom: The Polity of the English-Speaking Race outlined in its Inception, Development, Diffusion, and Present Condition. By James K. Hosmer, Professor in Washington University. Charles Scribner's Sons. 1890. Pp. xx, 420.

THE study of institutions is being taken more and more as the proper ground-work of national history. Clearly, it offers the best opportunity for scientific method, while a rich and comparatively new field is thus thrown open to research. As a result, the last few years have produced a large number of treatises, monographic and general, relating to the institutional development of England and the United States. Local constitutional history, in particular, is gaining more definite form; and two or three writers, looking even beyond the nation, have traced the expansion or described the present condition of a Greater England. The work of Prof. Hosmer, however, has the distinction of being the first sustained effort to follow, phase by phase and with some attention to the more salient details, the comparative constitutional history of the English-speaking race, from the "Teutons of Cæsar and Tacitus to the British Empire and the United States of 1890." This is surely a formidable undertaking. To sketch faithfully the polity of a great people in its lower as well as in its higher organism during the vicissitudes of many centuries—a polity, moreover, whose beginnings are so often obscure, and whose present tendencies are thought by many to be almost equally uncertain—requires a firm hand, much self-restraint, and the mastery of a vast number of facts. Prof. Hosmer deserves high praise for the satisfactory way in which he has performed his intricate task; especially since he has been able to present his subject in a form suitable for the general reader.

The author is a believer in the continuity of Germanic institutions. As will be inferred from the title of his book, he regards the present condition of English self-government as in spirit a survival, in some sense a restoration, of the primitive democracy. Anglo-Saxon freedom is most simply and comprehensively stated, he says, in the phrase of Abraham Lincoln, "government of the people, by the people, and for the people." Everywhere, largely under the influence of American experience, the "plain people" of the English race have again come into power; just as, according to the well-known view of Freeman, the elective kingship of early days has been restored. The first two chapters are devoted to the period before the Norman invasion. Here the author has, in the main, accepted the guidance of John Richard Green and Bishop Stubbs. The conquest of England was achieved by Germanic tribes from the shores of the Baltic, bringing with them their customs, their social ranks, and their political institutions. The unit of organization was the tunscipe, whose prototype was perhaps the ancient mark. Above the tun were the hundred and the shire. In the town-meeting, as in the higher moots, the free land-owning ceorl and the noble æ.heling governed themselves. An important innovation, after occupation of the island home, was the establishment of monarchy. Thus, in the beginning, the simple freemen were in possession of the substance of political power. But even then there existed the germs of deterioration. By the middle of the eleventh century, the primitive tribal kingship had been transformed into a territorial monarchy, whose prerogatives were tending towards absolutism; and the rudimentary landed aristocracy of the days of Ine had been replaced by a feudal thegnhood, chiefly through the influence of the Danes.

Prof. Hosmer will undoubtedly be criticised for ignoring, except in his preface, the opposite theory of Frederic Seebohm, that manorial serfdom prevailed from the very beginning of English history. Indeed, it is possible, in the present stage of inquiry, that entire suspension of judgment would be the safer course; still, it should not be forgotten that the author is writing for the general public, and avowedly presenting those views which he believes to be sustained by the weight of authority. While such scholars as Paul Vinogradoff and the late Prof. Allen find it necessary to reject Seebohm's conclusions for the early period, the older and more popular conception of the primitive Anglo-Saxon constitution cannot be regarded as overthrown. On another important question the author is more conservative. He is very reluctant to accept the view that representation in the local moots, through the "reeve and four" of each township, appeared before the Norman conquest. This is the opinion of Bishop Stubbs, who supports it only on the slender evidence of the so-called Laws of Henry I. It is not improbable that the great historian is right in his position; yet until further proofs are brought forward, if such exist, it certainly will be prudent to "proceed here with caution."

The story of the struggle for English liberties from the landing of William to the age of George III. is told in nine chapters. Here the author is perhaps at his best. His style has all the clearness, vigor, and grace with which the readers of his 'Samuel Adams' and 'Young Sir Henry Vane' are familiar. Excellent judgment is shown in the choice of material for each phase of development. The battle of Hastings, Magna Charta and the rise of Parliament, the coming up of the serfs, the times of the Lancastrians, the depression of the power of Parliament under the Tudors, the England of Charles I., the Commonwealth, the Revolution of 1688, and the era of parliamentary corruption are each briefly and graphically presented in a way which cannot fail to hold the attention of the reader. Probably the

best chapter is that in which the remarkable constitutional experiment of the Commonwealth is discussed. There are two merits in this book rarely met with in a popular survey. Some of the descriptions are enlivened by a local coloring, a precise attention to details, which can only be attained by one who has carefully and sympathetically examined the topography with his own eyes. Again, the author often reveals a firm grasp upon the sources. Documents are subjected to independent analysis; and many a quaint phrase shows that he has written with the ancient chronicle before him.

A very interesting account is given of the rise and development of local organisms on American soil. In Virginia, English society of the seventeenth century was most faithfully reproduced. The county was the unit of administration. At its head was the Court of Quarter Sessions, composed of justices appointed by the Governor. Below the county was the parish, controlled, as in the mother country, by a select vestry, a close corporation. This aristocratic and centralized type of local government became the model for the other colonies of the South. In New England, on the other hand, important modifications were made in the system with which the Pilgrims and Puritans had been familiar in the old home. The continuity of English institutions is unbroken; yet in the higher as well as in the lower sphere of political life there is a revival of the fuller liberty and the more democratic methods of earlier days. There is no conscious retrogression. Nevertheless, as Freeman has well said, "the New England town-meeting is the moot of the Anglo-Saxon tun resuscitated with hardly a circumstance of difference." The Pilgrims, declares the author, "did not reproduce the state of things they had left behind; nor, on the other hand, did they invent something new." They were true conservatives, "for, in the society which they set up, they went back to old ways which in England itself had been largely forsaken." When left to themselves, it was natural that the pioneers, "following tendencies which had come down in their blood, should adopt and at the same time strengthen what remained of the ancient features of Anglo-Saxon freedom." Prof. Hosmer thoroughly appreciates the importance of the New England town; but the colonial shire, especially that of Massachusetts, deserves much more serious attention than he has given it.

It is curious to see how entirely the various forms of local self-government now existing in the Western States have grown out of the early institutions of New York and Pennsylvania. By an act of 1703 (not 1705), reviving an earlier statute, there was created for each county in New York a fiscal board, composed of the township supervisors. This became the direct model for that higher type of township-county organization first carried into Michigan, and thence into Illinois, Wisconsin, and Nebraska. In the board of supervisors of the Western county, as in the newly created councils of the English shires, may be seen again in principle a revival of the ancient shire-moot composed of township representatives; and the author seems, on the whole, to favor the view that this plan of local government is the most efficient and evenly balanced which has yet appeared.

Not less interesting has been the influence of Pennsylvania. From her has come the lower type of township-county organization which, after the passage of the Ordinance of 1787, first found its way into Ohio and eventually into Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, and Missouri. Here there is no popular moot, or else it exists in a rudimentary form; and the township sends no representatives to the county board. But this is not the only feature of the local constitution which the West owes to Pennsylvania. It was in that province, during the early half of the eighteenth century, that the first real experiment in republican county government was tried. Yet nearly all writers have strangely overlooked the fact that, not directly from Virginia, but from Pennsylvania, is derived the independent county-precinct plan now existing in the majority of Western States, and whose marks are an administrative board of three or more commissioners and the choice of all officers by popular ballot. The author has referred (pp. 127, 286, 293) to this important fact in general terms. He should have discussed it with more precision, and given it prominence in his chapter on the present condition of American polity. It is this republican type which is now gradually being adopted throughout the South and Southwest.

There is much of interest in this work which can here receive but passing notice. Such is the chapter on the causes of the American Revolution, containing a good account of the inconsistencies in which the King and colonists became involved with respect to the legislative powers of Parliament; the chapter on the Revolution itself, where the fact is clearly brought out that the contest was "a struggle of parties, not countries," and the result a "victory of the popular party on both sides of the Atlantic"; the discussion of the Federal Constitution, which is described as "merely a modified version of what stood in England between 1760 and 1787," though gaining a new significance from its written or "rigid" form; and the account of the progress of federation and civil liberty in the new colonial empire of Great Britain.

In the last three chapters an attempt is made to forecast the future of Anglo-Saxon freedom. The author is very hopeful. It would perhaps be wrong to say that he has underrated the capability of other peoples for self-government, or that he has overestimated our own. Still, one cannot help thinking that a somewhat more cautious, less dogmatic, mode of treatment would have been better. There is danger of fostering the habit of self-glorification. It would be misleading, however, to insist very strongly on this criticism, for the embarrassments which beset popular government in both England and the United States are carefully pointed out. Attention is called to the conspicuous failure of our municipal administration; to the troubles growing out of our wretched civil service, our overgrown corporations, and the unsatisfactory relations between labor and capital. Moreover, the author has fortified even his most extreme judgments with an array of contemporary opinion which constitutes one of the peculiar features of his book. After all, who will deny his conclusions, that capacity for self-government is the especial gift of the Anglo-Saxon, who has in consequence already achieved the leadership of the world? that this leadership may hereafter be imperilled, particularly by the vast expansion of Russia and the awakening energy of China? or that humanity is deeply concerned in a closer fraternity, a general federation, of the English-speaking race? On the whole, we are indebted to Prof. Hosmer for a sound and very interesting contribution to the history of politics.

Further Records, 1848-1883: A Series of Letters by Frances Anne Kemble, forming a sequel to 'Records of a Girlhood' and 'Records of Later Life.' With a portrait of Mrs. Charles Kemble. Henry Holt & Co. 1891.

THE vivacity of Fanny Kemble's pen is well known from her memoirs, and it does not grow tame with years. The subjects upon which she exercises her faculty of writing simple, gossipy letters in the present volume are more monotonous than in the previous two volumes, but the life of the writer is infused even into the details of housekeeping and the annoyances of age, and what she says is often readable when it is not perhaps profitable. The present series of letters is principally from the year 1874, when she was settled in Philadelphia, to 1877, when she returned to England, and is concerned with domestic particulars. Towards the end of the volume are some letters of travel in Switzerland, the Tyrol, and Italy, and a separate batch dating from 1848 to 1883. The text is frequently interrupted by bracketed passages in which reminiscences of some person mentioned are set down; and these are the more important parts. The collection, however, adds very little to our knowledge of the writer or to her anecdotes of the past. There are occasionally passages which good taste would have excised; but the absence of proper editing is the most noticeable defect of the work.

Life in America is naturally the chief topic; and especially the trials of household service, the degradation of politics, the expense of living and the extravagance of people of wealth, and the insupportably hot weather are the subjects that afford the bulk of the matter, if we except family news. This judgment upon American women is a sample of what Mrs. Kemble has to say of her own sex in this country in more than one place:

"The men and women of the United States are upon the whole the least animal race of human beings that I have ever seen. The men have no backs to their heads, and the women no backs to their bodies, and their animal nature appears to me weaker than that of either English, French, Italian, or German people. The affections have their root in the animal propensities, though they exist of course in measure where these are not strong. The Americans love their children, I should say, more morally and intellectually than physically, which is the reverse of all coarse and powerfully animal natures. The American women do not care to have children, and have, I think (compared with women of other nations), little baby and little nursery love; for all which their general infirm health and terrible climate and miserable lack of domestic assistance for the proper care of their children (rendering the period of their infancy one of absolute slavery to the mothers) would be reasons enough."

The men, too, she says, are a less robust and a subtler race than the English.

Of social or biographical matter we find very little. There is one interesting passage upon the lack of society in Boston which is worth quoting. Mrs. Kemble has just been speaking of the group of educated and talented men who made the Boston of her day famous, and in whose circle she was always a welcome guest, and she continues:

"With such material for the most charming and brilliant society, it has often been a subject of curious surprise to me that Boston had nothing that could be called so, nothing comparable to that finest product of mature civilization, the frequent easy and delightful intercourse of highly cultivated and intelligent men and women. They were all intimate or friendly acquaintances with each other; their wives, sisters, and daughters were in almost daily intercourse; and yet there was nothing that could be called society, in the true sense of that word, in the Boston of my day. . . . Three reasons may have tended to this result: the

men worked too hard in their business abroad, the women were too hard-worked in their duties at home; and I think the New Englanders inherited from the old ones the want of both taste and talent for society, and from their Puritan ancestors a decided disinclination and incapacity for amusement in general—for amusing others and being amused themselves."

Of this group of men we get very few glimpses in this volume, except the very sympathetic account of Longfellow's dinner and tribute to her when she read in the city, and of his affectionate regard for her in later life. Englishmen appear as little on the pages. There is a kinder characterization of Charles Greville than he appears to have deserved, and a pleasant account of Lord Houghton and of a visit with him to Tennyson; but hardly anything else. The letters of foreign travel are not especially entertaining. Altogether, were it not for the womanly charm and good sense and entire naturalness of Mrs. Kemble, the collection would be described as containing the lees of life; but her own vitality makes the volume unusually interesting, and one is surprised at the end to see how much he has been entertained by the merest trifles of correspondence which hardly ever ceases to be domestic.

Picturesque India. By W. S. Caine. Geo. Routledge & Sons. 1890.

THIS pleasant guide-book easily carries one back to far-off India, and revives the memory of one's visit to that wonderful country, with its crowded cities where the Europeans land—Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta; the rolling highlands of the south, the sunny plains of the north, and the grand mountains beyond—each with its teeming populations, its architectures and its religions, the whole uniting in a marvel of complexity which few persons really understand. In a country characterized by the poverty of millions and the great wealth of the tyrannical few, it is natural that the great buildings should receive more attention than anything else. This is the case with Mr. Caine's book, and nearly every traveller has the same experience. The unnumbered poor live in hovels that attract only the self-forgetful sociologist; the little country villages are passed by unnoticed between the great cities. The native merchants are often well off, but their customs are so far removed from those of Europeans that the traveller seldom learns much from their poor English. The Anglo-Indians, whether as members of the Government or of the army, or as merchants, remain foreigners, too often out of sympathy with the people around them. The missionaries enter further into the life of the natives, and from these, as from the educated Hindus whom one may come to know if he makes the effort, something of native life may be learned. Few travellers go so far as this; they hurry from city to city, stop at the English clubs or hotels, look at the great buildings, temples, and tombs, and have no time for anything else. But even such a glimpse is a grand entertainment. What can excite greater interest than the history suggested by the caves and rock temples about Bombay, the mosques of Lahore and the other Mohammedan cities of the northwest, the tombs at Agra and old Delhi on the river plains, and the Hindu architecture from Benares southward? Yet it is the history of rulers, not of the people. Curiously, in all this, the only emphatic impression of English origin is in the sanitary settlements on the foot-hills of the Himalaya and on the southern plateau; there is now even a narrow-gauge railway up to Darjiling, with loops and switch-backs, climbing from the plains up to a height of more than seven thousand feet above the sea.

Mr. Caine tells of all these things in a very straightforward and entertaining manner, giving a simple recital of what may be seen at place after place. The book is something between a guide and a traveller's narrative. It is not compact or statistical enough for a guide of the most convenient kind; it gives too much description, and sometimes even suggests the appropriate emotions, as in quoting Sir Edwin Arnold's account of the Taj. Such superlatives should never be read before going to a place; they may be read on the spot, or afterwards at home, but not beforehand if one would have his own enjoyment and not some one else's. The illustrations are numerous and well drawn, chiefly from photographs, of which the traveller finds a most attractive assortment in India. The suggestions in preparation for travel in India are valuable, chiefly from their simplicity and from the emphasis they give to the importance of letters of introduction. From this last we may appreciate what Rudyard Kipling tells in one of his stories—how the hospitality of the Anglo-Indians is being dulled by the number of passing globe-trotters who bring introductions with them, and thus, as it were, demand entertainment. The letters may be given more cautiously after this note of warning, but the travellers will continue to increase in number, for it is only a little way now—half round the world—to India. The traveller who can run to Alaska in the summer may easily spend part of the next winter in India. He must not stop on the way, and he cannot see all of the vast peninsula in one visit, but if an entire change of programme is desired after having seen this country and Europe, he should try India.

Electricity in Daily Life: A Popular Account of the Applications of Electricity to Everyday Uses. By Cyrus F. Brackett and Others. Charles Scribner's Sons. 1890.

THIS very handsome and richly illustrated volume is made up of ten separate essays upon as many different electrical subjects and by as many different authors. The essays originally appeared in *Scribner's Magazine*, and it is of no small interest to note the prominence of what is almost purely scientific writing in such a periodical. Books of similar purport, though less elaborate, are not uncommon in our language, and one of them we have already noticed. The essays, of course, vary much in ability, but all are fairly good, while the wood-cut illustrations are very fine; the portraits given are at least tolerable. Though the essays are, of course, intended for non-professional readers, they still contain a great deal which even an expert will read with pleasure and profit.

The historical parts of the work are often open to objection. We think that Mr. Buckingham, in "The Telegraph of To-day," has done scant justice to the late Prof. Henry, and that he has failed to see, or at least to state, in what Morse's real merit consisted. There were electric telegraphs before that of Morse, as there were steamboats before the *Clermont* of Fulton; but whether the electric telegraph was an original conception with him or not, this much is certain, that Morse grasped the subject with a perfectly clear view of the end to be attained, and, at least in a general way, of the means of attaining it; and that he finally did attain the end, and, under the greatest difficulties and discouragements, made the telegraph a practical success. That is honor enough for one man. Fulton's case was precisely similar.

We can cordially recommend the collection of essays which form this volume as agreeable, instructive, and suggestive reading.

Petrarch: A Sketch of His Life and Works. By May Alden Ward. Boston: Roberts Bros. 1891.

THE author of this volume, who has previously written acceptably upon Dante, derives the material of her portrait mainly from the letters of Petrarch, and her conception of his place in history from Mr. Symonds. There is very little criticism of Petrarch's works or illustrations of his life from his poems: the volume is thus no more than a biographical sketch of the man himself. His birth and childhood, his various wanderings, his studious solitude, relieved by his mingling with the courts of the time, his coronation at Rome, his friendship with Rienzi and also with the Visconti, his sojourn at Venice, his love of fame and of manuscripts, and his habit of letter-writing, are all duly dwelt upon, with a view to exhibit the singular contradictions of his character, his great place in the world of his time, and those qualities by virtue of which he is named "the first modern man." Of the poetic side of his genius, of the traditional lover of Laura, we hear very little, and the author has most successfully avoided in her characterization all that might tend to make of Petrarch a sentimentally idealized figure such as he is usually conceived. As her aim has been to set forth the man, it must be conceded that she has done so without any sparing of his weaknesses, the contradictions in his nature, the disconcerting incidents of his career; but she shows the great amiableness that distinguished him, the love and veneration which he won, and the independence of thought and action, especially in political affairs, which were most honorable to him. Yet, after all, one misses the poet from the volume, much as if one should miss the orator in a life of Cicero drawn mainly from his familiar letters. The volume fills a place among popular and not too learned books about great literature, and is to be recommended as entirely sufficient to its modest aim.

Architectural Studies in France. By the Rev. J. L. Petit, M.A., F.S.A. With illustrations from drawings by the author and P. Delamotte. New edition, revised by Edward Bell, M.A., F.S.A. London: George Bell & Sons; New York: Scribner & Welford. 1890.

MR. BELL'S editorship of this new edition of Petit's 'Architectural Studies in France' is confined to adding a new index, which was desirable, and a few notes, and to rearranging the cuts. There was no reason to alter the text; the discussions, though in great part superseded by the progress of knowledge and the changes in the tendency of architecture since they were written, are not without present interest. Mr. Petit had a fair knowledge of architecture, an artistic instinct, a quick eye, and a clear judgment, and the notes and illustrations of his zigzag tours remain a useful guide through the most interesting of the French provinces, unsuperseded inasmuch as architectural study has drifted into other regions; and any one may still do good service who will follow out their indications, and fill up the important parts of Petit's outline by the help of the camera and modern reproductive processes.

Those who know the original work will re-

member that it is lavishly illustrated with anastatic lithographs of Petit's own pen sketches, and by cuts from drawings by Delamotte. The processes used in reproducing here the old illustrations have not dealt very kindly with them. Those from Petit's pen drawings are mostly reduced, with much advantage to the compactness of the volume, and with little harm to the rather rude originals. Three, by the way, which are classed with these in the descriptive list, are surely from another hand than his, and a more skilful one (pp. 146, 153, 299). The cuts have not fared so well. Some, in which the original blocks may have been used, are satisfactorily given, but most are either badly processed or printed from blocks that are worn and clogged, so that they misrepresent the originals. But the paper and letter-press are good, and the illustrations, if they have lost much of their charm, are still instructive. The student of architecture can afford to be grateful for the republication, though whether Mr. Petit and Mr. Delamotte would be as much so is more questionable.

The Eclogues of Calpurnius. Rendered into English Verse by Edward J. L. Scott. London: George Bell & Sons. 1890.

PASTORAL poetry in the purely literary type known as the Eclogue has never become domesticated in English. Even in Latin, Vergil's Bucolics owe their place in literature to their matchless grace and mastery of language and metre, and not to their matter, which was apparently exhausted by the pioneer in the type, Theocritus. As for the Eclogues of Calpurnius, the copy of a copy, "shadow of a shade," nobody ever thinks of reading them save those whose business it is to go down into the deeps of hexameter construction. One is, therefore, rather at a loss to see why Mr. Scott has felt it worth while to translate them into English verse, in spite of his statement that they have never before appeared in English. The metre which he has selected is hardly a happy choice. As Gay said in his proem to the "Shepherd's Week," the language of the swains and shepherdesses of bucolic poetry was "not only such as in the present times is not uttered, but was never uttered in times past, and, if I judge aright, will never be uttered in times future." They spoke an altogether artificial dialect, as of courtiers playing at being rustic. They were not the natural country folk of what Mr. Lowell calls the

> "days endeared to every Muse,
> When nobody had any Views."

And to put their sham simplicity into this same delightfully confidential verse, as Mr. Scott has done, instead of into the consecrated heroic couplet, is surely an error of taste.

But there is no such fault to be found with the translation itself. Besides being admirably faithful, its language is exactly suited to the literary type, having (to quote Gay again) "too much of the country to be fit for the court; too much of the court to be fit for the country." This was just what the ancient bucolic poets succeeded in producing; this is what Mr. Scott has reproduced.

The Industrial History of England. By H. de B. Gibbins. London: Methuen & Co. 1890. Pp. viii, 232. 8vo.

THIS is the first volume of the "University Extension Series," edited by J. E. Symes, which will comprise books on historical, literary, and economic subjects, suitable for extension students and home-reading circles.

"The volumes are intended to assist the lecturer, and not to usurp his place. Each volume will be complete in itself, and the subjects will be treated by competent writers in a broad and philosophic spirit—in the spirit of the movement they are designed to assist. They will, it is hoped, be acceptable to those who have not time to study in detail the large subjects treated of, but who desire to get a general knowledge of the conclusions arrived at by specialists."

This statement regarding the scope of the series conveys some idea of the general character of Mr. Gibbins's little book. It is not a work of original research, but gives, in a clear, concise, and simple form, the main points in England's economic and industrial history; it gives a "general view of the broad outlines of the growth of our wealth and industry in their relation to the general history of England." The scope of the work is not well indicated by its title. England's commerce and agriculture receive almost as much attention as her industry.

In dealing with so large a subject, it is almost impossible to write a popular treatise free from errors. Mr. Gibbins errs in identifying the manor with the township (pp. 7, 22); he also fails to grasp the distinction between a manor and a borough (pp. 22, 23). Names of places ending in *ing* can scarcely be called relics of the mark system (p. 7); nor does the name *Tucking Mill* afford striking evidence of the settlement of the Flemings in England (p. 37). The Domesday Survey was not made in 1089 (p. 16). The *firma burgi* was not a "composition for taxation," the payment of a fixed sum of money in lieu of tallages, etc. (p. 25); most English writers persist in giving this erroneous definition of *firma burgi*, although there are numerous documents in print which show clearly what the term really meant. It is also a mistake to assert that all the towns had secured the *firma burgi* by the end of the Norman period (p. 25). Some of the author's assertions regarding the gilds are very doubtful, especially his statements, on pp. 27, 28, that the gild feast was held once a month, that the merchant gilds "existed certainly in Edward the Confessor's time," that the old village gild feasts are probably represented to this day in the parish feasts, and that the gilds bought up the *firma burgi* of their respective towns. For "Maxtead" (p. 58) read "Thaxtead."

As a rule, however, Mr. Gibbins is accurate, and has evidently made careful use of the best authorities on his subject. His clearness of style is also notable. His book likewise contains some excellent maps. It may be recommended without hesitation to those who desire a good concise account of the economic history of England.

Die Spectralanalyse der Gestirne. Von Dr. J. Scheiner. Mit einem Vorworte von Prof. H. C. Vogel. Leipzig: Engelmann. 1890.

THIS book belongs to that limited class of scientific works whose very excellence blunts the interest of a detailed review. Devoid of nonsense and devoted entirely to setting forth what is known, what remains to be discovered, and how to proceed in mastering that remainder, the task of the reviewer is limited to showing what the book is and what want it fulfils. We learn from the preface that the late Dr. Engelmann, in whose person the professions of astronomer and publisher were happily united, conceived the idea of a thorough treatise on "astrophysics," showing fully the present state of the science. The present work is a partial embodiment of that idea, embracing, with all necessary detail, the subject of celestial spectroscopy. In the first part the instruments and methods of research are described with all necessary completeness. In the second the two leading principles of spectroscopy are developed, and here, perhaps, the American and English student will find most that is new and useful. It is often said that an incandescent gas is characterized by bright lines in its spectrum, but we learn the fact, which has been long known though half forgotten, that this is true only under two conditions, viz.: that the gas is transparent through and through, and has within it no solid matter as hot as the gas itself.

The results of spectrum analysis are set forth in the third and concluding part. As an example of the author's method we may instance his dealing with the spectrum of the zodiacal light. In three pages he describes the spectrum as seen by four observers, giving more than half his space to the results reached by the best-situated observer, Prof. A. W. Wright of New Haven. Six figures of spectra show to the eye that the spectrum is identical with that of reflected sunlight.

What renders the work especially valuable to students and investigators is, in the first two parts, the completeness with which physical principles are applied to methods of research; and, in the third part, the condensation of the latest results reached by observers everywhere. We therefore hope that it will speedily be made more accessible to American students by an English translation.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Aldrich, T. B. The Sisters' Tragedy, and Other Poems. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $1.25.
Beauregard, Gen. G. T. A Commentary on the Campaign and Battle of Manassas of July, 1861. G. P. Putnam's Sons. $1.
Beckwith, Anna L. Constance Winter's Choice. Chicago: Rand, McNally & Co.
Cahoon, F. Whom God Hath Joined. Chicago: Laird & Lee.
Carnarvon, Earl of. Chesterfield's Letters. 2 vols. G. P. Putnam's Sons. $2.
Cooke, G. W. Browning Guide-Book. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $2.
Gomme, G. L. The Gentleman's Magazine Library. Architectural Antiquities. Part II. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $2.50.
Hand Book of the American Republics. Bureau of the American Republics.
Hussey, Martha S. Helps in Teaching Reading. Boston: D. Lothrop Co.
Keary, C. F. The Vikings in Western Christendom. G. P. Putnam's Sons. $2.50.
Lamond, Elizabeth. Walter of Henley's Husbandry. Longmans, Green & Co.
Lincoln, D. F. Hygienic Physiology. Boston: Ginn & Co. 90 cents.
Lloy, D. The Philosophy of Right. 2 vols. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co.
Macaulay, T. B. Second Essay on the Earl of Chatham. Leach, Shewell & Sanborn.
Mason, L. W. The New Fourth Music Reader. Boston: Ginn & Co. $1.05.
Meyer, Mrs. Annie N. Woman's Work in America. Henry Holt & Co. $1.50.
Milton's Arcades and Comus. Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan & Co. 90 cents.
Miss Toosey's Mission. E. P. Dutton & Co. 75 cents.
Morris, W., and Eirikr Magnússon. The Saga Library. Vol I. London: Bernard Quaritch.
Mowat, Hon. O. Christianity and Some of its Evidences. Fleming H. Revell. 50 cents.
Overland Monthly, Vol. XVI. July–December, 1890. San Francisco.
Palm, A. J. The Death Penalty. G. P. Putnam's Sons. $1.25.
Parsons, Rev. J. C. English Versification. Leach, Shewell & Sanborn.
Peard, Frances. Mademoiselle. E. P. Dutton & Co. $1.25.
Ramsay, Prof. W. Historical Geography of Asia Minor. London: John Murray.
Rathborne, G. The Cartaret Affair. Chicago: Laird & Lee.
Reclus, Elie. Primitive Folk. Scribner & Welford. $1.25.
Rigdon, J. Grammar of the English Sentence. Danville, Ind.: The Indiana Publishing Co.
Rossetti, W. M. The Adonais of Shelley. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Macmillan & Co. $1.50.
Rowe, F. J. The Coming of Arthur and the Passing of Arthur. Macmillan & Co. 40 cents.
Shady Side; or, Life in a Country Parsonage. A. D. F. Randolph & Co. $1.
Shakespeare. Hamlet, Prince of Denmark. Macmillan & Co. 40 cents.
Sherman, Gen. W. T. Personal Memoirs. 2 vols. Charles L. Webster & Co.
Sidney, Sir P. An Apologie for Poetrie. Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan.
Skeat, Rev. W. Principles of English Etymology. 2d series. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Macmillan. $2.60.
Southwick, F. T. Primer of Elocution and Action. Edgar S. Werner.
Stephenson, H. M. Livy. Book XXVII. Cambridge: University Press. New York: Macmillan & Co.
Sterrett, Prof. Reason and Authority in Religion. Thomas Whittaker. $1.

Stoddard, W. O. Gld Granger. Boston: D. Lothrop Co.
Sybel, Prof. H. von. The Founding of the German Empire. Vol. 2. T. Y. Crowell & Co. $2.
Taine, H. A. The Modern Régime. Vol. I. Henry Holt & Co. $2.
Talks with Athenian Youths. Charles Scribner's Sons. $1.
Taylor, H. M. Euclid's Elements of Geometry. Books III. and IV. Cambridge: University Press: New York: Macmillan.
Taylor, Thomas. The Eleusinian and Bacchic Mysteries. J. W. Bouton.
Taylor, W. The Christian in Society. A. D. F. Randolph & Co. 35 cents.
Tennyson's Poetical Works. Macmillan & Co.
The Annual Expense Book. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co. 50 cents.
The Banker's Almanac and Register. 1891. Homans Publishing Co.
The Correspondence of William Augustus Miles on the French Revolution. 2 vols. Longmans, Green & Co.
The Haydocks' Testimony. Philadelphia: Christian Arbitration and Peace Society. 50 cents.
Tyler, G. V. Passion. Chicago: Charles H. Sergel & Co.
Valera, J. Doña Luz: A Novel. New York: D. Appleton & Co.
Vogüé, Vicomte de. Spectacles Contemporains. Paris: Armand Colin & Cie.
Ward, May A. Life of Petrarch. Boston: Roberts Bros. $1.25.
Weber, Alice. Angela. E. P. Dutton & Co. $1.25.
Wharton, Rev. H. M. Pulpit, Pew and Platform. Baltimore: Wharton, Barron & Co.
Williams, M. Later Leaves. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $3.75.
Young, Prof. C. A. Lessons in Astronomy. Boston: Ginn & Co. $1.30.

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MARCH 12, 1891.

The Week.

WHAT the Fifty-first Congress has done can be stated in a few words: It has passed the most reckless and indefensible pension bill ever put on the statute-book, together with private pension bills by hundreds, and has thereby put in train a probable deficit in the Treasury during the coming year. Such a deficit can be met only by issuing bonds or imposing new taxes. It has passed the most reckless and indefensible tariff bill ever known in our history, and has embodied in it a new principle more vicious and unrepublican than the tariff itself, viz., that of bounties for the production of a particular article of commerce. It has increased the purchase of silver bullion from $2,000,000 to $4,500,000 per month, and by so doing has exposed us to the danger of a change in the common standard of value from gold to silver. If the same firmness in resisting the demands of the silver-mine owners had been shown last June that was shown in February, the country would have been spared this danger and this drain on its resources. It has brought into the Union, before their time, six new States, with twelve Senators, in order to keep the Republican party in power after it had lost the numerical majority in the country. It has passed a Postal Subsidy Bill of which it may fairly be said that no such bill was necessary in order to get the foreign mails carried. It has introduced the new principle in legislative procedure that if a quorum of the House does not respond to the roll-call, the Speaker may count one by eyesight, and transact business on the presumption that his eyesight is good. This practice, it is safe to predict, will expire with the Congress in which it originated. The only good things to be set down to the credit of this Congress are the passage of a Copyright Bill, badly crippled, indeed, but better than nothing, and a bill for the relief of the Supreme Court. Credit must be allowed for a vast deal of mischief not done, and particularly for the defeat of the Force Bill. This was a case where one bad measure killed another. The Free-Coinage Bill killed the Force Bill, and the Force Bill helped to kill the Free-Coinage Bill.

The Copyright Bill recognizes for the first time the property of a foreign author in his books sold or printed in this country. It puts an end to the Algerine system of fostering the national intelligence. It enables a foreign author to fix the price of his own wares, instead of having to accept whatever the bounty of the American pirate chooses to award him. But if we said that it was a measure to be proud of, we should be going far beyond the truth. The obligation under which it places the foreign author to have his book "manufactured" in this country, as a condition of protection for it, is a piece of tariff barbarism which is enough to make one hang one's head. It is no more respectable than an act obliging foreigners on landing here to provide themselves with a suit of American-made clothes in order to entitle them to the services of the police or to access to our courts of justice. To put any condition on a man's right to the protection of the law for his person or property, beyond honesty and peaceable behavior, is unworthy of a civilized government, at the close of the nineteenth century. The next generation, we venture to predict, will, for this reason, be heartily ashamed of our first international copyright act.

The members of the Copyright League, and especially Mr. George Haven Putnam, Mr. Gilder of the *Century Magazine*, and Mr. R. U. Johnson of the same periodical, are fully entitled to all the praise and congratulations which are being showered on them for their share in bringing about the passage of the Copyright Bill. Mr. Johnson in particular bore the brunt of the struggle at Washington during the late weary weeks of alternating hope and despair. Many of his experiences in that period must have resembled those of a shipwrecked man on a raft, who every day sees sails bear down on him and then disappear without noticing him. The condition of the Congressional mind on the copyright question, too, has been for months one of the greatest mysteries in psychology. Members who were supposed to be firmly rooted in their support of the bill would often be found over night, or after a short absence from the Capitol, quite alienated from it and greatly cooled towards it, and the work of conversion would have to be gone over again. Or some clergyman or moralist would start up in some part of the country and announce his belief that books were things which God Almighty meant to be stolen, and that the failure to except them by name in the Ten Commandments was a mere oversight. Or some Western newspaper would reveal some hidden villany at the bottom of the bill on the part of the pampered nobles who write books and carry on the publishing business in England, and on this the knees of some friend of the bill would begin to shake, and would have to be hand-rubbed with more embrocation. Never was a bill which had no "money in it" pushed under greater disadvantages. That it should, too, have been extracted from probably the most venal and unscrupulous Congress that has ever met in Washington, the one most indifferent to moral considerations, adds of course greatly to the glory of the exploit.

We have heard a great deal about the last Congress as "a business body." Of all business which a legislative body can transact, none could be more delicate than a radical change in the judicial system. The last Congress made such a change by its act constituting nine new circuit courts, and the *Sun* draws a picture of the curious hodge-podge made of the matter by the two branches, which would be incredible if it were not based upon the official record. It appears that the act as passed on the 28th of February provided that the new courts created by its terms should begin operations on January 12, 1891, and made no provision for the cases now pending in the Supreme Court, while definitely repealing the statute on which the present jurisdiction of that tribunal rests. This "practically swept from the docket of that tribunal its entire calendar, leaving it without any civil cases to try, and providing no new tribunal for the cases that were thus summarily disposed of." Happily this aggregation of blunders was discovered before Congress expired, and a joint resolution was rushed through which provides that the new Circuit Courts of Appeal shall organize on the third Tuesday in June, 1891; or if through any casualty they fail to meet on June 16, then on a day subsequent to be fixed by the Chief Justice or any Justice of the Supreme Court; and that nothing in the new law shall impair the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court or Circuit Courts in cases now pending or reaching the docket before the first of next July.

A Washington correspondent makes an interesting contribution to the history of the defeat of the Force Bill, giving the chief credit for the result to Mr. Ingalls. The Kansas Senator was asked to follow the example of Reed in the House, and push the measure through the Senate by brute power, refusing, at a given signal, to recognize any Democratic member who sought to oppose such revolutionary proceedings, and declaring it passed as soon as the Republicans had answered to the roll-call. His party colleagues expected him to comply with the request, but Mr. Ingalls peremptorily refused. Moreover, he declared that he would defeat the plot if the conspirators should find a tool ready to attempt it. But for his firm stand the project would have been carried through, and its failure is therefore due to him. It was a great service to the cause of good government, the value of which is not impaired even if one feels constrained to question whether Mr. Ingalls might not have taken a different view of the situation if the Kansas Legislature which was to elect a Senator had been controlled by bloody-shirt Republicans instead of by the Farmers' Alliance.

There are already eight States which have adopted ballot-reform laws this year, making the total number of such laws to date twenty-one. The new-comers are Washington, North and South Dakota, Nebraska, Oregon, West Virginia, Arkansas, and Vermont. These are all desirable and thoroughgoing

applications of the Australian system, the greater number of them being modelled closely upon the Massachusetts law. In fact, the only bitter hostility which is shown to the reform anywhere now is that led by the Boutelle Republican faction in Maine and the Chandler Republican faction in New Hampshire. In the former State the fight is very close, and the outlook for the passage of a very excellent measure, which is pending, is extremely doubtful. In New Hampshire a very good bill has been reported from committee, but, while the Democratic members are all in favor of it, the Republican Machine leaders are against it, and are determined to kill it. The motives of these leaders are the same as those which actuate their fellows in Maine. They believe that an honest, because secret, ballot will so cut down the Republican vote as to give the Democrats control of the State.

"In Kansas and Nebraska a mortgage falls due every ten minutes," writes a correspondent of the *Evening Post* from the latter State. He adds that in every such case renewal of the loan can be obtained only by the mortgageor signing a note or bond payable "in gold coin of the United States, of the present standard of weight and fineness, or the equivalent thereof." The attention of the borrower is called to this clause in every instance. If he does not agree to it he is, of course, at liberty to pay now, and paying now means paying gold value. Usually the mortgageor makes a wry face and tries to borrow somewhere else, but there is nobody so green as to lend gold value to-day with the prospect of being repaid in silver at 20 per cent. or 30 per cent. or some other per cent. discount when the loan falls due, with interest meanwhile at a like depreciation. So the new note is signed and the mortgageor goes home with some new ideas in his head on the money question. If the mortgage companies had taken this precaution in the beginning, and if they had, during the past fifteen years, made the same requirement of gold payment that lenders on railroad mortgages have made, there would be no silver craze in the West to-day. We observe that the bills to prohibit the making of gold contracts in Kansas and Nebraska are not making rapid progress in the Legislatures of those States.

The settlement of the controversy over the Fayerweather will is cause for hearty congratulation. The agreement reached will result in the ultimate distribution of nearly four million dollars among educational institutions, and about half-a-million more to hospitals. More than thirty colleges, seminaries, and schools are in the list of beneficiaries, and while no two persons would agree in compiling a list of that length, every candid man must admit that remarkably good judgment was shown in the selection of institutions and in the apportionment of money among them. No such wide distribution of money for educational purposes has ever been made by a rich man, and it is a noteworthy feature of the case that these gifts came in the nature of surprises to the institutions, as Mr. Fayerweather's intention was not known. Altogether the disposition of the estate is one of the most remarkable manifestations of broad and wise benevolence ever known.

The Canadian elections have resulted in a practical defeat of Sir John Macdonald and the Conservative party. Although they have secured a numerical majority, they have met very serious losses. This result does not, we think, betoken any near approach to Annexation, but it does betoken the early breakdown of protectionism in the Dominion. This baleful system is doomed to overthrow on the whole American continent. Sir John and his Government were and are the representatives of the system which taxes the many for the benefit of the few. They raised the cry of Annexation to frighten the timid, just as the protectionists in our last Presidential campaign raised the cry of Rebel Brigadiers. But the people were not alarmed by the spectacle of the small pattern of the "bloody shirt" which was waved so vigorously in the Northern breeze. They evidently believed that Canada could take care of herself, in a political sense, just as well without a protective tariff as with it. The pretence put forward by Sir John that the Dominion would lose the power of self-control under reciprocity with the United States has been decidedly rebuked. The contest has attracted little attention on this side of the line—much less, indeed, than in England—but the result will be satisfactory as showing that the trend of ideas in reference to that venerable fraud and gigantic humbug called protection is the same in Canada as in the United States.

Mr. Stansfeld's motion in favor of the "one-man-one-vote" plank in the Radical platform, supported by Mr. Gladstone, was defeated, owing to the abstention or absence of the Irish members, by a heavy majority in the House of Commons last week, but his object was doubtless fully achieved by bringing the matter before the public through a debate. There is probably no purely domestic question on which the mass of Radical voters are so sensitive. As the law now stands, a man can vote in as many different constituencies as he has houses or lodgings. In this country, where elections are held in all constituencies on the same day, this would do him no good. But in England a properly qualified voter can travel about and vote in several. This, of course, often gives a well-to-do man three or four votes to the poor man's one. It is almost the only anomaly which has come down from the old days of restricted suffrage and rotten boroughs, and the Radicals, of course, seriously resent it. The Tories, however, cling to it, as increasing the political weight of property, but they do not in these days, when they are trying to "dish the Radicals" by pretending to be more radical than they, like to own it. So they did not venture to meet Mr. Gladstone's proposal openly. They turned his flank, as it were, by proposing representation based on population — "the equal numerical divisions" scheme of the Radicals, which they secretly loathe, but which is for the moment a good card, as it would reduce the Irish representation in the House of Commons by eighteen, and would therefore be unpalatable to the Liberals.

A conference on "the organization of industry" was held at Oxford (England) on the 29th of November, the report of which has just been printed and now lies before us. As such men as Mr. Leonard Courtney and Mr. Arthur Acland, two prominent members of Parliament; Mr. Tod, a leading director of the London Dock Companies, and the now celebrated Tom Mann, the leading English labor agitator, were among the members, we read the report with the expectation of lighting on some important contribution to the discussion of the labor problem. Tom Mann spoke his full mind on behalf of labor, and Mr. Tod his full mind on behalf of capital. Sympathizers with labor, who had been backing up the dockers and others in their strikes, spoke their full minds on behalf of the benevolent lookers-on. But a more completely barren conference probably never met. Not one ray of light was thrown on the labor problem from any quarter. Tom Mann's case was that there were on that day "30,000 men out of work in East London alone, the greater part of whom were responsible as citizens, and responsible as fathers of families," and that "this was a state of things so frightful that it would not bear calm contemplation without making the very blood boil in the veins of straightforward men and women." Of course it did the men out of work no good to have other people's blood boil over them, so Mr. Mann had to produce a remedy. The first feature in his plan was the prohibition of "overtime," so that the work done in overtime by the employed would go to the unemployed; then a compulsory reduction of the day's work to eight hours as a maximum. If after this there still remained any men out of work, there should be for them "municipally controlled workshops, where all those who could not get work under ordinary circumstances should be drafted, instead of being left at the street-corners, and ultimately finding their way into the workhouses and jails to live at the expense of the community. They should be drafted into the municipal workshops and provided with raw material to make that which they require for their own consumption or its equivalent."

Of explanation how this scheme would work in practice Mr. Mann did not offer one word. If we use the light thrown on it by French experience, when Louis Blanc's "national workshops" were tried in 1849, and by everybody's experience of human nature, we should say that what would happen would be this: The men now in employment would, on learning that they

were sure of work in any event, grow more and more careless and insubordinate in doing such work as they already had, and would go "on strike" with increasing frequency, compelling private employers either to discharge them in greater and greater numbers, or retire from business altogether. Consequently, the "municipally controlled work-shops," instead of having 30,000 men to find employment for, would probably find themselves before many months supplying "raw material" to 200,000 or even 300,000 men. In fact, there would be practically no limit to the demands on them. All the lazy, the mutinous, the incompetent, and the drunken would crowd into them, in the perfectly reasonable expectation that, being political workshops in which nobody was interested either in making a profit or keeping down expenses, and in which political "pulls" would tell, the work in them would be light, the hours short, and attendance irregular. The spectacle of 30,000 men out of work even in such a huge city as London, to which so much human good-for-nothingness drifts from all parts of the world, is doubtless a very painful one; but people whose blood boils over it must not forget the part it plays as that external spur to industry and honesty which somehow thus far seems an absolute necessity in every field of human endeavor. Probably 500,000 men are kept "up to the mark" in London by the sight of these 30,000 industrial failures.

There is a commission now sitting in New South Wales on the labor question before which the representatives of labor are making a desperate battle for the enforced recognition of the unions by the employers in all labor disputes. The same contention will probably be made before the Royal Commission which is shortly to sit on labor in England. The laborers have put it in the forefront of their battle in England during the late great strikes. But no civilized government can make any such concession without providing penalties to enforce on the workmen the fulfilment of any contracts into which the unions may enter. At present the great and indeed fatal objection to treating with the unions is that they cannot keep their promises. If the employers accede to their demands to-day, there is no guarantee that another strike against these very terms may not be made in a week, or that the men may not abandon work without giving any reason. In addition to this, no government calling itself civilized can recognize the unions as corporations without providing protection for those workingmen who do not choose to belong to them. At present the persecution or annoyance of everybody in the same trade who does not join them, is one of the chief duties of every union. If the power or importance of the unions were increased, the lot of the men who prefer to manage their own lives in their own way would be harder than ever. In fact, every union we have yet heard of contains the promise and potency of a tyrant and oppressor. The world does not want to begin the battle of personal freedom over again.

There was an old mediæval custom of putting up during Lent in the churches a "Devil's Advocate," to dispute with the priest occupying the pulpit, but he was, of course, bound by the terms of his employment to suffer himself to get the worst of it in the controversy, and finally to be ignominiously routed. An attempt to revive the practice in one of the churches of Rouen in France two or three years ago led to a riot, which necessitated the clearing of the church by the police. The Devil's Advocate played false, and, instead of giving ground before the pulpit orator, he held firm and made himself too much for the priest, amid the wild applause of his irreverent followers among the audience who thronged the church to see the fun. This led to the discontinuance of the spectacle in Rouen, but this year it has been revived in Paris, in the interest of socialism, as a means, we presume, of getting some of the workingmen to go to church. A Socialist orator has been allowed in one of the churches to contend with the preacher about the evils of our present social organization and the proper remedy for them, and the audiences are said to be very large; but whether the debates inure to the benefit of the Christian religion may well be doubted. We have seen no full report of them, but it would seem that the Socialist tells that old story about the "exploitation" of the poor man by the capitalist; about the poor growing poorer and the rich richer; about the ease with which rich men get loans, while the poor, who need them most, can get none, and about the right of the laborer to the whole products of his labor. Where he and the preacher join issue is probably in searching for a remedy. The Socialist doubtless wants ownership of the "instruments of production" by the State, and State loans of money to all comers without security, while the priest insists on a more regular attendance at mass, the taking of the sacrament at least twice a year, frequent resort to the confessional, the sending of children to church schools, and greater respect for clerical advice. It is easy to see that if this supposition be correct, the disputants are separated by an immense interval; but if the discussion can be carried on calmly in a church, it will show that the French Socialists are more reasonable than they used to be.

M. Leroy-Beaulieu blows a terrible blast, in the last number of the *Économiste Français*, against the work of the French Tariff Commission which has just made its report. He says their bill, which, though it puts cotton, silk, and hides on the free list, raises the cost of nearly everything else 20 per cent., will not and cannot be executed. He says 600 men in frock-coats and blouses cannot decide for a great country containing 40,000,000 of population how it is going to live and labor; that there is something stronger than parliaments, namely, the "force of circumstances"; that the immense exporting interest in France will rise against a tariff which reduces their trade with nearly every foreign country; and that the consumers—the professional classes, the salaried classes, the working classes who do not participate in tariff-made profits—will see to it that the same fate shall overtake the bill as overtook the corn laws in England and has overtaken the McKinley Bill in the United States. In short, he remarks, "We consider the work of the Commission still-born. The bill may be passed, but it will not be executed for more than three months. It will be attacked with irresistible fierceness by the million of households which are supported by our exporting industries, by the cultivated, literary, and artistic class, which is not only the ornament of France, but its great attraction and advertisement to foreigners; and it will be ruined from top to bottom by the retaliation which it will call forth from foreign countries in the abrogation of the treaties relating to art, literature, and trade-marks."

Belgium, notwithstanding Mr. Depew's ranking her among the converts to the policy of protection, still remains one of the few countries of Europe that cling to the idea of commercial liberty. In the course of a recent debate in the Belgian Chamber, reference was made to the new French legislation, so pronouncedly protective in spirit, and fear was expressed that Belgium would find her market in France greatly restricted. Thereupon a prominent member observed that the true way for Belgium to meet the situation was to make still lower the duties on raw materials and all imports that have any effect upon the country's ability to export goods. In this way, he maintained, Belgian manufacturers would have a new advantage over their French competitors in the foreign trade, which, together with the extra handicap of the latter in the shape of taxed raw material, would enable Belgium to win from France more of the South American trade than would be needed to make up for the diminished commerce with France. Then let heavier taxes be laid on imports of luxuries, and the deficit in the Treasury would be made good, while the productive power of the country would be increased. M. Beernaert, the Minister of Finance, joined in the debate, and, though he did not explicitly commit himself to the plan suggested, he made it plain that any changes in the Belgian tariff would be in the interests of commercial freedom. He called attention to the significant fact that the trade returns for the four countries of Europe which still stand out against the general invasion of protection—England, Switzerland, Belgium, and the Netherlands—were more satisfactory than those of any protected country, while the one with the least industrial development yet did a business, under a system of liberty, which, relatively to the population, was twice as great as that of France or the United States, and almost four times that of Austria or Italy.

OUR LEGISLATIVE ANOMALY.

THE figures compiled by Mr. Dockery of Missouri showing the comparative appropriations of public money by the Fiftieth and Fifty-first Congresses may not be strictly accurate as regards the latter, because there has not yet been time to examine them closely; but if they err at all, they err in the direction of underestimate. About the appropriations of the Fiftieth Congress there is, of course, no question whatever. The following figures have been printed by the *Herald*, which first obtained them; they will serve to give a point to what we are about to say :

Appropriation Bills.	Fifty-first Congress.	Fiftieth Congress.
Agricultural.....	$4,827,253	$3,385,780
Army.....	48,810,000	48,771,415
Diplo. and Consular.	3,367,740	3,408,490
Dist. of Columbia...	11,372,669	10,733,816
Fortifications.....	8,007,738	5,177,594
Indian.....	23,389,016	16,299,424
Legislative.....	43,084,278	41,598,713
Military Academy..	837,360	1,217,809
Naval.....	55,677,689	41,635,345
Pensions.....	233,672,246	163,516,900
Post-office.....	150,133,920	127,465,577
Rivers and Harbors..	25,136,295	22,397,616
Sundry Civil.....	67,247,645	51,598,145
Deficiency.....	76,617,448	35,986,743
Miscellaneous.....	27,737,905	15,670,862
Indef. appr'priat'ns.	2,236,000	
Total annual.....	$782,155,210	$588,864,229
Permanent.....	227,115,261	224,331,853
Grand total.....	$1,009,270,471	$813,196,082

Now, more than one-half of these thousand millions of public money appropriated by the Congress which has just come to an end, was voted by a body of men who had been already dismissed from office by their constituents after as complete a trial as legislators as any men in American public life have ever had. They entered on the duties of their office in December, 1889, and they sat continuously from then until October, 1890, legislating vigorously all the time under a new set of rules specially devised by themselves to facilitate their business. They then went with their handiwork before the country and asked for its verdict, and they went, of course, on the assumption on which not only American democracy, but all free government, is based—that the electors are competent judges of the qualifications of the elected. It was not open, therefore, to a Representative, when called to account, to question the judgment of the voters, and the Republican Congressmen did not in November question the judgment of the voters touching either men or measures. They delivered themselves into the hands of their constituents by every means known to American usage—speeches, articles, books, pamphlets, pictures, forged extracts, and cross roads talks. They knew well that any claim to an occult body of doctrine too strong for popular comprehension, and held in a sort of hierophantic reserve by such prelates as Reed and McKinley and Lodge, would, if produced either on the stump or in the press, have covered them with derision and made their defeat certain. They therefore took care not to produce any such claim. They said to the voters, "Here we are and here is our handiwork. You are the sole judges of both. If you approve, send us back. If you do not approve, dismiss us."

The voters in due course exercised their ancient and unquestioned right by dismissing from the service of the United States an unprecedentedly large proportion of the majority. No party has, in the history of the country, ever received such a mark of popular disapproval as was inflicted on the Republican party in the November election. No such vote of "want of confidence" is to be found in our political annals. Only a handful of the legislators of 1889–'90 got back to Congress. In every legislative body either of our time, or of any time, except the Congress of the United States, such a defeat at the polls would have returned the defeated candidates *instanter* to private life. It would have stripped them of both power and emoluments on the day on which the vote was declared. And this effect of defeat is necessary not only to good government, but to safe government. A ministerial officer may be safely left in office after he has received notice of dismissal, because his duties are defined by law, and nothing of importance is left to his discretion. But a legislative or judicial officer cannot. A judge who has been removed for incompetency or corruption cannot be allowed to mount the bench again to pass on other men's title to life or property, and a legislator whose legislative work has been emphatically condemned by the voters ought not, in like manner, to be allowed to go on legislating.

All our State constitutions act on this most wholesome and necessary rule. All foreign parliamentary States act on it. It is only the Congress of the United States—and this by a bungle in the matter of dates—which is exposed every two years to the irruption of a horde of discredited politicians armed with full legislative power, for the manner of exercising which they owe no responsibility to anybody. The House of Representatives, which has been sitting since December last, and adjourned on Wednesday week, had, in fact, no constituents. Nobody could punish it for misconduct, nobody could call it to account. It had nothing to fear or hope from public praise or censure. And yet, such as it was, it had the legal power to loot the richest treasury in the world and divide the booty as it pleased. It accordingly went back to Washington and voted away over $500,000,000, knowing that the individuals of the majority would be out of sight, and most of them out of mind, before the public got accurate knowledge of what they had been doing.

In truth, the conduct of the majority since the election has furnished a more impressive justification of their dismissal than their conduct before the election. Had they been men worthy of their places, their defeat at the polls on such a tremendous scale would have made a deep moral impression on them. They would have received it as a decided, even if unpleasant, proof that they had lost public confidence, and they would have gone back to Washington for the remainder of their term in the spirit of an honorable trustee or bank president who has been removed for errors of judgment, and is simply holding office till his successor is ready to assume its duties. Such a man would confine himself strictly to routine work. He would avoid all acts calling for the exercise of discretion, all use of doubtful powers, all persistence in a policy condemned by his constituents, and particularly all expenditures of funds which were not strictly mandatory. If he were not an honorable man, he would act very much as the Republican majority have acted—that is, he would endeavor to make hay while the sun shone by using all authority left in his hands to fill his own pockets and those of his supporters in the Board of Trustees, and making as many contracts and engagements on behalf of the bank as could possibly profit him personally without getting him into the hands of the police.

On one point the late majority have gone beyond even the most notorious rogues of ancient or modern times. They have actually turned round since the election and begun to deny their employer's ability to understand his own business. We do not believe there is anything either in political or criminal annals equal in brass to the contention of Reed and his confederates, carried on up to this day in their organs in the press, that the people do not understand their legislation, and may not understand it for years to come, and that, therefore, their dismissal was due to the stupidity of their masters.

HARRISONIAN "KEYNOTES."

THE President has put forth, through the medium of Senators Hoar and Dawes, the following authorized explanation of his motives in removing Gen. Corse from the Boston Post-office:

> "The President thought that, considering the attitude of the Democratic party, which was murdering United States Marshals and expelling Republican postmasters from their offices in the South, and endeavoring to overthrow constitutional government by revolutionary proceeding both in the House and Senate, and by preventing honest elections wherever they could get the power so to do, it was not wise to appoint to an important office a person who made no expression anywhere of disapprobation of these things, and whose political influence, so far as it was exerted, was in their favor."

This remarkable utterance may be taken as an accurate diagnosis of the President's mind as he stands at the beginning of the second half of his term. It "sounds the keynote" of the policy which he is henceforward to pursue in regard to appointments for public office. It will be seen at a glance that it is a very different keynote from the one which he sounded in his letter of acceptance, for in that he declared that "fitness and not party service should be the essential and discriminating test in appointments to every grade, and fidelity and efficiency the only sure tenure of office." It is a very different keynote, also, from that which was sounded in the Republican platform upon

which the President was elected, for that declared that "the spirit and purpose of the [civil-service] reform should be observed in all executive appointments."

It is difficult to comment upon the present keynote and observe strictly the respect due to the President's high office. We must leave to other and more reverent pens the task of showing the strength and logic of Presidential reasoning which holds that the citizens of Boston were justly deprived of the further service of the best postmaster they have ever had, because he had failed to express disapprobation of alleged partisan proceedings by members of his own party in the Southern States and in Congress. To us it would seem that if he had expressed such disapprobation he would thereby have furnished cause for his removal. As we understand it, it was not a part of his duties as Postmaster of Boston to express views of any kind about what his own or any other political party was doing in the Southern States or anywhere else. He was there to administer the office in the best interest of the public, and he did this so well that citizens of all parties united in demanding of the President his continuation in office. This sentiment was so strong that the two Republican Senators who now publish the President's explanation advised him to yield to it, and the eminent Republican politician whom the President decided for the reasons given to put in Gen. Corse's place, joined them in the same advice, saying of the General's conduct in office: "Politically, personally, and especially in business matters, Gen. Corse has made an unexceptionable record in his present office. He has resisted the Democratic wolves, he is the head of the Loyal Legion, and his reappointment would silence a part of the criticism, justly made, against the Post-office Department, that it has yielded too much to the place-hunters, in this case Republicans. In a measure the removal of Mr. Saltonstall would be offset by the renomination of Gen. Corse. If the interest of the public service is to decide, Gen. Corse will be renominated." But the interest of the public service was not to decide, and consequently a man who had been one of the bravest generals of the war, was turned out of an office which he had administered to the highest public satisfaction, because he had not expressed "disapprobation" of partisan matters which were none of his business.

We presume that the explanation which the President has given of his conduct in relation to Gen. Corse will be made to fit also the appointment which he made last week of William R. Leeds as Marshal of the Eastern District of Pennsylvania. This is so bad an appointment that its defence on ordinary grounds is an impossibility, but, viewed as a rebuke for Democratic misdeeds in the Southern States and elsewhere, it may be justifiable under the present Harrisonian policy. Leeds is one of Quay's tools in Philadelphia, and has been the leader in the worst political ring that city has ever known. He was repudiated by his party in 1887, when he ran as Republican candidate for Sheriff, and, though handsomely endorsed by James Gillespie Blaine, was defeated by more than 7,500 votes, running more than 25,000 votes behind his ticket. Quay was anxious to have the President nominate Leeds for Postmaster of Philadelphia, and pressed him for that office, but the protests from Philadelphia Republicans were so emphatic that even good Mr. Wanamaker was afraid to disregard them. Even the Philadelphia *Press*, which is able to defend Quay, is not equal to the defence of Leeds, and says frankly: "The repudiation of Mr. Leeds by the Republicans in this city was not a mere caprice, but a deliberate judgment founded on abundant reasons. His appointment as Marshal is a virtual overruling of it as far as Federal authority can do so. It is an appointment which should never have been made, and will deeply disappoint the President's best friends in Pennsylvania."

The trouble with the *Press* is that it is not looking at the appointment in the proper light. We advise it to peruse thoughtfully the Harrisonian explanation of the Boston appointment. With that as a keynote of policy, all becomes clear. Appointments are to be made henceforth, not in accordance with the demands of local sentiment, and not in accordance with the fitness of candidates, but in accordance with what the wicked Democratic party is alleged to be doing to thwart the beneficent purposes of the Harrison Administration. As that wonderful newspaper, the Boston *Journal*, puts it in sustaining the President's position, the "aggressive opposition to every Republican measure on the part of the Democrats in Congress and throughout the country, the slurs upon the Administration by the Democratic and the miscalled independent press, indicated that any act of magnanimity upon the part of the Republican President would be interpreted as an admission that the party was weak in men and weaker still in the courage to exert its legitimate prerogatives." That is the way to look at it. The party must show a bold front to all "slurs" by turning good men out of office and putting Republican partisans and rascals in, or it will be considered as being "weak in men and weaker still in courage." The intellectual aspect of this position is a thing upon which no unregenerate Mugwump should trust his discretion with a comment.

THE LAW OF THE BARRUNDIA AFFAIR.

Secretary Blaine and Secretary Tracy have each affirmed, by their conduct in the Barrundia case, that a law forbade Guatemala to visit the American ship *Acapulco* in order to arrest Barrundia. Each has, by what he did in that case, declared that Guatemala could not arrest Barrundia, because he had committed a political and not a common-law offence against Guatemala. Secretary Blaine and Secretary Tracy have each of them been repeatedly asked for the book and page which contain a law forbidding Guatemala to make the arrest. Thus far each of them, although often requested, has failed to do so.

As President Harrison dismissed from office our Minister at Guatemala because he did not resist, but assented to, the arrest of Barrundia by Guatemala, and as Secretary Tracy censured our naval commander then in the port where the arrest was made, because he did not prevent, or resist, the arrest, what should the country say and do to President Harrison, Secretary Blaine, and Secretary Tracy, if Mizner, our Minister, was dismissed from office contrary to law, and Reiter, our naval commander, was censured contrary to law?

It is important, for many reasons, to ascertain what the United States have declared to be the law of the Barrundia transaction. Secretary Blaine's immediate predecessor in the Department of State gave an opinion from which the inference is irresistible that, in his opinion, Guatemala was entitled to make the arrest which she attempted. It is believed that such an opinion has been uniformly upheld in the Department of State when there has been occasion to consider a similar question. Not only the Executive Department of the Federal Government, but the Judicial Department, has expressed opinions which justify the conduct of Guatemala, of our Minister, Mr. Mizner, and of our naval officer, Reiter. In a case reported in the ninety-second volume United States Reports, page 520, the Supreme Court declared that, "unless treaty stipulations provide otherwise, a merchant vessel of one country visiting the ports of another for the purposes of trade, is, so long as she remains, subject to the laws which govern those ports." The question in that case was whether Gen. Butler, when in command at New Orleans, was justified in compelling certain articles of money, silver plate, and bullion to be removed from a Prussian vessel, and her clearance to be withheld until his order should be complied with.

In a case reported in the 120th volume of the United States Reports, page 1, the Supreme Court again declared that, unless exempted by treaty, a foreign merchant vessel, entering a port of the United States for the purposes of trade, is subject to the local law, and the local courts may punish any crime committed in the vessel within the port by one foreigner upon another foreigner. The vessel in that case was Belgian, and lying in one of the ports of New Jersey. There was a treaty between Belgium and the United States conferring power upon Belgian consuls to take cognizance of differences between captains, officers, and crews of Belgian merchant vessels in our ports, and also stipulating that the local authorities shall *not* interfere "except when a disorder arises of such a nature as to disturb the tranquillity of public order on shore or in port." The Supreme Court decided that the treaty did not apply to a felonious homicide on board of a Belgian merchant vessel in one of the ports of New Jersey. In disposing of the case, the Court said: "It is a part of the law of civilized nations that when a merchant vessel of one country enters the ports of another, for the purposes of trade, it subjects itself to the law of the place to which it goes, unless, by

treaty, or otherwise, the two countries have come to some different understanding or agreement; for, as Chief Justice Marshall said in the *Exchange* case, 'it would be obviously inconvenient and dangerous to society, and would subject the laws to continual infraction and the Government to degradation, if such merchant vessels did not owe temporary and local allegiance, and were not amenable to the jurisdiction of the country.'" The Court also said: "As the owner has voluntarily taken his vessel for his own private purpose to a place within the dominion of a government other than his own, and from which he seeks protection during his stay, he owes that governernment such allegiance, for the time being, as is due for the protection to which he becomes entitled."

The Court, in this case, referred to a decision by the French Court of Cassation, the highest judicial tribunal of France, in which the French court declared "that merchant vessels entering the port of a nation other than that to which they belong, cannot be withdrawn from the territorial jurisdiction *in any case in which the interest of the State of which that port forms part finds itself concerned.*"

If President Harrison, or Secretary Blaine, or Secretary Tracy claims immunity for his action in the dismissal of our Minister and in the censure of our naval officer, and claims it under a law which gave protection to Barrundia from arrest by Guatemala while the *Acapulco* was in one of her ports, the President, or the Secretary of State, or the Secretary of the Navy should be able to furnish the text of such a law, or the accepted principle of international jurisprudence from which the deduction of such a rule is inevitable. As not one of them has yet offered such a text or such a principle to the inspection of the country, the inference must be that neither text nor principle is in existence.

Barrundia's widow has made a claim against the United States for $1,000,000 for the loss of her husband. Under the rulings of both the State and Navy Departments, she has a moral claim to the money. What answer to her have they got? "Let us keep still and maybe the affair will blow over," they probably say. Oh, no, it will not blow over until we get from them the law of the case.

A FRENCH VIEW OF THE ITALIAN SITUATION.

PARIS, February 19, 1891.

THE retirement of Crispi is an event of no small importance. He was known to be the stanch advocate of the Triple Alliance, and he enjoyed the perfect confidence of his King, who had repeatedly given him extraordinary marks of favor. There was some surprise felt in the world when Italy entered into the Triple Alliance, as this alliance was visibly directed against a possible combination of France and Russia; but those who knew Italy well were not much astonished. Italy has become thoroughly convinced that there is no Power in Europe which could or would eventually destroy her unity except France. This conviction may be completely erroneous—I believe myself that it is; but it is very widespread. There is a general conviction on the other side of the Alps that if France had a monarchical and clerical government, such a government would be unfriendly to the House of Savoy, would make some effort in order to reëstablish the temporal power of the Papacy, and would even perhaps reconstitute the kingdom of the two Sicilies. Italy seems to dread nothing more from her old enemy, Austria. The declamations of Irredentism are not signs of any real hostility. Austria seems herself to have completely renounced all idea of ever garrisoning again the beautiful cities of northern Italy and the Romagna; she has turned her back on the south and is looking only eastward: is she not *Oesterreich?*

Just or unjust, the fears which Italy feels with regard to France would not perhaps have sufficed to induce her to enter into the great constellation of the German Powers. Italy might have remained neutral in the midst of the complication of European affairs; she had fairly reorganized her finances, she was becoming more industrial, more wealthy; she would probably have gained more by adopting a determined and systematic non-intervention policy than by any other means. But such a policy is absolutely contrary not only to the Italian genius, but also to the peculiar genius of the House of Savoy. If you read the history of this extraordinary house, you will have the key to its policy: "Avanti, Savoia!" is its motto. The Dukes of Savoy, afterwards the Kings of Piedmont, have always been ready to run great risks: in our own times, remember Novara, remember the Crimean expedition, Solferino, all that came after Solferino, and finally the attack on Rome. The Piedmontese advisers of the King and the King himself all labor under a conviction that the House of Savoy has a "manifest destiny," and that this destiny can only be accomplished by a policy of action. It is not enough to wait for events; such men as Cavour and Crispi think they must prepare events. And who could better help the Italians to prepare events, a few years ago, than the all-powerful *Kanzler* who had in his hands all the diplomatic strings of Europe? Who could smooth matters better between Austria and Italy than Prince Bismarck, who had formed the alliance between the two German empires, and thus formed a great European barrier against Russia? It is not to be wondered at that Italy allowed herself to be tempted by the prospect of forming a part of this great pacific alliance; her accession to it seemed to give her a greater dignity, to open a new horizon in the East and in the Mediterranean; it secured for ever her newly conquered unity.

This was the brilliant side of the affair; there was, unfortunately for Italy, another side: she could only enter the Triple Alliance prepared for certain eventualities, and the preparation was a costly one. Her army, her navy, her armament had to be put in readiness for all contingencies. She had, with many difficulties, and not without much merit, put her finances in a good state; now she was to incur enormous expenses, and the era of deficits in the budget was about to recommence. You can feed a proud nation with glory, or even with promises of glory; but you can only do so for a certain time. The tax-gatherer does not wait. The Italian people is, at the present moment, quite overburdened. During these last few years Italy has reminded me of Bluebeard's wife, in Perrault's tale, standing on the top of a high tower, looking round, and questioning her sister—

"Ma sœur Anne, ma sœur Anne,
Ne vois-tu rien venir?"

No; Italy, like sister Anne, saw nothing coming, and she also could say: "Je vois la poudre qui poudre et l'herbe qui verdoie."

The Triple Alliance brought nothing except increasing expenses and increased taxation. Crispi had completely identified himself with the policy of the Triple Alliance, and for a long time he seemed unassailable. Cabinets might fall, he could not fall. His Cabinets, in fact, had become a mere harlequin's coat: when one piece was torn or faded, he simply put in another. Things began to take another aspect when Prince Bismarck fell from power. Crispi had been, with the great Chancellor of northern Germany, a *persona grata;* his prestige was partly derived from the prestige of Prince Bismarck, who had thought him worthy of his confidence and had made him an associate in his great designs. When the Emperor of Germany struck Bismarck, he indirectly struck Crispi. The Italian Premier, who seemed necessary as long as the German Chancellor himself was necessary, was now almost left to himself, and he had to face an entirely new situation. Instead of being one of the gods of Olympus, he fell among the demi-gods; he was reduced to the rank of an ordinary Prime Minister.

Crispi did not lose heart; he still enjoyed the confidence of the crown; he hoped, with this powerful help, to be able to weather the parliamentary storms. The great cry was economy, the diminution of the national burden; he studied more carefully than he had done before the situation of the finances. Though the principal instigator and first mover of the Triple Alliance was no longer in power, the duties of the allies remained strictly the same; it was not possible to save anything on the expenses of the army and of the navy. But two reforms seemed possible to Crispi: (1.) It was possible to reduce the number of the prefectures in Italy, and by this means all the administrative expenses connected with the Home Office. (2.) There was a great anomaly in the existence of several State banks in unified Italy. Would it not be better, in the interest of political unity, in the interest, also, of the commercial classes, to have a single bank of emission, such as the Bank of France, as the Bank of England?

As soon as Crispi had made up his mind first to diminish the number of the administrative subdivisions and offices, and to merge all the State banks into one (two measures, by the by, which had no party character), he threw himself into the business with his usual ardor and determination; but he soon found that it is not safe for a minister who has ceased to hold an exceptional and impregnable position, to attack private or corporate interests. The project of the prefectures alarmed the great and powerful class of the functionaries; the project of the State banks alarmed the financiers of the provinces. The activity of the Opposition became incessant, and the parliamentary majority was visibly dissolving. When Crispi became aware of his danger, he had no hesitation; he threw down the gauntlet to the Right, and made the most aggressive speech against his enemies. He knew he must fall, but he chose to fall on the Left, so as to become the leader of the Left immediately after he had quitted the Cabinet. The time was past when he could manœuvre between the Right and the Left; his only chance of returning to power with an increased strength was in making himself again a partisan. He deliberately insulted the Right, and accused it of having mismanaged the finances of Italy when it was in

power. It was evident to all that he wished to abandon power for a time, and that he was tired of struggling with a Parliament which had ceased to follow him blindly.

The King was obliged to form a Cabinet with very mixed elements, and to go from Rudini, a stanch Conservative, to Nicotera, a stanch Radical. Coalitions are sometimes necessary in parliamentary life; they may be formed under the influence and at the dictation of a man strong enough to impress his will for a time upon a number of men opposed in general principles, but willing to act for a time in harmony, in view of some great object or merely under the pressure of necessity. There are other coalitions which unite accidentally men who have no common principles, who have only what may be called negative objects, who are working against a common enemy, and who, after having been united for a day, separate as soon as they come to discuss some new measures. The present coalition which is personified in the Rudini-Nicotera Cabinet, seems to belong to this second class of coalitions rather than to the third. I look in vain for the superior man who can impress his will, for the leader who can make himself obeyed in all circumstances. In all probability, the Italian Parliament, after a short period of lassitude and confusion, will have to be dissolved, and new elections would probably give the majority to the Left and to the groups of the Left who follow the leadership of Crispi.

Much depends, however, on events which are out of the control of the Italians themselves. Crispi must share more or less the fate of the Triple Alliance; he must even share, to a certain extent, and by an indirect influence, the fate of Prince Bismarck. We hear very strange things from Germany—so strange that we can hardly believe them, and that we remain incredulous. The young sovereign who now rules in Berlin has a singular idea of his mission. It is not long since he sent his full-length portrait to the German Embassy in Paris. The portrait is not without artistic merit, but when you look at it, it seems as if you were looking on some portrait of past centuries. The Emperor is standing so that you see only his profile, sharp and well cut; in his hand he holds the sceptre, like a staff of command, with a bold gesture, as if he were holding a sword. The sky forms the background. The picture reminds you of the famous pictures of Louis XIV. It is evidently symbolic; the young Emperor must have himself chosen the attitude. We have seen him at work since he ascended the throne. His restlessness denotes a hurried ambition, and an ambition which extends over all objects; the world is waiting with some anxiety for what may be inspired by this uneasy genius, which will brook no obstacles. Italy has placed herself in the rear of Germany; she must, directly or indirectly, bear the consequences of the alliance which she has been so anxious to form.

AMERICA IN THE GUELPH EXHIBITION.

London, January, 1891.

I have made two visits to the Guelph Exhibition now in progress, and with an eye to the interest which it has for students of American history. The *Times* to-day, in discussing the Bering Sea difficulties, says, with a good deal of truth, that the Americans have had no history of much interest to the world except as it has grown out of the relations which they have sustained, either in a friendly or inimical way, with England; and so one may go to an exhibition intended to record all that there is remarkable in English history from the accession of George the First to the death of William the Fourth with a not unreasonable expectation of seeing American history traced more or less remotely in the grouping. It is indeed so remote for the years of the first George that there is hardly a picture in the Exhibition suggesting an American reference. For the period of the second George there is not much, and what there is relates to the conquest of Canada and to the war against Spain in the West Indies. No naval name of this reign is more frequently, I suppose, on the lips of Americans than that of the Admiral with whom Washington's brother served, and whose name became for this reason attached to that estate on the Potomac which the nation preserves in memory of its most illustrious citizen. When one looks upon the picture of Admiral Vernon as drawn by Gainsborough, hanging here in the neighborhood of such heroes of the sea as Hood, Vincent, and Rodney, one is quite inclined to believe that it was a happy stroke of luck that gave him Porto Bello when he risked all and captured it with the aid of six ships of the line, and that his later failure at Carthagena with a much heavier armament was more in accordance with the intellectual smallness of his personal bearing. One finds far more satisfaction in the shrewd energy displayed in the face of Boscawen, as Reynolds, with his momentary art, caught it in the half-length which tells of the capital exploit when Louisbourg fell in 1758, to make an opening for the great victory of Wolfe the next year.

Of the victorious general on the Heights of Abraham there is but a single picture, and that is a small full-length in uniform, of which I do not remember any engraving, and it is lent to the exhibition by a private owner. To those who are most familiar with the profiles that so belie his character, this picture is hardly recognizable; and there is little of the heroic in either to suggest connection with the sword which he wore, and which is here exhibited by favor of the Royal United Service Institution, and the cloak in which he died, which I found exhibited the other day amid the armor preserved in the Tower.

When we come to the reign of George the Third, there is much more of direct interest, though there are but three Americans represented by likenesses. Considering the number of good Washingtons that there are in England, beginning with the superb Stuart which Lord Rosebery has, and which has recently been engraved in the *Illustrated English Magazine*, it is rather surprising that the Committee should have been content with a small profile in pastel, which stands uncredited in the catalogue, but which seems to be one of Sharples's, or perhaps a copy from his studies. A china statuette and one of Wedgwood's reliefs—the last not unsatisfactory—also add to the record of the importance which Washington maintained in the reign of the third George.

Franklin is represented by a small picture belonging to Earl Stanhope, of which the catalogue says nothing as to its authenticity. It is the familiar picture, where Franklin sits reading with his thumb to his chin, and is probably a copy of the large picture which used to hang over the fireplace in the house of Mr. Henry J. Williams in Philadelphia, as I remember it there fifteen years ago. There are two attempts of Wedgwood to depict the shrewd and placable lines of the philosopher's face in one of the cases near by, as well as a similar likeness of Franklin's Tory son. One turns easily from Franklin to the London printer Strahan, to whom Franklin sent, on leaving London in 1775, that well-known epigrammatic letter; but only to find in Reynolds's drawing of his unemotional and almost un-Scottish face little to counterpart the wit and lubricating sense of the American printer.

The two dominating figures of the whole collection are those of the third and fourth Georges, and one sees them in every aspect and in every style. The befrizzled simper and dancing-master attitudes of George the Fourth tire one to death, on canvas, on panel, on ivory, in wax, in enamel, in china, on snuff-boxes, on brooches, on medals; and even one of his eyes was thought divine enough to paint in a cloud and to be set in a royal ring! The effigies of George the Third are quite as numerous, but one has a sort of respect for that stubborn monarch who forced Lord North to continue the war with the colonies against all hope. As a young fellow in his princehood, George the Third was not a man to be avoided, if we may judge from the picture which Reynolds painted of him in 1759, and which the Queen has sent from St. James's Palace. It is perceptible how, as he grew older, his face hardened, grew less flexible, and looked almost stolid; for even the grace of Gainsborough in the full-length which he exhibited in 1781, and which has been brought to the exhibition from Buckingham Palace, fails to make one look with more than a certain pity on the obstinate King of those troublous days. The almost too numerous miniatures which help to impress that face and air upon the spectator—though some of them are exquisitely done—the wax model made by Flaxman, and the enamels, ivory medallions, and medals which recur so often as one glances along the glazed cases in the centre of the rooms, are significant of the unwavering steadfastness of the King while his reason remained, and mark many stages in a reign whose great duration his granddaughter seems desirous of emulating.

Of all the men who stood in Parliament as representing the royal will, one looks with most pity on that poor Lord North whose likeness there in the top row seems to show his amazement at his sovereign's stubborn consistency. He sits leaning back as if with an air of resignation to do the King's bidding, while his own judgment revolted at the miserable task he was put to do beyond the Atlantic. We never quite understood Lord North till we got that series of confidential notes which he and the King exchanged for so many years, during which the British soldier and the German mercenary were striving to avert the inevitable. I look upon his picture with a new interest in the light of those revelations.

The American who wanders about London seeking the haunts of Dr. Johnson—and there is no personality of the Georgian era more deeply impressed upon London streets—rarely thinks of him as a political pamphleteer, taking sides against the incipient revolution which was growing about Massachusetts Bay; and yet there is not a picture in this collection more forcibly bringing that contest here in London before me than this of Johnson by Reynolds, which Lord Sackville contributes to the exhibition. One almost believes it the attitude in which Reynolds may have seen him thundering out those clamorous postulates which he not long afterwards embodied in his 'Taxation No Tyranny,' which was like a fist struck in the face of Sam Adams. In a brown garb, with dishevelled hair—almost the only picture of Johnson, that is familiar, which has no wig—his features losing something of their bluntness in profile, his hands awkwardly raised one over the other in disputatious fashion,

even his gnawed finger-nails showing in the fidelity of the painter's art—we have in him the incarnation of a rampant spirit of prerogative.

There, not far off, hangs a row of the men that took part in those Parliamentary debates which made the advent of American independence almost more a part of Westminster than of Faneuil Hall. There is Chatham in the figure of his virile prime, full of reserved power, and more a man than he was when he swooned in that historic scene which Copley has painted, but rather nearer in vigor to that waxen effigy in his living garb which the curious stranger sees to-day in a secluded loft in the Abbey. There is Fox, who perhaps enjoyed his harassing of the Ministry more than he cared for American justice—just as Reynolds painted him with the fervor with which he knew how so well to flush his speeches, and shown at an early age when Reynolds did not discern all that rugged strength one sees in the statue which stands opposite the reposeful Pitt in the gallery at Westminster, as the modern sculptor has fancied him. There is Burke, in his pictures more the scholar than the ardent inveigher against wrong, sensitive and sensible as Reynolds depicted him, and supremely intellectual in Opie's hands; there is Rockingham, the refined, inquisitive Liberal, with more power than you feel he might ordinarily exhibit, and we entertain no doubt that Reynolds has not mistaken his character. There is Gen. Conway—and Barré ought to be with him—not handsome, not great, even in looks; but the embodiment of that nerve which so endeared him to his fellow-subjects beyond the sea.

Turning to the belligerents of the struggle in America on the part of the Crown, the representatives are not so many as one could wish. A good many pictures scattered about in the English country-houses—like that of Earl Percy in Alnwick Castle—of those whose names were a terror in many an American hamlet, are wanting. We find, however, Lord Howe, but only in one of Wedgwood's reliefs. Cornwallis is in no better form than on one of those China tea-pots such as I remember seeing in my boyhood in a mansion of the Old Colony. Clinton is shown in nothing better than one of Cosway's mannered miniatures. It is something surprising to see that Sir Thomas Lawrence, in his overfineness, has left anything of dash and hardiness in the half-length of Rawdon, who figures so prominently in the Carolina campaigns. If Rodney had been more intimately connected with our Revolutionary struggle, a superb full-length by Reynolds, which belongs to St. James's Palace, would be a crowning example for this part of the exhibition; but his splendid victory over De Grasse in the West Indies came too late to trouble the Americans, though it served to stiffen the English negotiators during the treaty time; and, but for the ensnaring of Major André, he might, as the confederate of Arnold, have ascended the Hudson with a part of his fleet.

In one of the rooms of the Guelph Exhibition Nelson and Wellington divide the attention, and personal relics of the two fill a case in the middle of the room. With the former we have a slight connection in our American history. He had been made a captain in 1779, and commanded a frigate which cruised on the New England coast in the later years of the war. There are brief references to this part of his career in a recent life by Mr. Latham Browne, drawn from some of Nelson's own memoranda. I was curious to know if there were more details than he printed, and applied to the author; but he tells me he has given everything which he notes of his American experience. What Nelson did made no mark on the progress of the war. He captured a few coasters, and, for some service rendered, let one of those small vessels go, with a safe-conduct, and Mr. Browne mentions this document as still hanging on the library walls of a gentleman in Boston. He is mistaken. When the late Judge Davis lived in that city, it no doubt was so preserved; but it is at present in the cabinet of the Pilgrim Society at Plymouth. I remember a gentleman, almost a centenarian when he died, who at this period was sent off with a flag of truce to a British frigate in the offing from a small New England seaport; and it was his delight in after years—and, dying over fifty years ago, he survived the hero of Trafalgar hard on to thirty years—to tell the story of his reception at the gangway by Nelson, then in command of the ship. This man, whom I distinctly remember, in his queue, small clothes, and buckled shoes, was born in the year when Louisbourg fell before Pepperell. There is among these pictures of Nelson one by Rigaud, taken just before he started for the American station. Like most of his effigies, it has little to remind one of his career. Indeed, among all the likenesses of Nelson accessible to the visitor in London, there is one by Füger, taken at Vienna in 1800, and now in the Museum at Bethnal Green, which almost alone gives the head of Nelson the character that bespeaks his nature.

One easily reverts to this other collection of national portraits to fill out the interest of the students of American history, and hardly another among them attracts so much the attention of a New Englander as Dobson's picture of that Antinomian disturber of early Massachusetts politics, Harry Vane. This picture was given in the first place to the British Museum by Thomas Hollis, whose interest in Massachusetts history never flagged, and in 1879 it passed, by the consent of the Trustees, into the present collection. Not far from the Vane hangs a good picture of Popham, the Chief Justice, which must have been painted just about the time when he was planning with Sir Ferdinando Gorges that abortive colony on our Maine coast. Close by is Raleigh, just in the period when he was lending his influence to the planting of the Carolina coast.

The time of the Canadian conquest is splendidly represented in the portraits of Boscawen, Amherst, and Wolfe. Reynolds gives us the first, Gainsborough the second, while each of the three pictures of Wolfe, side by side, depicts him strangely with his weak and aimless profile, almost a mockery of his deeds.

For our Revolutionary period, Bethnal Green is much the same in scope with the exhibition now going on in Regent Street. It has for Washington an unmistakable profile by Mrs. Sharples, and a picture by Stuart that I don't remember seeing before—what seems to have been perhaps a trial sketch for the portrait now so well known in various replicas, and usually called the Presidential likeness of Washington. This little picture was purchased by the Trustees of the Museum from George T. Meredith so late as 1887. The single Franklin is an interesting one, and was painted in Paris in 1783, just at the time he was concluding the negotiations of the treaty of peace. Its surface is bad, and I suspect some cleaner is responsible for the difficulty. It is not much unlike in aspect the heads which we associate with Greuze.

One is glad to see in the Museum Gainsborough's portrait of Cornwallis, painted two or three years after his disheartening experience at Yorktown. The catalogue, in saying that his surrender took place at "New York," speaks in a certain sense truer than one of better knowledge would have written; for we cannot forget that Cornwallis always considered that it was Clinton's enmity at those headquarters which allowed his subordinate to be entrapped in Virginia. Admiral Howe is never an interesting character in his experiences on our coast, and his portrait is not more attractive.

The political aspect of the struggle on this side of the Atlantic is in some respects better represented at Bethnal Green than in the Guelph Exhibition. There is, for instance, a striking modelling of Reynolds's disputatious picture of Johnson, in a study by the late Sir Edgar Boehm, in which the sculptor was aided by a death-mask. We find here, too, Reynolds's familiar figure of Burke, more alive, perhaps, with that character's peculiar intellectual instincts than any other. Nollekens appears quite in his element in dealing with the ruggedness of Fox. North, though none of his pictures impresses you as that of an able man, was not certainly quite worthy of the littleness which Dance puts into a likeness of him. The most satisfactory of all is Reynolds's preservation of Lord Shelburne in his peer's robes. We owe much to the liberalizing element which this nobleman carried into the councils that finally ended in the treaty of 1782, and we never quite understood the relative value of the aid which the American Commissioners gave in consummating those negotiations till we got access to the papers of Shelburne, in the life of him which his great-grandson Lord Edmund Fitzmaurice has published.

JUSTIN WINSOR.

IBSEN'S "ROSMERSHOLM."

LONDON, February 24, 1891.

THE performance of Ibsen's "Rosmersholm" has been the chief theatrical event in London since the production of "Beau Austin" at the Haymarket. Whether because of the late "Hedda Gabler" dispute, which at the time, however, scarcely created the excitement anticipated by one at least of the disputants, or because of Mr. Henry Arthur Jones's later attack—from the lecture platform—on foul-mouthed realism, or (as his admirers would have us think) because of Ibsen's own force as moral preacher and social reformer, it would be difficult to decide; but certainly the play was looked forward to with unusual interest, and tickets for the only advertised matinée were disposed of so readily that a second performance was rashly promised before the success of the first had been assured.

I say rashly, since of all the Ibsen dramas there is not one which is so hopelessly devoid of dramatic action. In the "Doll's House" and the "Pillars of Society," the only others heretofore presented on the London stage, there are several essentially strong dramatic situations; they are plays which compel one to recognize in them the work of a good dramatist who, unfortunately for the world, has sacrificed his art to moral fads. But with "Rosmersholm" it is a different matter. Interesting as the story is in itself, despite its somewhat childish talk about emancipation and freedom (Ibsen's moral theories in England somehow always do seem a little antiquated), it is, as Ibsen writes it, a story to read, but not to act.

Everything, with the exception of the great final incident, has happened before the curtain goes up for the first time. *Rosmer* has already

shaken off his old political and religious shackles; *Rebecca West's* love for him has long since led her to rid herself of her rival; the suicide of *Beata*, *Rosmer's* wife—the pivot, as it were, upon which the plot turns—already dates back a year. Four acts are passed in explanation of these facts; confession follows confession; confidences are the order of the day. Even the final incident or catastrophe, the suicide of *Rosmer* and *Rebecca*, is but vaguely suggested and realized; we have but the word of the housekeeper for it as the curtain falls upon the fourth and last act. The play deals essentially with effects of causes not set forth with sufficient clearness, and these effects, revealed by words only, never, by any chance, until at the very last, lead to action or incident; it is all talk, and nothing but talk, from beginning to end.

If the business of the dramatist is henceforth to represent solely the development of character, rather than a sequence of circumstances, then "Rosmersholm" is the best example to be had of the drama of the future. And it was probably because it was felt by theatre-lovers to be such a genuine test case—a case between the old and the new dramatic schools—that the house was crowded from stalls to gallery. But the crowd, as might have been expected, was largely made up of actors and actresses (the performance was given on a Monday afternoon), and of the long-haired men and "æsthetically" draped women who haunt socialistic gatherings and private views—people whose soulful appreciation could be counted on beforehand. The average play-goer was conspicuously absent. In the stalls, the critics who had come to scoff held themselves apart, physically as well as mentally, from those who had come to worship. On the one side, Mr. Clement Scott, fresh from his duel of words with Mr. Grundy; Mr. Wedmore, ready to damn with neat phrases, and the men who address themselves to that public whose idols just now are Augustus Harris and Jerome K. Jerome; on the other, Mr. William Archer, who but the week before had been trying through the weekly press to prepare the world for the subtleties of "Rosmersholm"; "Spectator" of the *Star*, and all the radicals in dramatic criticism. A deaf man, by watching these two groups, by noting at moments the elation of the unreclaimed and the dejection of the professed Ibsenites, would have known exactly how the play was going.

There were times when it went very badly indeed. The house was a sympathetic house; there was no exacting pit to groan and hiss and rebel at flagrant disregard of sacred traditions. But, for all that, in some of the most serious passages in the dialogue, the house laughed uproariously—good-naturedly to be sure, but with undisguised mirth. And the house was quite right; the performance at times was as funny as a farce. But the curious part of it was that even as one laughed most unrestrainedly, one asked one's self whether it was really at Ibsen or at his interpreters. For in the most oppressively dull scenes, in the most deliciously irresistible absurdities, not Ibsen, but actors or translator, or utter want of adaptation, seemed to blame. For a certain vagueness as to why *Rebecca* first came to Rosmersholm, why the discovery that she is an illegitimate child should so move her that she at once confesses her guilt, why the plunge into the mill-race should be the one and only solution to *Rosmer's* love and political difficulties, Ibsen alone is responsible.

But a clever stage-manager could easily make this vagueness seem less. In reading the play one sympathizes in a way with the weak, vacillating student, really meant by nature for a quiet domestic life and a quieter political and ethical sphere, and yet imagining it his duty to turn prophet and enlighten the world. But nothing could have been less interesting and more exasperating than the character of *Rosmer* as played by Mr. Benson, a man whose only qualification for the stage is a face of the Irving type. To this very modern rôle he brought all the old tricks of the stage tragedian; of *Rosmer* he made, as I heard it cleverly put, but a "writhing right-angle"; you were amused at his contortions, but never once convinced of his sincerity; his talk of emancipation was the weak boasting of a child who has played truant or broken into an apple orchard. That a woman of the supposed character of *Rebecca West* could have loved him was simply an impossibility. An incomparably better actress than Miss Farr could not have saved the situation. Not for a moment in their relations was there even a suggestion of that reality which alone could make "Rosmersholm" possible as a play. Then the actor who undertook the part of *Mortensgärd*, the radical and atheist editor, got himself up as a sort of villain, a genteel Jack the Ripper, and his first appearance convulsed the audience.

No less fatal, in one place at least, was a blunder of the translator. Mr. Archer apparently has been too busy rooting out the errors in Mr. Gosse's translation to have time to attend to those in a work brought out under his own supervision. When *Rector Kroll* accuses *Rebecca West* of trying to seduce *Rosmer*, he tells her of her mother's shame, and then attributes her own conduct to an "involuntary filial instinct," (!) which is a curious and original definition of Ibsen's beloved theory of heredity. But all this scene cried out for the adapter. *Rebecca* will not believe in her mother's guilt: "My mother never said anything to me about it," she tells *Kroll*, and naturally the audience was amused. And the last meeting between *Rebecca* and *Rosmer*, where they decide to die together, which should have been impressive in its tragical intensity, degenerated into the farcical, simply for lack of a little cutting down and concentration. When they go from the house towards the mill-race, into which *Rosmer's* wife, the year before, had thrown herself, a titter ran through the theatre.

But that the play was still interesting, notwithstanding the many drawbacks to its performance; that one would not willingly have missed it, though, given the same circumstances, one would not go to see it a second time—there can be no doubt. After the play was over, in the lobby and entrance hall, groups stood discussing it for half an hour or so. "Certainly," as one of the Ibsenites said to me, "whatever you may say about Ibsen, you must admit that he sets people to thinking and talking as no other dramatist of the day can." This is in a measure true, for to most people it is much easier to understand a moral problem than a work of art. It may be that "Rosmersholm" is a fair type of the coming drama, and that ten or twenty years hence Ibsen will be looked up to by dramatists as master, just as Manet, despised by earlier generations, now is by artists, Zola by novelists. But in this case a new school of acting will have to be developed in England. Played by the average English actor of to-day, an Ibsen drama might be mistaken for a screaming farce.

However, actors and Ibsen alike are to be provided with every chance in London. Already two schemes for English *Théâtres Libres* are being considered, and one, I hear, before long will be actually carried out. The little Royalty Theatre in Soho, sacred to French plays, where M. Antoine brought his company two years ago, will be secured for the purpose, and the opening performance, in all probability, will be Ibsen's "Ghosts." The experiment will not be without its value. N. N.

Correspondence.

RELIEVING THE SUPREME COURT.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Congress has now applied a remedy, and it will be a curious subject of observation how it will work. With no desire to find fault, one may venture to call attention to the fact that one of the two objects of a court of appeals has been eliminated from the judicial system of the United States, namely, *compulsory uniformity of law*. One equally important object has been preserved by giving an appeal to a tribunal distinct from the court of the first instance—that is, compulsory obedience to a law of some sort on the part of the court of the first instance. The monstrous system that freed the trying judge from all supervision or control where plaintiffs were content to exact only $5,000, has been terminated, and it is hoped permanently. It may be that this is well purchased by substituting nine systems of law governing contracts, rights of property, and personal rights not involving the death penalty.

The curious problem for the future is how will the system work that creates nine popes for determining the truth in respect of human rights, with an optional right to any one to call a general council to decide between any two of them, and then only so far as a declaration can be a decision. A power of compulsion will not exist in the council, saving for the case in which intervention is asked. Singular mode of obeying the Constitutional command—There shall be *one* Supreme Court!

R. C. McMurtrie.

Philadelphia.

THE TEACHING OF MATHEMATICS.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: A quotation made in your issue of the 12th ult., in the course of a review of Prof. Florian Cajori's 'Teaching and History of Mathematics in the United States,' has, I see, called forth the objection of a correspondent that the passage gives an unfair impression of one of the most eminent of living mathematicians. Permit me to add that it seems to me equally misleading as a specimen of the contents of the book. The words quoted are not those of Prof. Cajori himself, and they occur in the course of a survey of Sylvester's work the whole spirit of which is the exact reverse of disrespect.

The history begins with the colonial period, and, while perhaps "anecdotical," certainly not tedious, in style, it gives evidence of much pains taken to secure accuracy. To all of this historical work—the main subject of the volume—the reviewer devotes but three lines, except as he treats the author's account of the last fifteen years, and this chiefly by making the above-mentioned strange selection.

F. H. L.

Clark University, March 2, 1891.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Will you kindly allow a little space for a few remarks on the somewhat unjust criticism which appeared in the *Nation* of the 19th

inst. on my work entitled 'The Teaching and History of Mathematics in the United States'? The reviewer places undue confidence in his own opinions when he asserts that the replies given by 168 teachers of mathematics in our leading colleges "prove nothing, unless proof be needed that most college professors know little of the aptitudes of their students." The reviewer finds fault because no replies to questions concerning methods of teaching were secured from Harvard, Yale, Princeton, the University of Pennsylvania, Ann Arbor, Cornell, Clark University, and the University of Wi consin. Is it possible that he failed to see that the mathematical teaching at all these institutions but two was described at length in another place? From most of the eight institutions just named I had received letters with detailed accounts of their work in mathematics before the 1,000 letters with the printed questions above referred to were sent out. For that reason, most likely, these institutions did not consider it necessary to send in information a second time. The obtuseness of the reviewer is brilliantly displayed when he expects reports from Clark University at a time when it had not yet opened its doors to students.

Respectfully yours, FLORIAN CAJORI.

COLORADO COLLEGE, February 27, 1891.

[Complaints about book notices, when not made with a view to the advertisement, are mostly based on the idea that such a notice is mainly written in order to do justice to the author's merit. In fact, its purpose is to give the public such information about a book as it desires, and particularly to show in what way the book may be useful. While we would not deliberately do an author injustice, we cannot go into the question of "pains taken," except in those rare cases where the public desires to hear about that. When so distinguished an astronomer as Sears C. Walker is called "Mr. C. Walker," when other names are misspelled, dates are erroneous, and the information generally defective, great pains may have been taken, but not pains enough. We repeated the nickname and anecdote concerning a great living algebrist, as being well calculated to convey to readers of the *Nation* a hint as to the degree of delicacy of Prof. Cajori's discrimination. "F. H. L." thinks these things "misleading as specimens" of the work; but in truth there is much which were better withheld while the subjects are living, such as: "Professor —— was appointed . . . to supplement Professor ——'s shortcomings," "—— is a far more amiable and congenial person to meet than Professor ——," and the like, the names of the living persons being given. The excuse put forth by "F. H. L." that these things were communicated to Prof. Cajori in private letters, is an explanation that fails to explain.

Another correspondent, "X." (*Nation*, No. 1339), blames us for repeating the story. But in what age of the world, pray, are we living? It was already in print, it was quite true, and, after all, is merely a tale of a bit of eccentricity such as theoretical mathematicians and thinkers generally have been proverbial for since antiquity, and such as may be told of nearly every man living who has made important contributions to pure mathematics. There was a phase of American development (not yet, unfortunately, altogether past) when to say that a person was different from others was an accusation, to call him eccentric simply shocking. Whenever such a charge was made, those of the party's friends who were conscious of superior powers of mendacity, naturally hastened to repel the odious libel, and to assure the public of the maligned gentleman's eminent mediocrity. No wonder that in such an atmosphere mathematical studies have not flourished.

Prof. Cajori must not represent us as pooh-poohing the opinion of 168 teachers. No doubt, were judicious questions asked, their replies would be well-nigh conclusive. We merely said that replies pretty equally divided between "yes" and "no" proved nothing; adding only that, the question being as to the relative aptitudes of two classes of students for mathematics, answers very positive and yet irreconcilably conflicting do go to prove that most of the answerers know little of those aptitudes. From hardly any of the best schools of mathematics were replies to the questions received at all, nor is it true that there is anything in the book equivalent to such replies. The publication is 'Circular of Information, No. 3, 1890,' and therefore one naturally expects to find the opinions concerning methods of teaching held by the instructors at Clark University under the head of "The Mathematical Teaching of the Present Time." But there is nothing of the sort there concerning most of the chief seats of mathematical learning in this country. There are only some generalities under the title, "Influx of French Mathematics," which is surely a thing of the past. The detailed information concerning methods of teaching relates, with some exceptions, exclusively to second-rate institutions.—ED. NATION.]

THE GAP IN PRACTICAL EDUCATION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The points raised by your excellent editorial of February 19 upon some of the defects of female education do not seem to be fully met by the "Harvard Annex" plan as represented by Mr. Gilman in your issue of February 26, for it would seem that those who are "not only women with a purpose," but women "advanced beyond the period of leading-strings," must already have received a pretty large share of their education. We who are connected with coeducation schools do not see how the gap can be well filled except on our plan, where young women and young men are held to the same standards and are taught by the same teachers. Is it not also a question whether it is a thing to be boasted of in a woman's school that "there are no women among the instructors"? Indeed, can we be so sure that some women instructors would be entirely out of place presiding over classes containing young men? Must all the young men be for ever excluded from enjoying instruction from such a teacher as Prof. Maria Mitchell proved to be in astronomy? We are far from claiming that the plan of coeducation is above criticism, but that it does supply superior opportunities for filling the gap which you have pointed out must be evident to all.

G. FREDERICK WRIGHT.

OBERLIN COLLEGE, March 6, 1891.

Notes.

THE Society for Political Education, No. 330 Pearl Street, New York, announces for publication on March 16 'The Reader's Guide to Economic, Social, and Political Science.' The editors, Messrs. R. R. Bowker and George Iles, have been aided by twenty-six specialists in the preparation of their lists. The Guide will give titles of the most important and recent books, articles, and reports, with numerous descriptive and critical notes. The courses in economic and political science offered by the principal American colleges, for men and women, will be summarized, and courses of reading, elementary, intermediate, and advanced, will be prescribed. The Guide will contain 170 pages, whereas the pamphlet similar in aim published by the Society in 1880 had but 36 pages.

The American Academy of Political and Social Science, whose headquarters are in Philadelphia, announce in their report for 1890 that they will issue at an early date translations of the text of the Mexican Constitution by Prof. Moses of the University of California; of the French Constitution by Prof. Cohn of Harvard; of the Belgian by Francis B. Lee of Trenton; of the Prussian, etc. The fourth number of the Society's *Annals* will appear in April, completing the first volume of the Proceedings. Thereafter the Proceedings will be published bi-monthly instead of quarterly. The membership of the Society exceeds 1,600.

Announcement has already been made of the programme of the Spanish Academy for the celebration of the fourth centennial of the discovery of America. Additional action has just been taken by that body in the shape of a plan to publish an anthology of Spanish-American poetry and a *catalogue raisonné* of the most famous writers of the ancient Spanish possessions in the New World. The work is to be under the charge and at the expense of the Academy, and contributions to the proposed volumes are invited from the corresponding academies of South America. Special attention is to be given to the literature produced since independence of Spain. The Academy shrewdly announces beforehand that the anthology is not to extend beyond two quarto volumes; we fear that the work of reducing the vast bulk of Spanish-American poetry to that space will be as difficult as getting the genius of the 'Arabian Nights' back into the coffer again.

The Academy has also in hand the publication of the 'Cantigas de Santa María' of Don Alfonso el Sabio, based upon the codices of the Escorial, which have been scrupulously collated. It will be provided with an introduction and a glossary by the Marquis de Valmar, and will be of the greatest value to the student of the comparative philology of the Romance languages.

A popular ornithological work by John B. Grant, which involves the careful reproduction, by photography, of sixty-four of the more familiar birds of North America, with descriptive text, is in preparation by Charles Scribner's Sons.

Robert Clarke & Co., Cincinnati, will issue directly 'The Spanish Conspiracy: A Review of Early Spanish Movements in the Southwest, etc., etc.,' by Thomas Marshall Green.

'A History of the Sectional Struggle'—between North and South, namely—by Cicero W. Harris, to be comprised in an octavo volume of 600 pages, will be published by J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia. The author's

references to authorities will be copious and exact.

Harper & Bros. will shortly publish 'A New England Nun, and Other Stories,' by Mary E. Wilkins.

'An American Girl in London,' by Miss Duncan, with illustrations by F. H. Townsend, is in the press of D. Appleton & Co.

Maj. Casati's work, 'Ten Years in Equatoria, and the Return with Emin Pasha,' which has just appeared in its Italian dress, will soon be published in English by F. Warne & Co.

John Wiley & Sons announce 'Ordnance and Gunnery,' by Capt. Henry Metcalfe, U. S. A.

A new and enlarged edition of J. Harrington Keene's 'Fly Fishing and Fly-Making for Trout' is about to be brought out by the *Forest and Stream* Publishing Company.

Charles L. Webster & Co. have engaged Mr. Blaine to oversee a chapter bringing Gen. Sherman's Memoirs down to date, and to add a personal tribute and a critique of the Memoirs.

'Dangers of the Apostolic Age,' by the Bishop of Manchester, and 'Life Story of Our Earth' and 'Life Story of Man' in the "Science Ladders" series, are to be published in this country by Thomas Whittaker.

A. Lovell & Co. announce Alarcon's 'El Final de Norma,' translated by Mrs. F. J. A. Darr.

Worthington Co. announce Ossip Schubin's 'Boris Lensky,' translated by Elise L. Lathrop; and E. Marlitt's 'A Brave Woman,' translated by Margaret P. Waterman.

E. P. Dutton & Co. have recently distributed among their employees a portion of the profits of the business during the past year. Instances of this commendable practice are, we believe, by no means common in the publishing business.

Mr. George Willis Cooke has brought the work of many Browning students to a head in his 'Guidebook to the Poetic and Dramatic Works of Robert Browning' (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.), which is a dictionary of the persons named in the poems, the poems themselves, their allusions, etc., arranged alphabetically. The way of the writer has been made easy for him by the works of Mrs. Sutherland Orr, Mr. Arthur Symons, the Publications of the Browning Society, etc., but he has been sufficiently patient and comprehensive to make an excellent encyclopædia of the sort of which Browning stands in need, and in the volume the student will find easily what he might have to search for in many other books. There is a bibliography of Browning literature in connection with the work and an index. Altogether, it is the most complete work of its kind yet issued, and may fairly be called a compendious Browning Library in itself.

Within the space of three years, Prof. Henry Drummond's episodical book of travels, 'Tropical Africa,' has got into a fourth edition, low-priced in order to be "popular" (Scribner & Welford). The work has already been reviewed by us at length, but we will recommend it afresh for its positive information and graphic descriptions, and for its humane spirit, which, manifested on behalf of the miserable victims of the slave trade, will also unconsciously elevate the mind of the reader.

The latest volume in the Camelot Series (London: Walter Scott; New York: A. Lovell & Co.) is a reprint of Darwin's classic work 'On the Structure and Distribution of Coral Reefs.' The handy and attractive volume is provided with a colored map, and Mr. Joseph W. Williams furnishes a brief introductory account of the origin of Darwin's theory of coral formation, and a candid and very useful summary of the present state of the question, which must be considered far from settled. Due notice is taken of the most recent American scientific observations and opinion.

'The Medical Annual' (New York: E. B. Treat & Co.) is an English epitome of the progress of medicine and the allied sciences. The volume before us, the eighth, bears date of January, 1890, and is thus one year behind the journals, but is probably as near to them as proper selection would warrant. The chapter on sanitary science contains statements on drainage, ventilation, and water supply well supported by authority, but which cannot be regarded as new. The whole is a convenient practical condensation, with the references to the originals generally noted.

The excretion of sugar characterizes two diseases, one of which, true diabetes, terminates in death after a slow career. Much study and experiment has been expended in searching for its essential nature and its proper treatment. The latest contribution to the subject is that of Dr. Emil Schnée of Carlsbad, in his book 'Diabetes: Its Cause and Permanent Cure,' translated by Dr. R. L. Tafel (London: H. K. Lewis). The author claims that the disease is distinctly curable, provided the physical changes have not passed the limit where mechanical restoration is possible. The report of cases appears to confirm that claim, and it would seem to be physicians' duty to go over this ground with care. The very pronounced use of the first person gives an unpleasant tone to the book, and, in one of our own race, would suggest doubt as to professional standing; but in this instance it seems a matter of taste rather than of intelligence. The translation is intelligible but not altogether smooth and idiomatic. We repeat that a sufficient presumption is established to warrant reinvestigation by the faculty of the causes and treatment of this grave disease.

Under the title 'Protective Philosophy,' Mr. David Hall Rice undertakes the defence of the "American protective system," as embodied in the McKinley Bill (Boston: Geo. B. Reed). The comparative effects of a high tariff and free trade are ingeniously established by two photographs, one showing the workers in a British linen mill, the other those in an American mill of similar character. A captious critic might object that the art of photography has not yet reached such perfection as to enable us to see causes; but unless some malignant free-trader should produce photographs of the workers in Austrian or Russian mills, we apprehend that Mr. Rice's method will be deemed conclusive by protectionists.

M. Gustave Brunet, the book-lover of Bordeaux, has just published a volume of 'Études sur la Reliure des Livres, et sur les Collections de Bibliophiles Célèbres' (Bordeaux: Vve. Moquet; New York: F. W. Christern). It is an amplification of a pamphlet published in 1873. Its chief value is as a supplement in some sort to the lists of books owned by famous collectors—M. Leroux de Lincy's catalogue of the Grolier library, for example, and certain of the briefer catalogues contained in M. Quentin Bauchart's 'Femmes Bibliophiles de la France.' M. Brunet is able to add nearly fifty titles of books owned by Grolier to the list of some three hundred and fifty contained in M. Leroux de Lincy's biography. Considering the present condition of the bookbinding art in Great Britain, it is curious to discover that British bookbinding was fashionable in France early in this century. Yet M. Brunet is unable to get Roger Payne's name right (p. 156); he calls him John.

In the *Nouvelle Revue* for February 1 is an article by Mlle. Marie Anne de Bovet on "Un Écrivain Cosmopolite: Henry James." To the readers of the elder *Revue des Deux Mondes* Mr. James's fiction had already and long ago been introduced by Mme. Th. Bentzon. In the Hetzel collection of translations, one of the latest volumes is 'La Sœur de Miss Ludington,' by Mr. Edward Bellamy, translated by R. Issam.

The twenty-seventh part of the new 'Stieler's Hand-Atlas' (Westermann) consists of maps of the German and the Chinese Empires and of India.

Dr. W. Junker contributes to *Petermann's Mitteilungen* a detailed account of the route between the Albert and Victoria Nyanzas followed by him in 1886. His purpose was to secure a passage through Unyoro and Uganda for Emin Pasha and his people, which failed because of a war then raging between the two countries. He refers to the great number and extent of papyrus swamps to be found on the banks of the streams. From the stems the natives construct floating bridges, or rafts when the streams are too wide and deep for bridging. He draws an attractive picture of Uganda, with its large and industrious population and its villages nestling in banana groves, with scattered farm-houses surrounded by cultivated fields. Not far from the capital he passed a hill which was crowned with a castle "just like ours," though built only of wood and straw.

In striking contrast to Dr. Junker's account of Uganda as it was five years ago is the report of Mr. Jackson, who visited that country in 1890 in the interests of the British East Africa Company. As a consequence of the persecution of the Christians and the civil wars, it has become a desert. "Rank vegetation covers the once fertile fields and groves. Dead bodies are lying about everywhere. All industry seems at a standstill. The people are mostly in a state of semi-starvation." Though the Christians are for the time in the ascendant, "the Mohammedans are collected on the borders of the country watching their opportunity to rush in and take possession." It is proposed, accordingly, to give up the idea of making Uganda the base of the company's operations on the lake, and to establish their headquarters in Usogo on the northeastern shore, and "one of the most desirable of the lake countries." With a summary of this report in the London *Times* is joined that of Capt. Lugard, another agent of the company, who was sent to explore the country between the coast and the lake, with a view to determining the route for the railway and to establish stations. "He found beds of rich iron ore, plumbago, and copper sulphate," and also mentions, "with great caution," the discovery of "crystalline quartz reefs similar to the gold-bearing reefs which he has seen elsewhere." Among other things which are being done to develop the country under the company's control, valuable timber trees from India are being set out in favorable places, and a number of Persians and Indians have been imported to start plantations of various kinds.

The February *Portfolio* (Macmillan) has a varied and readable table of contents. Mr. Walter Armstrong, with the aid of several plates and process cuts, justifies the recent appreciation of the paintings of Johannes Vermeer of Delft. Haddon Hall is redescribed and pictured, the letter-press being from the pen of Mr. John Leyland. Mr. Hamerton pursues his theme of "The Present State of the Fine Arts in France," devoting his second paper to "Painting; the Observation of Contem-

porary Life." He here talks very suggestively of the opportunities for the artist offered by the modern marvels of invention and industry, like the express-train, the steam-roller, the forge for armored ships, and the like; notes the drift towards subjects connected with surgery, chemistry, and anatomy; and discovers a democratic trait in the depicting of scenes from ordinary life, particularly in the humbler and more painful walks. Memoranda of certain of the paintings referred to serve in a rather crude way to point and enforce his remarks. In the March number the theme is "Various Effects of Modern Observation," and the moral, that when a modern French artist "has to make his choice between an artistic advantage on the one hand and some additional piquancy of human interest on the other, he will generally go where his public lead him." In other words, "in a very great number of modern pictures, art is sacrificed to mere fact." This is illustrated by the discussion of several well-known canvases of recent date, beginning with Brouillet's "Suzanne." Significant is Mr. Hamerton's comment on the contrast between Parisian public architecture and the paintings (open to the above criticism) chosen to decorate them.

A correspondent who writes to us from New England says: "The word 'lad,' though it has not been so strictly confined to the written language as the word 'wag,' has yet been unfamiliar to the mouths of all save a few superior persons who happened to be in a condescending mood. As Chauncey Wright used to say, 'lad' has been 'a boy with a man's hand on his head.' I have on this account noted with interest during the last few months a revival of the word among school-boys. 'Lad' is now not only in common use with them as a synonym of 'boy,' but the slang phrase 'Give a lad a chance' seems to have become a catch-word."

—*L'Art* (Macmillan) closed its last volume in December with a plaint. It had early in the year offered three prizes for etchings in as many classes, and had named a competent jury. To the disgust of the proprietors, but a single offering was made—a translation of Chaplin's "L'Age d'or," which has since been printed among the plates accompanying the new volume that marks the seventeenth year of this art journal. In the issue for January 1 one is met directly with the regrettable announcement that the state of M. Paul Leroi's health compels his retirement from the conduct of *L'Art*. He will carry with him undoubted respect for his zeal and devotion in his late office. At the same time the *Courrier de l'Art* of his founding will no longer accompany the main journal. Its publication is definitively abandoned, and in place of it the subscribers will be annually presented with a notable engraving. This year's is already distributed, and is a large and fine etching after Rosa Bonheur's well-known cattle-piece in the Luxembourg, "Labourage Nivernais." M. Leroi will be succeeded by and his work divided between two very capable men—Émile Molinier for the literary direction, and Théophile Chauvel for the artistic. The latest numbers to February 15 inclusive continue the retrospect of a "Century of Salonniers," with reviews of a number of holiday and illustrated publications. We may mention also the paper on the new-old castle of Vincigliata, near Florence, one of the greatest curiosities of that city, and a chapter on the mode of lighting ball-rooms and theatres in the eighteenth century, taken from Henry d'Allemagne's "Histoire du Luminaire." Both are furnished with interesting illustrations.

—The most interesting article in the February number of *La Réforme Sociale* is that entitled "A Travers la Russie: Observations Sociales et Impressions de Voyage," by M. A. Delaire. Had not the writer felt himself bound to account for Russia as a whole and describe the landscape, he would have had more space for his remarks on the condition of the factory hands, which is really his subject. In spite of his amateurishness, he sets forth clearly the fact that the absence of labor agitations in Russia is, in great part, due to the importance there accorded to religion and the family. The point is thoroughly well taken. At factories visited by him near Moscow and St. Petersburg, he found a form of family and communal life in the working-people's tenement-houses, which are admirably arranged for health. According to the Russian law, women cannot be employed between the hours of nine P. M. and five A. M. Young lads of fifteen to seventeen are subject to the same regulations. No children under twelve years of age can be employed. From twelve to fifteen, they may work eight hours a day, in stints of four hours, with an interval of four hours for rest. The women work eight hours, generally, or nine hours, in two stints. In St. Petersburg, the drinking-saloons are successfully opposed by free lectures and classes in church singing, which are thronged. The object of M. Delaire's article is to encourage Frenchmen to employ with profit their money and talents in the creation of manufactures in Russia, in emulation of those of his countrymen who have already reaped a rich harvest by so doing. He ends with a word of warning to France, exhorting her to avert impending peril by practising the virtues worthy of a free people, and to strengthen the foundations of prosperity, as in Russia and the United States, by recognition of the principles indispensable to prosperity—the law of God and the authority of the father, religion, and family.

—Out of 150 pages of W. M. Rossetti's edition of Shelley's 'Adonais' for the Clarendon Press Series (Macmillan), only 25 are occupied with the poem; the rest consists of memoirs of Shelley and Keats, separate essays on the composition and bibliography of the poem, its argument, and a general exposition, and notices of Bion and Moschus, together with over fifty pages of notes in fine print. This is the first work of Shelley to be submitted to such minute treatment, and it is not surprising to find that the editor often has occasion to remark upon inconsistencies in the imagery, irregularities of grammar, and obscurities of all sorts. Shelley was a poet full of faults of expression, and they are of the kind that grow greater the more they are attended to; but we were not prepared for the Procrustean rigor of some of Mr. Rossetti's criticism. Not infrequently we find notes which seem to us puerile; as, for example, on "Grief made the young spring wild," it is said that this "may be taken as implying that Shelley supposed Keats to have died in spring, but in fact he died in the winter—23 February;" and similarly, on "For whom should she have waked the sullen year," it is questioned whether "the year" began with January 1 or March 23. Worse even are the following: on "the mountain shepherds," we read—"As the shepherds do not belong to the low country, so neither do the poets to the flats of verse"; again, on "Ever at thy season be thou free to spill the venom," we read "*at thy season* can be understood as a reference to the periodical issues of the *Quarterly Review*." In more serious points, the ineptitude of the editor's comments on Shelley's science is especially remarkable, but one instance must suffice; on "The golden day had left the earth a corpse," he says that Shelley "takes no account of the fact that the sun when it ceases to illumine one part of the earth is shining upon another part." This is not enlightening criticism. Occasionally the editor has, in our judgment, missed the meaning. The "daring hyperbole" in the phrase "Death blushed to annihilation" is suggested probably by the faint hue of life revisiting the face as "the breath" revisited the lips, but it is treated as if no simple explanation were possible. In stanza 29 the notion that Shelley means that a new genius "appears to contemporaries to throw preceding poets into obscurity" is without good ground; the antithesis is between the sun and the reptile or insect life—the latter die, the former [*i. e.*, the poet] becomes a star in the night of death, with its "kindred lamps." No doubt the imagery in this passage is very confused, but it is in Shelley's usual manner. We have cited more instances than ordinarily because of Mr. Rossetti's distinction as a Shelley scholar; but it is a disappointment to find him least successful in this labor of minute exposition. The volume is very prettily bound and admirably printed.

—A second volume of Brugmann's 'Comparative Grammar of the Indo-Germanic Languages' has appeared in English translation (Westermann & Co.), and we are pleased to notice in the matter of the English idiom a decided advance over the first volume, whose abundant barbarisms gave us in an earlier number opportunity for criticism. The translation of the present volume is the joint work of Mr. Conway and Mr. Rouse, both Fellows of Cambridge colleges, and has been done with extraordinary care and self-consistency. A serious effort has been made to determine and establish a system of appropriate English equivalents for the technical nomenclature of the science—no easy thing to accomplish, inasmuch as the science, being almost exclusively German in its origin, has developed a German rather than a cosmopolitan nomenclature. The adoption of such terms as "proethnic" (*ur-*), "pre"-Greek (*vorgriechisch*), "fertile" (*produktiv*), "extended" (*erweitert*), "epithetised" (*mutiert* for compounds like *baldhead*, *greatheart*), "analogical," "thematic," etc., will meet with general approval. Whether the final naturalization of "ablaut," "umlaut," "grundform," and "Indo-Germanic" will be accepted with equal readiness seems to us questionable. *Ablaut* and *umlaut* have, to be sure, the advantage of being confined to an exclusively technical use, but *gradation* and *mutation* are truer. *Indo-Germanic* is less familiar to Englishmen and Americans than *Indo-European*, and by Frenchmen can never be viewed but with abhorrence. *Aryan*, which is still preferred by ethnologists, is better than either, but is unfortunately appropriated by most German linguists to the value *Indo-Iranian*.

—Prof. Arnold Brass of Marburg has just published a volume entitled 'Die niedrigsten Lebewesen' (Leipzig: Thieme), which, in view of the universal interest excited by Dr. Koch's bacteriological researches and his recent discovery of the bacillus of tuberculosis, may be regarded as a very timely work. It is a clear and comprehensive presentation of the subject, attractive in style and combining scientific accuracy with perfect intelligibility to the ordinary reader. The text is also illustrated by nearly seventy excellent woodcuts. It is divided into three sections, of which the first

and most important treats of "Spaltpilze," the second of vegetable micro-organisms, and the third of animal micro-organisms. The "Spaltpilze," which he subdivides into four groups, are exceedingly varied in form and function, and comprise some of the most active friends as well as the most destructive foes of the human race. They are the producers of fermentation and putrefaction, and, were it not for their ceaseless activity, there would be no beer nor cheese, no wine nor leavened bread; the refuse of vegetation and the dead bodies of men and animals, instead of decaying and disappearing as dust, would dry up and harden, and the earth would be encumbered with innumerable and imperishable mummies. But if they are necessary co-workers with man in his industrial enterprises and sanitary regulations, they are not less efficient as pathogenic agents or generators of disease. Prof. Brass gives an interesting account of the methods of studying bacteria, the processes of "pure culture," the means employed to color these delicate and transparent organisms with aniline colors, of which they are remarkably fond, in order to render them more easily observable, and the application of photography to the same end. The work deserves to be translated and disseminated as a valuable contribution to public hygiene.

—Mr. James Terry has published a monograph upon certain "Sculptured Anthropoid Ape Heads" found in or near the Valley of John Day River, one of which is in his collection, another is the property of Professor O. C. Marsh, while the third is owned in Oregon. They are described as being carved from bowlders of basaltic rock; and the resemblance, more or less close, which they bear to the apes, leads Mr. Terry to the conclusion "either that the animals which these carvings represent once existed in the Columbia Valley, or that, in the remote past, a migration of natives from some region containing these monkeys reached this valley, and left one of the vivid impressions of their former surroundings" in these sculptures. This explanation may be correct, but the facts do not prove it any more than the statement of Major Long, that an Omaha Indian "attributed to an animal from which he received his medicine the form and features of the elephant," proves that elephants formerly lived in the valley of the Missouri, or that the tribe had migrated from a region where these animals abounded. As a matter of fact, there is another explanation; and without wishing to insist upon its truth, we may be permitted to suggest that these carvings may have been made at any time during the past century by a white man, or by some Indian who had seen a monkey or a picture of one. There is nothing impossible in the idea, and it acquires a certain plausibility from the fact that these specimens are surface finds, and, hence, must be classed as recent until proved otherwise.

A SENATOR OF THE FIRST CONGRESS.

Journal of William Maclay, United States Senator from Pennsylvania, 1789–1791. Edited by Edgar S. Maclay, A.M. D. Appleton & Co. 1890.

In order to estimate this Journal at its true value, we must form to ourselves some proper conception of the character and peculiarities of the writer. We may say, then, that William Maclay seems to have been a man of acute intellect, well trained in the logic of the bar; constitutionally simple in his habits and in matters of taste invincibly opposed to the very appearance of artificiality; inflexible in his social convictions and political principles; narrow in the range of his sympathies, and therefore inclined to be suspicious in the judgments he formed concerning the motives and actions of men; naturally endowed with a sub-acid temper, and therefore easily stirred into irritability by the contacts of public life. He was, besides, a confirmed valetudinarian, doomed to coddle his rheumatic joints with anxious solicitudes, and diverted from his daily chronicle of political fault-finding only to register his twinges of personal pain, and record specifics for rheumatism compiled from Buchan's 'Family Physician' and the quack advertisements which met his eye.

We must also consider the psychological effect which is likely to be produced in certain minds by the mere fact of keeping a diary, whether for the writer's eye alone or with a view to ultimate publication. Large and wholesome natures like Walter Scott may keep a daily chronicle of thoughts and observations without betraying any side on which their minds are unequally weighted, because they hold their minds under even command; but if there be any want or excess in the balance and proportion of a diarist's mental constitution, it is sure to be disclosed and to be intensified by the constant repercussion with which the pen will return to certain topics according to the points of view which give a predominant outlook to the writer's observations. The 'Mémoires' of Saint-Simon not only show what an acute observer he was, drawing shrewd inferences from looks, tones, and gestures, but also show how this critical acumen of his was sharpened by long practice. The diary of Brainerd not only shows how sensitive he was to "the plague of his heart," but how that sensitiveness grew morbid and became a running sore under the irritation of daily self-analysis. The same monochromatic tone is perceivable in books of confessions, whether written by a St. Augustine to crucify sinful affections and lusts, or by a Rousseau to glorify the naïveté of his sentimental naturalism. Self-performed autopsies, like those of Bunyan in his 'Grace Abounding,' of Lamennais in his 'Paroles d'un Croyant,' of even Newman in his 'Apologia,' must all fall under the same condemnation so far as they fall under the same category. And as in religion so in politics. Few are the benignant bosoms in which the fires of patriotism are seen to blaze with the pure white flame which burns its own smoke. The public man who, fresh from the fervors of debate, hastens to commit his burning words to a diary, is pretty sure to leave the smell of smoke on his manuscript. The diary may even serve as a chafing-dish, for as he muses, pen in hand, the fire will burn afresh, and we may count him happy if, with the *esprit d'escalier* coming to his aid and comfort, he can resist the temptation to make it hotter for his adversaries on paper than in the actual war of words. In the diary of John Quincy Adams, ardent patriot and good hater as he was, we fancy that we can often detect the traces of the nitric acid which dripped so easily from his tongue and pen. In the Journal of Maclay, ardent Republican and good hater as he was, the odor of "sweltered venom" is as pervasive as it is pungent.

In further explanation of the "snip-snap and contradiction" (as Maclay phrases it) which keep up a constant reverberation in this Journal, like fire-crackers exploding in a barrel, we must bethink ourselves of the temper of the times in which this determined anti-Federalist was called to act and write. The new Government of the United States had just been framed under the Constitution, after a critical period of unparalleled confusion, doubt, and apprehension. The Constitution, with its new form of polity, instead of relieving the public mind from this state of tension, had as yet only added a new element of doubt and apprehension to make the confusion worse confounded. Maclay was of those who shared in all the fears begotten by the enlarged powers delegated under the Constitution to the general Government. The fierce champion of State-rights, he was perpetually startled from his propriety by the spectre of "Monarchy." And so it naturally came to pass that when this unbending Republican entered the Senate of the United States in 1789, filled with all the apprehensions of the hour, he was strict and quick to mark every symptom, whether in debate, ceremonial, or public life, which seemed to him of evil augury for the simplicity of American politics. As the Senate held its sessions in secret, and as the writer kept his Journal for private inspection alone, he was left perfectly free to give full license to his pen, not only for the purpose of jotting down his observations, but also for the purpose of giving form and pressure to every dubious impression and flitting suspicion that crossed his mind. We have, therefore, a complete spectrum of his mind exhibited in lines which enable us to know the writer *intus et in cute*.

So suspicious of the new Constitution that his soul often "revolts" against it, lest it may "turn out the vilest of all traps that ever was set to ensnare the freedom of an unsuspecting people"; so suspicious of men that he is always prone to divine some sinister motive at the bottom of human actions; such a hard-hitter in debate that his hand is against every man, and yet so touchy in his sensibilities that he complains of slights received from friends and enemies; so controversial in his temper that he sometimes mingles in debate for "pastime," and sometimes purely for practice in the art of dialectics; so critical in his judgments that nearly everybody is made to smart under his lash, yet sometimes wondering why it is that men in Congress "keep him at a kind of guarded distance that seems to preclude sociability"; so minute and penetrating in his own observations that he tries to discern the secret thoughts of men behind the veil of their words and acts, yet so frank in his own self-revelations that he tells us, without a blush for his social ethics, how he "pared his nails" in open Senate, and how he tried to buy two votes for Harrisburg as the site of the Federal city; so secluded and simple in his tastes that he lived in the retirement of a New York boarding-house, at the rate of $2 a week, yet so self-conscious that he not only marks the neglect in which he is left by the diplomatic corps and by "people of *ton* in the city," but shows that he felt it by recording that he "did not care a fig for it"—this stalwart champion of pure and simple democracy was, we see at once, a born *Frondeur* who never felt so much at home as when he was in the ranks of the political opposition. Confessing himself without charity enough to believe that the prevailing party in the Senate could be composed of honest men, he now exclaims, "Lord, deliver us from rascals!" and now ejaculates, "O, sweet candor, when wilt thou quit the cottage and the lisping infant's lips, and shed thy glory around the statesman's head?"

In view of this constitutional censoriousness, it is no great surprise to learn that certain people, at the close of his two years' term, were minded, as he says, to have him out of the Senate, "even if they should put the devil in his place." Nobody questioned his inflexible

Republicanism. It was only his political pessimism that soured the minds of men against him. But the same porcupine quills which a hundred years ago made him an uncomfortable companion in the Senatorial family of that day do but make his diary the more piquant and poignant now that their sharp points draw no blood.

At first it would seem that the figure of Washington loomed before his eyes with a genuine nimbus around the head of "the first character in the world," but the nimbus soon began to fade. Little awkwardnesses came at the outset to make "the great man" seem ridiculous, as when, in state ceremonials, he was seen to stumble and fumble while acting what seemed to Maclay the part of a posture-master, or as when, at state dinners, the President, in intervals of silence between the courses, "played on the table with a fork or knife, like a drumstick." A little later Maclay began to suspect that Washington was symbolizing with the men who favored the establishment of a "splendid court" around the Presidential office. Next he suspects that "His Elective Highness" is courting the House of Representatives in order to depress the Senate and exalt the prerogatives of the Executive. So he hints that Washington, in the use of patronage, was acting the part of Walpole, and after adding that "Walpole was a villain," what, he whispers to his Journal, "must be the man who follows Walpole's footsteps"? The "fine gold" in the world's "first character" soon becomes "dim," until, in the end, smitten with disgust at the pomp and circumstance of a Presidential levee, the diarist records a fervent wish that "Washington were in heaven!" After this the President comes in for heaviest reproach as "the constant cover to every unconstitutional and unrepublican act," and is finally flouted as having become, in the hands of Alexander Hamilton, "the dishclout of every dirty speculation, because his name goes to wipe away blame and silence all murmuring." When Maclay comes to write down his final verdict concerning our first President, the record seems to have been so disparaging that the leaf of the diary containing it has been torn out.

Richard Henry Lee, Oliver Ellsworth, and Alexander Hamilton hold a particularly bad eminence in the pages of this Journal. Lee is painted as the "Ishmael of the Senate"; as the leader in futile discussion for titles and for all the fooleries, fopperies, fineries, and pomp of royal etiquette; as combining great practice in public business with a factious and restless disposition; and, finally, as seeming to do his best to destroy the Constitution (to which he had been opposed) by overloading it with alien forms and usages. He says that Lee was believed to be "the worst of men" till Pierce Butler of South Carolina entered the Senate and became *facile princeps* as the marplot of debate.

It was to be expected that an ardent Federalist like Oliver Ellsworth, the framer of the Judiciary Act, would incur the special odium of an ardent Republican like Maclay. From the first, Maclay expresses a doubt whether Ellsworth is a man to be trusted. He is described as being tainted with monarchical notions; as being "the most conceited man in the world"; as believing that he could carry anything by sheer force of pertinacity, and by a prolixity of tongue which procured for him the epithet of "Endless Ellsworth"; as a "bare-faced supporter" of the Administration in all its measures; as ready to "varnish over villany and give effect to roguery without license"; as a man of ability, but "without a particle of principle"; as gifted with much argumentative dexterity, but a poor draftsman of statutes, who sometimes could not even spell correctly. Yet Maclay recognizes in Ellsworth a political foeman worthy of his steel, and records with evident gusto an occasion when, as he thought, he got a "hard hit" at the Connecticut partisan.

Alexander Hamilton is, of course, put in a pillory and pelted with every variety of injurious epithet. It is predicted that the Funding System will "damn his character as a Minister." It is charged that he was a base buyer of votes; that he used the Cincinnati Society as his political machine; that he converted the mercantilism of New York city into an engine of administration, until at last the city deserved to be called "Hamiltonopolis"; that he kept a crew of stipendiary servitors in the House of Representatives, and owned a troop of "gladiators" in the Senate who were ever ready to fight for their master; that a majority of the Senate were "sold" to him because he had "bought" them, and that he showed economy in not paying more for votes on sale than he found to be necessary. In a word, the writer sets down Hamilton as a "damnable villain."

But after all these poisoned arrows have been discharged from Maclay's full quiver, it is John Adams, "Bonny Johnny Adams," who must be accepted as the favorite quarry of our Republican archer. The language of the writer seems to labor for the invention of words that shall be adequate to express the aversion and contempt with which he is inspired by the bearing, manner, words, and acts of the first Vice-President of the United States. His alleged fussiness, his fidgetiness, his peevishness, his pedagogical imperiousness, his fondness for trifles, his supreme delight in questions of etiquette, his mania for nobility, his insufferable loquacity, his vacant laugh, his unmeaning simper, his egregious egotism are all held up for constant ridicule in the pages of this Journal. There are times when the chronicler can no longer contain himself as he recalls the demeanor of his *bête noire*, and he exclaims, "O, Adams, Adams, what a wretch art thou!" It is recorded with surprise that on one occasion, when the Vice-President had the casting vote, he actually voted right—that is, he voted with Maclay. Ordinarily the writer complains that the Vice-President "affected to treat him with all the neglect he could." The following excerpt from the Journal, under date of May 11, 1789, will suffice as a specimen of Maclay's antipathy for "Bonny Johnny Adams":

"Mr. Izard and sundry gentlemen of the Senate [are] dissatisfied with our Vice-President. He takes on him to school the members from the chair. His grasping after titles has been observed by everybody. Mr. Izard, after describing his air, manner, deportment, and personal figure in the chair, concluded with applying the title of *Rotundity* to him. I have really often looked at him with surprise mingled with contempt when he is in the chair, and no business before the Senate. Instead of that sedate, easy air which I would have him possess, he will look on one side, then on the other, then down on the knees of his breeches, then dimple his visage with the most silly kind of half smile which I cannot well express in English. The Scotch-Irish have a word that hits it exactly—*smudging*. God forgive me for the vile thought, but I cannot help thinking of a monkey just put into breeches when I saw him betray such evident marks of self-conceit."

The Journal, however, has a solid value apart from these vivacities of expression and this impressionist style of portraiture. As has been already intimated, the very age if not the body of the time in which it was written, can here be found with its sharp sectional contrasts and its bitter political antagonisms. The Pennsylvania Senator confesses to a special hatred for New England, and intimates that "honesty throve badly east of the Hudson." Sometimes, indeed, the record of cabals and intrigues is relieved for a moment by a pleasant picture of the first Senators gathered together in "chatting parties about the fires and stoves," but such glimpses are only for a moment. The scene soon shifts to some company of Senators and Representatives, inside or outside of the halls of Congress, where "the nether jaw of Clymer is seen shaking with convulsive motions, like a goose nearly strangled in the act of deglutition"; where Benson of New York "bungles like a shoemaker who has lost his end"; where Fisher Ames raises aloft "his hippocratic aspect"; where Elbridge Gerry exhibits the advantage of having "a cadaverous appearance," because he looked so bad that he "ran no risk of deterioration"; where Boudinot's wrinkles "rose in ridges," while the angles of his mouth "assumed a curve resembling [that of] a horse's shoe"; where "Hamilton's group," assembled at a public funeral, "are pricking up their ears and Speculation is wiping a tear from either eye"; where Read of Delaware "is swinging on his legs for an hour or more," in tiresome speechification; where Gouverneur Morris, "half pimp and half envoy," is portrayed as a political eavesdropper at the English Court; where Gen. Schuyler is whistled down the wind as "the supple-jack of his son-in-law, Hamilton"; where the courtly visage of Rufus King is described as "a perfect canvas for the devil to paint on"; where the respectable John Jay, seated at the dinner-table of Washington, "tries to make a laugh" by retailing a *scabreux* anecdote, or where the whole Pennsylvania delegation, assembled at mess-table, are making the air feculent with "bestial badney."

It will be seen at a glance that there is a certain picturesque exaggeration and a large dash of Rabelaisian humor in such grotesque characterizations as these. Yet we have no doubt that the writer was perfectly sincere when, at the close of his term and in full prospect of his failure to be reëlected, he made a minute that the First Congress of the United States "deserved to be d——d."

If it shall seem strange that we have bestowed so much attention on the acrid personalities which abound in this Journal, we have only to remark that it is these hot-spiced condiments which give to the present publication its only original flavor. The substantial contents of the diary, with the expurgation of its invidious flings, were published some ten years ago—in a very inadequate form, it is true, yet with the addition of much illustrative material drawn from contemporary sources. The editor of this new recension tells us in the preface that "great care has been taken to give the present publication word for word from the original manuscript, even to the [mis]spelling of proper names." But the transcription of the manuscript for the press has, we fear, been very carelessly made. The text swarms with mistakes which are apparently the fault of the copyist rather than of the printer, as, for instance, when we read "delated" (p. 239) for dilated, "Nousee" (p. 261) for Nourse, "impart" (p. 348) for import, "part notes" (p. 350) for post notes, "protect" (p. 353) for protract, "Governor Clarton" (p. 194) for Governor Clinton, etc., etc., etc. We are glad, however, that the editor has not cumbered the text with many explanatory notes, for the few that he

risks are often misleading. Macfay, for example, refers again and again to "Jackson of the President's family." The editor informs us in repeated foot-notes that by this descriptive designation ("the President's family") the diarist meant to characterize "a supporter of the measures adopted by the Administration." Major Jackson, we need not say, was Washington's military aide, and resided in the President's family as his private secretary, sharing this office with Tobias Lear. The index of the book is wofully defective.

JULES BRETON.

The Life of an Artist. An Autobiography. By Jules Breton. Translated by Mary J. Serrano. D. Appleton & Co. 1890.

Jules Breton, as is well known, has some pretensions to rank as poet as well as painter, and his autobiography certainly shows some sides of the poetic temperament. He tells us that it was written because his physicians had forbidden him further indulgence in the composition of poetry, from the excitement of which he had "contracted a nervous affection of the brain, accompanied by vertigoes which resembled trances, and lasted for hours." He took up poetry late in life, and prose still later, and it is perhaps natural that his prose should show strongly the effect of his poetical work. At any rate, his 'Life' is distinctly lyrical rather than historical. It opens with a rhapsody on childhood and closes with a pæan on the Universal Exposition. Where another would say, "I was born on such a day at such a place," Breton says: "The Garden of Delight, the cradle of Adam, we have all dwelt in it," and so on for two pages. More than a hundred of the three hundred and fifty pages of the volume are devoted to reminiscences of his childhood, filled with descriptions and "impressions," but only giving dates or facts by indirection and, as it were, accidentally, and in a "poetical prose" which may sound better in French, but is somewhat fatiguing in English.

He might well, however, excuse the lack of straightforward narration in the words of "The Needy Knife-Grinder": "Story, God bless you, I have none to tell, sir." He was born (although he does not say so) in 1827, in the village of Courrières, Pas de Calais, of a good bourgeois family, his father being land steward of the Duke of Durcas and the *gros bonnet* of the village, always addressed as "Monsieur Breton" by the villagers. His mother died when he was very young, and he and his brothers were instructed by their uncle. He was sent to school (in 1837?) at a small seminary near his home, where he was unhappy, and in 1840 was removed to the College of Douai, where he spent three years. In 1843 he began the serious study of art in Ghent as a pupil of Félix de Vigne, whose daughter he afterwards married, and he went to Paris and entered the studio of Drolling in 1847. Henner and Baudry were among his fellow-students. Drolling thought him a dull and rebellious pupil, and there is a legend, which Breton does not confirm, that his master advised him to give up the study of art altogether. He first exhibited in the Salon of 1849, and although, after the fashion of poets, he takes his fits of the blues very seriously, his success seems to have been more than usually rapid. He was medalled in 1855, and his "Blessing the Grain" of 1857 and "Gleaners" of 1859 were purchased by the Government for the Gallery of the Luxembourg. Since then his success, artistic and commercial, has steadily grown to its present proportions.

In the later part of the volume there are a good many reminiscences of the great painters with whom he came in contact, not generally very important in themselves, but interesting nevertheless, and a good many criticisms of their works. His admiration of Corot is hearty and intense, but towards the others he manages to assume a slightly patronizing air which is sometimes a little amusing. He finds Millet's "Sower" "black" and "declamatory," and says of Baudry: "He leaves behind him one of the greatest names of our school — a name, however, which, in my opinion, would have been still greater if he had never left France." Apparently he would have had Baudry, like himself, paint peasants; yet for those who did so he has even less praise. He considers himself, not without some reason, the discoverer of *plein air*, and his judgment of Courbet is harsh, while for "those curiosities in yellow and violet of artists who seem to think they have a monopoly of atmosphere," he has a bitter contempt. His own family, on the contrary, would seem to have been as remarkable as Carlyle's: father and uncle and brothers are all remarkable people, while the talent of his daughter fills him with delight. Great talent was also possessed by the artists who died young and obscure; and "poor" this and "poor" that receive hearty praise.

Another side of the poetic temperament is shown in the story, on page 205, of his anxiety about the effect of his first Salon picture. (He already knew that it was accepted.) "This state of anxious suspense," he says, "lasted six entire weeks! And when I say that during all this time I did not sleep, it is not a figure of speech. *I did not sleep for a single instant.*" This is certainly a remarkable and well-nigh incredible degree of susceptibility, even for a poet.

The most valuable and interesting part of the book is some fifteen pages of extracts from Breton's note-books, which embody his doctrine and opinions on art. It is liberally sprinkled with exclamation points and capitals, and much of it is more sounding than profound, but it carries the weight of his considerable authority, and may do good. His practical advice as to method in beginning and carrying on a picture (pp. 295, 296) is sound and excellent, and his remarks on the nature of true idealism (p. 293) are so just and so worthy the attention of artists and critics alike that we quote them in full:

"For how, in truth, does the painter succeed in expressing the Beautiful? Is it by deliberately correcting the faults of the model who is posing for him? No; he could only make this correction by virtue of a system, and experience demonstrates that *every system in art irrevocably leads to coldness, to death.*

"Nature, then, is not to be corrected by making it conform to a conventional type. The artist must have the intention of rendering what he sees and conceives as he sees and conceives it.

"His exaltation of feeling will make him discern the *line of expression*, of beauty, which he will follow, and *unconsciously* he will diminish or eliminate the useless details which interfere with it."

This is the pure truth—*la vérité vraie*—and of itself an all-sufficient reason for the book's existence. The italics are ours.

In attempting to estimate the place that Jules Breton will ultimately hold in the history of modern art, one must guard against either underrating or overrating him. The great vogue he enjoys to-day, and the enormous prices some of his works have fetched in the market, might incline one to place him with Millet as one of the very great masters of rural genre. Certainly this would be a mistake. The elements of Millet's greatness—his epic grandeur, his austere simplicity, his sureness of characterization and mastery of form and action, his sober yet rich and powerful coloration—are replaced in Breton by a slightly cloying sentimentalism, a somewhat awkward and unlearned draughtsmanship, and a coloring agreeable but hardly either exquisite or profound. But while his present reputation is unquestionably exaggerated, he who should deny Breton's right to a most honorable place in contemporary art would be at fault. Such a place he has earned, and such a place he will hold, by priority if by no other title. His early pictures, "Blessing the Grain" (1857) and "The Gleaners" (1859), were among the very first attempts at the painting of the human figure out of doors and in its proper relations with the landscape. They were most remarkable productions for the time, and remain his most remarkable works. The first of these, though lamentable in drawing, expresses the all-pervading glow of midsummer sunlight — light not merely striking *on*, but circulating *around*, all objects and filling the whole air—in a manner quite wonderful. The other is a twilight effect—the light is sombre rather than brilliant —but the same justness of vision, the same study of the figure as a part of out-of-door nature rather than as a separate entity, is its distinguishing characteristic. And this quality was then very new in art. The great landscape-painters of France were then producing their masterpieces, Millet was then at his best (his "Gleaners" is of the same date with the "Blessing the Grain"); but the landscape-painters did not treat the figure, and Millet rarely painted from nature. The beginning of the accurate study of open-air effects upon the human figure may more fairly be attributed to Breton than to any other one man.

He has rarely equalled this early work. What he has gained in correctness of draughtsmanship he has more than lost in warmth and fulness of coloring and in directness and simplicity of impression. Many of those works which have astonished the world by the prices they have brought at auction sales, owe their popularity to a prettily artificial sentiment which is at the antipodes of the frank genuineness of his earlier work. Only once has he reached his earlier level—in the "Evening in Finisterre"—and that once he has very nearly produced a masterpiece. While he has rested stationary or retrograded, others have still advanced, and the study of *plein air* has been carried to lengths that he has never understood. He has fallen behind the procession, but we must not let his fretful and querulous criticism of all those who have not been contented to stop where he stopped make us forget that he was once a leader.

The translation is capable, on the whole, though marred, in common with most translations from the French, by an abuse of the historical present, and in spite of one or two evident blunders, such as "brewery" for *brasserie* (p. 274). A most extraordinary misprint on page 284 makes the author speak of the "*timid* muscles" of some of the figures of Rubens, where "tumid" was evidently meant. There is no sign either of index or table of contents.

BOOKS ABOUT THE STAGE.

Thomas Betterton. By Robert W. Lowe. [Eminent Actors, edited by William Archer.] Longmans, Green & Co.

Émile Augier. Par Hippolyte Parigot. Paris: Lecène, Oudin & Cie. New York: F. W. Christern.

L'Art Théâtral. Par Samson. Paris: Dentu. New York: F. W. Christern.

History of the American Theatre During the Revolution and After, 1774–1792. By George O. Seilhamer. Philadelphia: Globe Printing House.

Familiar Chats with the Queens of the Stage. By Alan Dale. G. W. Dillingham.

Mr. William Archer, in his 'Life of Macready,' the first volume of the series of "Eminent Actors," had set so high a standard of excellence that the task of those whom he had chosen to write the succeeding biographies became doubly difficult; but Mr. Robert W. Lowe has written a life of Betterton which bears the comparison bravely. The one fault which one might fairly find with it is, that it is perhaps quite as much a history of the English stage during the Restoration as a biography of the leading actor of the time; but this is hardly a demerit when it results in an account of the Restoration playhouse as exact, elaborate, and admirable as that which fills Mr. Lowe's second chapter. This description brings before us, as no other has ever done before, the physical conditions of the theatre in which the comedies of Congreve, Wycherley, Farquhar, and Vanbrugh were originally produced, and the many dramas of the greater Dryden brought out with varying success. These conditions have a far greater influence on the dramatic literature of the time than mere literary critics can ever understand. Mr. Lowe makes clear to us, and clearer than ever, the arrangement of the stage, projecting as it did well into the pit, the scenic possibilities, the means of advertising, and the hours of performance. This chapter of his is worthy of comparison with the reconstruction of the stage of Molière and Racine to be found in Eugène Despois's 'Théâtre Français sous Louis XIV.,' one of the best books of its kind ever written.

Mr. Lowe has traced Betterton's career on the stage with the same minute knowledge of the details of theatrical history as made his 'Theatrical Bibliography' invaluable, and with the same conscientious care that he brought to the editing of Dr. Doran's 'Annals' and Colley Cibber's 'Apology.' For many a date and many a piquant touch Mr. Lowe draws on Pepys's Diary, but for the most brilliant theatrical portraiture ever attempted he quotes freely from Cibber. Aston and Downes and Davies supply apt anecdotes; and criticism rich in personal revelation is taken freely from the *Tatler* of Steele. There is, of course, a list of the parts played by Betterton; and the biography has an index—an appendage needful, and yet not often found, in the recent British biographical series.

The late Émile Augier was, perhaps, the most manly and most wholesome French dramatist of this century, and he was part author of "Le Gendre de M. Poirier," probably the finest French comedy since the "Mariage de Figaro"; but none the less does it seem somewhat hasty to include the first biography published within a year after his death in a series of "Classiques Populaires." This is what M. Parigot has done, and in his preface he endeavors to justify his course, and not without a fair measure of success. His biography of the author of "L'Aventurière" is inspired by hearty admiration; and still he makes scarcely any claims for Augier that any calm and competent critic of the French drama of this century would not be ready to grant. The few facts of Augier's simple career are given simply; there is frequent quotation from the essays of other writers and from the best contemporary criticism; and there is ample excerpting from Augier's works, as was prescribed by the plan of this series of "Classiques Populaires." M. Parigot's style lacks the relief of M. Léopold Lacour's, and to M. Lacour we owe, perhaps, the most acute analysis of Augier's plays. M. Parigot's own criticism is rather literary than dramatic. But his sketch is to be welcomed by all who know how clean-minded, quick-witted, and keen-sighted Augier was, and how great his service was to the French stage. The biography contains half-a-dozen doubtful woodcuts, shockingly ill-printed.

That Samson was a classicist, at least, if not a classic, no one could ever doubt; and when he wrote about his art, he modelled himself on the "Ars Poetica" of Horace and the "Art Poétique" of Boileau. Hence we have in his 'Art Théâtral' an essay as full of quotable truths as Pope's "Essay on Criticism," and, like it, cast in a form now outworn. Samson's poem is perhaps known to English readers only from the chance quotations in Lewes's 'Actors and Acting,' for it has long been out of print and very hard to find. In the present edition there is a complimentary letter of Augier's and a most interesting introduction by M. Coquelin, containing not only a few pleasant personal anecdotes, but a careful study of Samson's ability as an actor, reader, and teacher. Samson was an instructor whose fame was surpassed by that of one of his pupils; Rachel was no mere Fotheringay nor was Samson a "Little Bows," but he it was who showed her how to get the utmost from herself. Rachel used to say that she owed him everything; and M. Coquelin notes that she made but half-successes in the characters she first acted during any of her frequent quarrels with Samson. The quotations which M. Coquelin makes in his preface from the poem he is introducing are sufficient to prove that, although didactic verse on æsthetics is hard reading nowadays, the game is worth the candle.

Mr. Seilhamer's laboriously compiled 'History of the American Theatre' has now a second volume, devoted to the stage during the Revolution, and covering the years from 1774 to 1792. It is very like the first in its merits and in its demerits. It contains a mass of new material most carefully collected, and much of it now used for the first time. It corrects the errors of Dunlap and of those who followed him, including that most cautious of chroniclers, Mr. Joseph N. Ireland. It quotes an abundance of most interesting prologues and occasional addresses. It prints the casts of every important play, and it gives comparative casts—a most useful feature for any one who wishes to trace the rise of an actor. It gives a list of the parts played by almost every performer of even second rank. It cites freely cards, advertisements, and criticisms from newspapers, and also the epistolary critiques frequent in eighteenth-century journalism.

The one great blemish of Mr. Seilhamer's useful book is his constant girding at Dunlap, who blundered often enough, no doubt, partly because he relied on Hallam, and partly because he had not the virtue of Dryasdust research. But none the less is Dunlap's 'History of the American Theatre' a useful and an interesting book. Dunlap modelled his work on Colley Cibber's, and not without a certain success. It is readable to this day, for he had a literary tincture, and this Mr. Seilhamer, with all his industry, lacks. It is pleasant to see that, after numberless taunts in his preceding volume and in this, Mr. Seilhamer at last (on p. 277) is moved to bless where before he had banned, and to declare some of Dunlap's merits, and to call him "a very interesting figure of a time when aspiration was, as yet, unable to realize her ambitious aims."

In considering a catchpenny piece of mere bookmaking like Mr. Alan Dale's 'Familiar Chats with the Queens of the Stage,' the difficulty of the critic is not to form an opinion, but to formulate it in words with due regard for decorum. The book is unspeakable trash. It is thoroughly vulgar in tone; and quite as offensive as its vulgarity is the self-satisfied conceit which is obtruded on almost every page. Caddish is the only vocable which describes this book fairly.

Letters from Rome on the Occasion of the Ecumenical Council, 1869–70 By the Rev. Thomas Mozley, M.A., formerly Fellow of Oriel, author of 'Reminiscences of Oriel,' and special correspondent of the *Times*. Two volumes. Longmans, Green & Co. 1891.

Thomas Mozley, the writer of these letters, is now eighty-five years old. With his two brothers, James and John—there were three others—he was deeply involved in the Oxford movement. Newman became his tutor at Oriel in 1826, and he and his brother John married Newman's sisters Harriett and Jemima in 1836. When he became a Fellow of Oriel in 1829, Newman had great hopes of him, but they were hardly justified by the event. His younger brother, James B., was a man of much more solid character and mind. He, with the late Dean of St. Paul's, would seem to have remained in the English Church from clear conviction when Newman went over, while Thomas Mozley seems to have kept himself there by mere force of will. In his 'Reminiscences of Oriel' his account of his beliefs and motives gives the same impression of sensational unreality that we get from Hurrell Froude, William George Ward, and many others of their school. But the 'Reminiscences,' published in 1882, was certainly the most entertaining of the many books which have been written concerning the Oxford movement. As to its accuracy and fairness, that is another matter. When he sent Newman the MS. of the first ninety-nine chapters, the Cardinal warned him that some of the many he abused were living still, and that the dead had living friends. But apparently none of these things moved him, for it does not seem possible that any abusive, spiteful, or malicious matter was left out.

The temper of these letters is much the same as that of the 'Reminiscences'; perhaps a little less malicious because dealing less with personal acquaintances and friends. They are the letters of a man who has no illusions, but who has given up so many that he is hard and cynical. They were written for the London *Times*, and if Newman read them as they came out, it must have been with mingled sympathy and indignation. He had himself no hankering for the Pope's infallibility, and had called the English Catholics pushing for it "an aggressive and insolent faction," and hence had some sympathy with Mozley's satisfaction in the opposition to it in the Council and the misfortunes of its abettors. But ineffable must have been his scorn of Mozley's levity in dealing with the whole business. In his introduction Mozley says: "Over all the matters handled I now think with more gravity." He could hardly think of them with less. It takes a man who has been almost converted to another creed

and has somehow saved himself to show it up with all its imperfections on its head. Though he still spells his personal pronouns for the Virgin with capital letters and accounts himself an Anglo-Catholic, no rationalist pure and simple could have brought to the treatment of the Council a less sympathetic mind. Even his fellow-Churchmen must have sometimes winced at his mixing up of things sacred and profane, as where he says the English Church —outside the walls of Rome in 1869—was over an inn, "and the only relics were those of the last meal."

It is a serious limitation that the letters break off in April, when the writer was driven away from Rome by threatening fever, so that only about half the period of the Council has a record here. On July 19 he turns up again in Rome, and writes a letter describing the proclamation of infallibility the day before. Before he left, there was a letter every day, even when there were recesses of the Council. The letters written on these off days are some of the most interesting in the book. They furnish a memoir that will be very serviceable to the future historian when he would describe Rome as it was in the last days of the Pope's temporal power. The divinely governed city seems to have been the worst governed upon earth. The subject of its "solid stench" is one of which the writer does not tire; he is really eloquent when he comes to this. It is very little that he has to communicate about the doings of the Council, and there is no pretence of knowledge. He protests that he can find out next to nothing, and even when he has a bit of news, he warns his readers that he may have to take it back in his next letter; and he does have to do so almost every time. If the statements contradicted and the contradictions were omitted, the amount of matter would be reduced one-half. But the letters are no less interesting on this account. Anything in the nature of a pageant is admirably described. Every amusing aspect of the situation is economized for all its worth. Mozley is very confident at first that there will be no decree of infallibility, but his confidence gradually oozes away. It is interesting to know that on the final vote, when from 130 to 140 were absent or abstained from voting, and there were 533 *Placets*, one of the two *Non-Placets* was by the Bishop of Petricula, which, being interpreted, is the Bishop of Little Rock, Arkansas. Good Anglo-Catholics are bound to be strong anti-Protestants, but no Protestant could stand more doughtily for the right of private judgment than does Mr. Mozley in these letters. Here he sometimes forgets himself into real earnestness. This is, perhaps, because he is even more Englishman than Churchman, and at bottom it was probably this lack of perfect balance in his character that kept him from going over to Rome.

The editing of the book is very strange. Nothing is said in advance of certain chapters explanatory and reminiscential that will be introduced, so that now and then, when we think we are reading an immediate impression, we find that we are reading recollections dimmed by the lapse of twenty years and more. At the end of some chapters there are queer little collections of telegrams, whether the author's own or another's we are not informed. He is irked at times by the omniscience of *Quirinus* as compared with his own nescience; but though *Quirinus* had either more friends at court than Mr. Mozley or a more penetrating sagacity—perhaps both—it may be doubted whether his letters will serve the future historian half as well as these, in which the proportion of fact to "wild surmise" is as Falstaff's bread to his sack, but which are always bright, amusing, witty, and give us all the social atmosphere and setting of the great event. Occasionally Mr. Mozley wrote and forwarded an editorial for the *Times*, and some of his editorials are given. Their difference from his epistolary style is creditable to his facility. He simulates the thunder of the regular *Times* leading article very well indeed.

The Advancement of Science: Occasional Essays and Addresses. By E. Ray Lankester. Macmillan & Co. 1890. 8vo, pp. 387.

Prof. Lankester is one of the best known of England's living zoölogists. His published investigations place him in the front rank, and, whether technical or popular, even though the opinions expressed may not meet with general approval, they are always worthy of careful attention. The rapidity of its recent progress has staled many things pertaining to biology that but yesterday were new. Much of the matter in this book, all of it less than twenty years old, already belongs to the past, yet, because of its connection with present research, it retains a great deal of its interest. "Degeneration" is made the title of the first essay; the sub-title, "A Chapter on Darwinism," might well have been applied to the greater portion of the volume, since its most prominent feature is laudation of Darwin. While this will insure a favorable reception from persons of like belief, it rouses the impression in others that by thus praising his master the disciple is patting himself on the head. Partisan bias, from which the author is seldom free, is the most serious defect in the work. It is prominently seen in the chapter on "The History and Scope of Zoölogy," from the ninth edition of the 'Encyclopædia Britannica,' to which it gives an appearance such as might be expected in a history of religious belief written by the most zealous follower of a particular prophet.

The chapters on "Parthenogenesis" and "A Theory of Heredity" are followed by a note in which the author says: "In both of these articles the reader will find evidence of a belief on my part in 'the transmission by heredity of acquired characters.' This belief is one which I now think is not justifiable." His present belief holds natural selection to be the one supreme factor. Nevertheless, in one place he mentions "a set of forces such as we sum up under the head 'natural selection,'" and, in another, remarks upon the forces, dealt with as laws by physicists and chemists, by which the biologist seeks to explain the process of the automatic evolution of the forms of life. As regards these forces and their action he is at one with Spencerian evolutionists generally, and is not necessarily at odds with present-day Lamarckians. But the variations resultant from such processes are not fortuitous, and from continuity of action they are cumulative and of necessity transmissible. Consequently, he at once changes front in his practice, and, like other Darwinians, treats selection as the bundling up of results, proving and supporting his positions by theory, while demanding that opponents shall use only actual experiment. The difference between his belief and that of the majority of zoölogists, including all those of prominence in America, amounts to about this: he makes selection to be the great cause; they accept it as a passive aggregation of the effects of many causes, rather than an active factor, and they might have to broaden his definition of science, "a knowledge of causes," to give his theory scientific standing.

"A Theory of Heredity" is a review of Haeckel's theory, showing it to be but a slightly different phase of Herbert Spencer's. The author attempts to reinstate the discarded theory of pangenesis, of Darwin, by attaching it to the Spencerian, without manifestly improving the latter. Near the beginning of the book great stress is laid on the importance of hypothesis or theory; the effect of this is weakened by later statements of the experimental processes in chemistry and physics, as in the work of Pasteur and in that of Siebold, until we are quite prepared for the quotation, from the latter, of Aristotle's saying: "More belief must be given to observation than to theory, and this last is only worthy of belief when leading to the same result as experience."

The short essay on "Examinations" is written by one who formulates from much experience and study what should be helpful to a multitude of educators. "Biology and the State" and "Pasteur and Hydrophobia" are eloquent pleas for State aid to scientific research. One of "The Scientific Results of the Fisheries Exhibition, London, 1883," is seen in the Plymouth Laboratory, the benefits of which are confined neither to the present time nor to the British Islands, and in the establishment of which the author acted a most prominent part.

From the discussion of "Centenarianism" we gather that Europeans are longer-lived than other men, and that Englishmen live longer than other Europeans. The statistics make the expectation of life at sixty, in England, to be about eighteen years for steady and sober field laborers, confirmed drunkards having only half as much; about sixteen years and a half for the females of the aristocracy, and fourteen and a half for the males; about twelve and a half for clerks, and eleven and three-quarters for miners; while sovereigns of all countries at sixty have an expectation of less than eleven years. "Distinguished men live a shorter time than less distinguished, on account of their harder work; married live longer than unmarried persons, on account, perhaps, of the measured tranquillity of connubial life; women longer than men, because they lead an easier life; and the clergy longer than other professional men, for the same reason."

"Men can diminish the mortality of populations by attention to simple laws of health, and, by increasing the average longevity, give that increased happiness and prosperity which security of life and health brings. It is in sanitary action that the *elixir vitæ* has been discovered in these days, which, though it perhaps has not as yet increased the roll of centenarians, has no limit to its operations, until the time shall have come when man will no longer, as Buffon said, 'die of disappointment,' but 'attain everywhere a hundred years.'"

The Intercourse between the United States and Japan. By Inazo Nitobe. Baltimore The Johns Hopkins Press.

This is a monograph of nearly two hundred pages written chiefly in Philadelphia, as the author informs us in his preface, under the hospitable roof of a Friend. The other friend to whom the author is indebted for valuable emendations and in the reading of proof-sheets, Miss Mary P. Elkinton, is now the wife of the author. Mr. Nitobe, having become a Christian in Japan, and in Philadelphia embraced that form of it professed by the followers of Penn, writes English with a fluency, accuracy, and coloring not often met with in

the writings of Japanese who use a foreign language. He has the living spirit as well as the good form. Born in a southwestern province, and educated in Yezo, the extreme north, and well versed in scientific studies, he knows well both nature and man in his own country. Receiving degrees at Johns Hopkins University and at Halle, Germany, and the author of a work in German which has also met with deserved translation into French, his style bears the watermarks of the man of thorough culture. He has entered into the world of western ideas, as well as mastered its classified knowledge. Scholarly by discipline, even to easy use of his own native literature, eager in the pursuit of facts which illustrate his thesis, not only in Japan and the United States, but also in England, Holland, and Germany, he has produced a monograph of singular interest. This is published as extra volume eight in the eighth series of the Johns Hopkins University series.

It was about 1840 that the painted vessels of the western peoples began to be so numerously seen off the coasts of Japan as to make the "Song of the Black Ship" at once popular and prophetic. This prophetic ballad, done into English, serves as introduction. A spirited chapter treats of foreign intercourse before Perry, in which it is clearly shown how inclusive as well as exclusive was the policy of the Japanese rulers of the seventeenth century, who sought to insulate the "divine country" from the shock of change. After reviewing the relations of Korea, China, Spain, Portugal, England, Holland, Russia, France, and the episode of Christianity, the author treats of "the dawn of Western knowledge in Japan." This first light came by contact with the Hollanders at Nagasaki, and was generated by the study of the Dutch language. The first martyrs, Takano and Watanabé, after being ferreted out by the sleuth-hounds of the Yedo Government, committed hara-kiri to save their wives and children from disgrace. Others, like Sakuma, followed, however, and, in addition, the hundreds of native physicians, who improved their knowledge by Dutch books, were as little spots of light all over the empire. Very few indeed of the recent or present Japanese leaders in politics, science, religion, or education, but trace their enlightenment to Dutch culture. The list of martyrs for the sake of truth is still far from complete, though in the recently published biographical dictionaries of Tokio, one may recover many names. One of these, an artist who in 1840 was compelled by the Yedo authorities to disembowel himself for introducing foreign ideas in his painting, has recently been posthumously honored by an exhibition of his works.

Chapter ii. surveys the American contacts with Japan, showing how the whale was the pilot. Perry's predecessors are named and described, and the causes, detail, and success of the Perry expedition set forth, the contemporaneous Japanese political side being also exposed. The author's comments are here original and forcible, but to Townsend Harris, the true founder of Western diplomacy with Japan, he awards the higher meed of praise. He asserts, quoting from Katsu Awa, the interesting fact, which close students of Japan in the last years of feudalism have long suspected, that, "even if left to itself, the Shogunate would without external cause have perished, within ten years, of bankruptcy."

Most interesting, to the general reader, is the chapter on Americans and American influences in Japan. Here the author compares and freely criticises our diplomatists, teachers, missionaries, authors; and racily comments, in the most refreshingly honest way, about them. All those accustomed to look at the facts in Japan through their own selected and favorite chromatic lenses, will either greatly enjoy or be specially irritated when looking with the author's. Very suggestive is the section on the "Dark Side of Foreign Influences."

Chapter v. treats of the Japanese in America, from Sam Patch, the waif, to the Imperial Embassy. The influx of students is noted, and judicious comments made on their mental aptitudes, morals, and religion. The section on "Romance" shows how largely cultivated Japanese have been able to win ladies of culture and character in Europe and America to share their lot with Japanese husbands, and to brave the terrors of the unknown female world in the land where polygamy still lingers. Female students, Japanese in California, exhibitions, and mercantile houses, are agreeably treated with much interesting information, and then a characteristic farewell concludes this unique work. It is certainly the best treatise on its special theme, and, besides being a charming piece of literary art, conveys a large amount of information and critical judgment from the Japanese side, for which Americans may be grateful. The statements are in general thoroughly accurate, and the temper is that of a judge. There are, however, one or two passages of a critical nature, tinctured with the author's peculiar views, as, for example, the stricture upon the missionary's administration to his converts of the rite of water-baptism, which are out of place, and, in so far, vitiate the general excellence of taste and catholicity of spirit which make the chief charm and value of the book. There is a good index, and the volume ably fills a notable part of the story which, when completed, will be one of the most fascinating in all history.

Modern Customs and Ancient Laws of Russia. By Maxime Kovalevsky. London: David Nutt.

THE general character of Mr. Kovalevsky's very interesting volume, which is a summary of a course of lectures delivered before the Taylorian Institution in Oxford, may be gathered from the titles of the chapters: The Matrimonial Customs and Usages of the Russian People; The State of the Modern Russian Family; The Past and Present of the Russian Village Community; The Russian Folkmotes; Old Russian Parliaments; The Origin, Growth, and Abolition of Personal Servitude. One important conclusion arrived at, after a survey of the ancient Slavic customs of marriage, and comparison of them with survivals of similar customs in other countries, is, "that the comparative immorality of the Russian peasants has no other cause than the survival amongst them of numerous vestiges of the early forms of marriage." He adduces facts to show that the prevailing opinion of the Russian peasant has been and is that marriage is nothing more than a civil contract, entered into in the presence of the community, as a sign of its recognition and sanction. Another point is, that the present indissolubility of the marriage tie, now legal, has not always been recognized by the common law of Russia. Up to the middle of the last century, the Russian clergy often dissolved the marriage bond for simple incompatibility of temper, while the Cossacks of the Don practised divorce by announcement before the popular assembly no longer ago than the end of the eighteenth century.

Mr. Kovalevsky demonstrates the influence for good which the ancient communistic system of the house community has had upon the peasant character, although he shows that the effects of this system on the country, as a whole, are not altogether to be commended. The village communal system, which is the modern form of these mediæval house communities, is pronounced by the author to be a compound of small advantages and great disadvantages; the advantages being moral and the disadvantages economic in character. This is the impartial view of one who holds with neither of the parties which are seeking to draw conclusions profitable to their own theories from this state of things—the Socialists and the Slavophils. He predicts that the village community will soon disappear over the greater part of Russia, as it has already disappeared in the countries of Europe.

Our author answers the question as to whether the autocratic form of government is a truly national institution, in the way familiar to students of Russian history, supporting his view with an unusually wide range of authorities, both from Russian and from other Slavic sources. He follows the career of the State Council, and the rise, course, and decline of the States-General, in a way which renders perfectly comprehensible his opinion upon the rule naturally evolved by the Russians, and sets forth the fact that these States-General have never been abolished by law, and that no legal act lies in the way of a new convocation of the representatives of the Empire. In their right of choosing the Tzars, they had the advantage over both the English Parliament and the French States-General, the latter of which they resembled in this particular, that they had no power of initiating reforms, but were confined to presenting petitions and complaints. The Russian States-General fell under Peter the Great. Their intellectual qualifications were too small, their prejudices too great, to permit of their aiding him in his projects of reform; and autocratic rule was in the ascendant all over Europe. The proposition, made in the reign of Alexander I., to introduce into the Council of State representatives from the different Estates of the Empire, and the decree signed by the late Alexander II., on the day of his assassination, complete the record of this Council, whose national character must be admitted, after the clear and forcible presentment of the case by the author, who is an ex-Professor of Jurisprudence in the University of Moscow.

If one chapter more than another can be designated as especially interesting, it is the last, which sets forth the gradual growth of serfdom, and the analogy of its rise with that of the system of farming on half-profits, which has prevailed and still prevails in several European countries. The manner in which serfdom was gradually, and inevitably, as it seems, established; the attempts to abolish it early in the present century; its final abolition in the last reign, are all explained in a brief but satisfactory manner, which will meet the wants of those readers who have not the time to seek the separate bits of information on these subjects which are scattered through history.

Church and State.—The Fruits of Culture. By Count Leo Tolstoi. Boston: Benjamin R. Tucker. 1891.

THERE is very little that is new, either in form or in ideas, in Count Tolstoi's 'Church and State.' It contains, in addition to the brief article which gives the volume its title, four other dissertations, called Money, Man and

Woman, The Mother, and A Second Supplement to the Kreutzer Sonata. The third and fourth of these are taken directly, the first and second practically, from volumes already published ('What to Do' and 'My Religion'). The fifth merely repeats what the author has said in the 'Kreutzer Sonata,' and the only interesting point about it is its juxtaposition with the two harangues which precede—and contradict—it. As persons of average intelligence have probably long ago made all necessary comments upon the inconsistency therein displayed, the only inducement to purchase this fresh repetition of what is already far more worn than even the proverbial "twice-told tale," is done away with.

In 'The Fruits of Culture' we can, at least, take observations upon the famous Russian writer from a fresh point of view. We gave a detailed account of the plot of this comedy nearly a year ago. At present it will only be necessary to consider it from a literary standpoint and as a translation. Of the latter, it may be said at once that it is awkward, inaccurate, and made from the German, not from the Russian direct. While the author has, undoubtedly, shown a strong dramatic instinct in his treatment of various situations in his novels, this attempt in the line of distinct dramatic writing cannot be pronounced great, either in matter or arrangement. For those who are intimately acquainted with the conditions of Russian life, and with the peasants, the work is clever. But what little of this the uninitiated layman might have hoped to gather is utterly obscured by the inadequate rendering into English, which transforms a *valet* into a "chamberlain" (and, incidentally, a gentleman), and otherwise upsets that meaning which would not be remarkably clear to foreigners under the best of circumstances.

The Rise of Christendom. By Edwin Johnson, M.A. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. 1890. 8vo, pp. xvi., 499.

Our century has witnessed some strange transformations of old history, but they all sink into insignificance in comparison with the reconstruction proposed by Mr. Johnson. His thesis is simple and clear: Christianity, he holds, arose about six hundred years ago, an invention of the cloisters of St. Basil and St. Benedict. In the time of the great revenge of the West on the East, the period of the Crusades, European envy of the Jews led certain corporations to concoct a religion which should be superior to the Israelitish. The Jews themselves, however, had borrowed their religion from the Arabians; it is to Islam that we owe Judaism and Christianity; it fashioned the figures of Adam, Moses, David, and the rest. The Koran grew up in the East; out of it the Rabbis of Spain and Italy composed the Old Testament; and the non-Semitic religious societies of Europe thence produced not only the New Testament, but also a long line of historical and dogmatic works, the object of which was to prove that the Christian Church was coeval with the Roman Empire. In a word, Mr. Johnson maintains that the whole mass of Christian literature which claims to be anterior to the thirteenth century is a forgery. His proof rests on the statement that the genuine literature and inscriptions of the early centuries know nothing of Christian ideas.

It is difficult to see why our author should stop at Islam in his critical reconstruction. He might make a fair argument to show that Islam itself arose on Persian soil and was borrowed from Persian sources, that the Persians in their turn were the pupils of India, that Hindu thought came from China, and so on *ad infinitum*. It is a melancholy spectacle, this expenditure of learning on a scientific monstrosity—the more that Mr. Johnson is profoundly in earnest with his theme, and looks on its establishment as very important for the progress of civilizat on.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Anderson, J. W. Medical Nursing. Glasgow: James Maclehouse & Sons.
Aveling, E., and Eleanor. The Working-Class Movement in America. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co.
Baldwin, J. Harper's School Speaker. II. Harper & Bros.
Barrère, A., and C. G. Leland. Dictionary of Slang, Jargon and Cant. 2 vols. London: Whittaker & Co.
Bourinot, J. G. Canadian Studies in Comparative Politics. Montreal: Dawson Bros.
Bué, Mme. La Conversation en Classe. 2 parts. Boston: Carl Schoenhof.
Carus, Dr. P. The Soul of Man. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Co. $3.
Cassell's Complete Pocket-Guide to Europe. Cassell Publishing Co. $1.50.
Chelwynd, Sir G. Racing Reminiscences and Experiences of the Turf. 2 vols. Longmans, Green & Co. $7.50.
Cooke, T. Aphorisms in Applied Anatomy. Longmans, Green & Co. $1.25.
Cooper, Louise B. Behind a Mask. Chicago: Laird & Lee.
Culin, S. The Gambling Games of the Chinese in America. New York: N. C. D. Hodges. 40 cents.
Cundale, F. Landscape Painters of Holland. Scribner & Welford. $1.25.
Darwin, C. On the Structure and Distribution of Coral Reefs. London: Walter Scott; New York: A. Lovell & Co. 40 cents.
Dewey, John. Outlines of a Critical Theory of Ethics. Ann Arbor, Mich.: Register Publishing Co. $1.50.

Woman's Work in America.

Edited by Annie Nathan Meyer. Introduction by Julia Ward Howe. 12mo, $1.50.

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MARCH 19, 1891.

The Week.

LORD SALISBURY'S last despatch in answer to Mr. Blaine on the Bering Sea matter ought to close the controversy. It is a model of cogency, conciseness, and coolness, and might be profitably studied by Mr. Blaine as a rhetorical model, even if its argumentation were less formidable. Lord Salisbury disdains, apparently, to notice the famous St. Helena precedent, but he agrees to submit to arbitration every essential point in dispute; and the neat way in which he extracts these points from Mr. Blaine's confused pleading must delight connoisseurs.

A conspiracy like the New Orleans Mafia is usually, in other countries, put down by some sort of martial law. This is the way the Thugs were got rid of in India, the Moonlighters in Ireland, and the Mafia in Sicily. Martial law, and the quick action of military justice, seem, in fact, the only efficient remedy when the local population is so cowed that it cannot be depended on for jury duty or for testimony as witnesses. The Molly Maguires were, it is true, put down in Pennsylvania by the ordinary action of the criminal courts. But there the surrounding population was not cowed. The Molly Maguires were surrounded by a great American community which was not afraid, and which was determined to get rid of hired assassins. What the New Orleans people could have done by special legislation to get rid of the Italian nuisance by legal means, we do not pretend to know. But, assuredly, all legal resources should have been exhausted before breaking jails open and slaughtering prisoners through the instrumentality of a promiscuous crowd collected in the streets. We have received letters commending the action of the mob, and contrasting the vigor and courage of the prominent citizens who led it and in part composed it, with the indifference, supineness, and cowardice touching municipal government of the corresponding class in this city. We do not print them because we can conceive of no good that can come, in the existing condition of American society, of defending or excusing lawlessness or violence, under any provocation whatever. It is not everywhere, as in New Orleans, that the best citizens have physical force on their side. But we will say that were the courage and fiery indignation of the New Orleans lawyers, merchants, and brokers put behind the law in this city for its assertion and vindication, we should be far better off than we are. Our corresponding class is apt to sneak away and become apologetic, or say, "Well, now," when challenged by the dangerous classes even to a legal and peaceable trial of strength.

For the second time in our history, one of the older States is to elect, at one session of the Legislature, two Senators for full terms of six years each. The first case occurred in Louisiana during 1888, when, under the system of choosing members of the Legislature for four years, the law-makers were called upon to elect not only the successor of Mr. Gibson, whose term was to end in 1889, but of Mr. Eustis, whose time did not run out until March 4, 1891. Mississippi will elect her first Legislature under the new Constitution in November next, and its members will serve until after the election of November, 1895. The term of Senator George will expire in March, 1893, while that of Senator Walthall runs on until March, 1895; but no other Legislature will be chosen until after the latter date, so that the Legislature elected next fall will have to fill both seats. This state of things will recur every twelve years, and it is certainly an anomaly in our system. It is, of course, desirable to have the Senate removed as far as possible from the influence of sudden waves of popular feeling, but the Louisiana and Mississippi plan does not help to secure this result. On the contrary, it might happen that a temporary craze, like that which swept over Kansas last November, would sweep into the Mississippi Capitol next November a Legislature which would give not only the seat that falls vacant in March, 1893, but also the one which is already filled until 1895, to representatives of wild doctrines which the people would repudiate long before 1895.

The Farmers' Alliance has set out to capture both these Mississippi Senatorships for men who will pledge themselves to support the absurd sub-treasury project. But both Mr. George, who will stand for reëlection, and Mr. Walthall, who announces that he will not be a candidate, have come out with letters against this crazy scheme so cogent and convincing that it seems already clear that they will carry the people with them. Mr. George shows the unconstitutionality of the project, and declares his belief that practically the scheme would not prove a benefit to the farmers, but rather a curse, since "it would be very costly, necessitating the employment of many thousands of new officials, and this cost would in the main be paid, as taxes are now paid, by the farmers and laborers of the country." Mr. Lamar's experience showed that the public man in Mississippi who stands by his convictions will find the people standing by him. He refused to obey the instructions of the Legislature to vote for free silver coinage a dozen years ago, went before his constituents for vindication, and was unanimously reëlected. Mr. George promises to reap a similar reward for his courage.

The Republicans of Illinois have covered themselves with something different from glory by abandoning their honored and honorable candidate for Senator, Richard J. Oglesby, and running after a will-o'-the-wisp, or several such, in the persons of Streeter, Moore, Lindley, and what not who inscribe on their banners the initials F. M. B. A. Oglesby was the Republican caucus nominee, and was entitled under party rules and usage to the stanch and united support of the Republican members of the Legislature. But, after voting for him a while, a coterie of "smart fellows" conceived the idea that they might beat Palmer by abandoning their own nominee and voting for one Streeter, a Greenback-Labor agitator of the olden time. This was "changing front in the face of the enemy," and doing so under peculiarly hazardous circumstances, since, in order to elect Streeter, it was necessary to transfer to him every one of their votes. They had 100 in all, and the F. M. B. A. people had 3. It required 103 to elect. Therefore, if there should be one obstinate member, one who believed in sticking to his own text and his own candidate, the manœuvre of changing front in the face of the enemy would fail and most likely bring disaster. It turned out that there were a dozen who could not be driven out of their own camp.

The election of Gen. Palmer determines the political division of the Senate in the Fifty-second Congress. The Legislatures in Florida and California have still to elect, but there is no doubt as to the result in each case—a Democrat in Florida and a Republican in California. This will give the Republicans 47 members and the Opposition 41, the latter including the two Alliance men from Kansas and South Dakota. This would be a Republican majority of six if all of the 47 could be depended upon. But they cannot. Three of them—namely, Paddock of Nebraska, Pettigrew of South Dakota, and Plumb of Kansas—voted against the McKinley Bill last October, and Hansbrough, the new Senator from North Dakota, is committed against all high-tariff measures. It is therefore obvious that the Senate no longer contains a high-tariff majority, and there is every reason to suppose that it may pass bills reducing the tariff on particular articles if the House sends over such measures. Despite the admission of half-a-dozen new States, "the sure Republican majority in the Senate for ten years" which was counted upon only a year ago, has already vanished.

We have had lately, in the form of interviews, the opinions of Senator Peffer and Congressman Simpson of Kansas on the subject of finance. Both these gentlemen are representatives of the Farmers' Alliance, and both have betrayed a fondness for Government paper money rather than for silver. And now comes Congressman Davis of the same State and the same Alliance. His interview on money and finance is published in the Philadelphia *Press*. "We hold," he

says, "that banks should not be allowed to issue notes. These should be printed and put out by the Government. The tariff should be reduced till there is a deficit in the Treasury, and then greenbacks should be printed and issued to pay all claimants." Being asked whether the notes would be redeemable, he replies: "No; not in metal money. Each bill should bear the legend, say, 'One dollar, receivable for all dues and debts.' This would make it receivable for all taxes and import duties, and legal-tender. This would keep it perpetually at par"—meaning at par with itself, of course. Each note would be worth as much as every other note of the same denomination. This was one of the peculiarities of the French assignats, and of our Continental money, and of the Confederate money. Every dollar was at par with every other dollar, whether of the original issue or of any subsequent issue. The advantages of having a currency always at par are too obvious to require comment.

Congressman Davis has other advanced views on the subject of finance. He would have the Government lend its new legal-tender notes to farmers at 1 per cent. interest. Being asked how the lending should be done, he said:

"This way: Suppose I owe you $5,000 and accumulated interest on my farm. This new law would direct you to add the interest to the principal and go to the Treasurer of my county and file the mortgage and an abstract of the property and get *a check on the nearest bank* for the entire debt. That would satisfy you. Then the County Treasurer makes a draft on the United States Treasurer for the money, and gets it—in crisp, new bills. That satisfies him. The United States Treasurer accepts the mortgage on the farm (providing it is worth the amount of the mortgage) and sends word to me when the 1 per cent. interest is due. Is not that simple? It is the first news I have had of the transfer of the debt. That ought to suit everybody."

A check on the nearest bank! Good gracious, are we to have banks still? What do we want banks for after the Government has taken in hand the whole business of making and lending money? And what is the use of the mortgage, anyway? Mr. Davis hints that the United States Treasurer is only to pay out his crisp, new bills if the farm is worth the amount of the mortgage. Worth the amount in what? Not in metal money, but in the bills themselves, which are always to be at par with each other. The bills, too, would be at par with the mortgage, the mortgage at par with the bills. Why not make the mortgage legal-tender, and done with it? That would save time and dispense with the services of the bank, and everybody would be as well satisfied as with the other plan, if not better.

The Republicans in the Maine Legislature have defeated the proposed Australian Ballot Law, on the avowed ground that the reform was favored by the Democrats, and that the adoption of a system which allows men to vote their convictions would endanger Republican control of the State. Boutelle of the Bangor *Whig*, who has led the fight against the secret ballot, has based his opposition openly and emphatically on these two grounds: (1) That the Democrats favored the reform, and therefore the Republicans should go against it; (2) that the Democrats favored the reform because they thought a secret ballot would help their party and hurt the Republicans, and that they were entirely right in thinking so. "Let the Republicans Stand Firm," was Boutelle's last appeal in the *Whig* to the Republicans in the Legislature before the vote was taken in the House at Augusta last week, and his position that the proposed reform was a "dangerous scheme" for Republicans to permit was endorsed by the party. More than two-thirds of the Republican members voted against the bill, defeating it by a vote of 74 to 71.

The bill pending at Albany to tax all inheritances over $5,000 has been made the subject of loud objurgation and protest, as though it were *prima facie* an act of spoliation. We are accustomed to consider the estate of every deceased person as the rightful property of his next of kin, and hence to conclude that the State has no more right to help itself to a portion of the property than to seize arbitrarily the earnings of a living person. But the fact historically is that it is the State, and only the State, that enables surviving relatives, even children, to enjoy the possessions of the deceased. Without the State, *i. e.*, organized society, all property is the prey of the strongest, and most especially any property whose owner no longer has need of it. It is the State that enables the owner to make disposition of it after his death. The question whether the State should take some portion of it for its own uses is one of detail, and not of abstract principle. Most civilized communities recognize the fact that the death of the father or mother leaves the family in a worse position than it was before, since it is deprived of the earnings and care that it formerly received, and hence that the estate, so far as concerns the direct heirs, should not be the subject of a special tax. Most communities, New York among the number, consider the property of decedents passing by will or inheritance not in the direct line as property subject to a special tax. The tendency and drift of enlightened opinion at the present day is towards the special taxation of large inheritances both in the direct and the indirect line. Of course, such taxation may be perverted and made an instrument of gross injustice, but it is not to be classed as spoliation *per se*.

Census Office bulletins furnish the number of white and colored pupils respectively enrolled during the census year in the public, private, and parochial schools of five of the Southern States, viz., Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Louisiana. The total population by races has been announced for all these States except South Carolina. The following table shows the number of white and of colored pupils enrolled in each of the States mentioned except South Carolina, the total white and colored population, and the percentage of the total population of each race which the school enrolment constitutes:

States.	Population.		School enrolment.	
	White.	Colored.	White.	Colored.
Maryland...	824,149	218,004	167,338	37,009
Virginia....	1,014,680	640,857	233,444	123,661
N. Carolina.	1,049,191	567,170	232,427	120,405
Louisiana ..	554,712	562,893	94,417	55,058

States.	Percentage of school enrolment to total population.	
	White.	Colored.
Maryland	20.31	16.98
Virginia	23.01	19.30
North Carolina	22.15	21.23
Louisiana	17.01	9.78

As was to be expected, a larger percentage of the white than of the negro population is at school in each of these States. In North Carolina the difference between the percentages of the two races at school is apparently but trifling, and it is not very great in either Maryland or Virginia. It must be borne in mind, however, that because of its heavy birth and death-rates it is probable that a larger proportion of the negro than of the white population is within the school age, and that consequently these differences against the blacks are larger than they seem to be. But, after all proper allowance is made on the score just mentioned, the comparison for the States of Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina is eminently satisfactory. Not so much can be said for Louisiana, in which State proportionately but little more than half as many negroes as white children are at school. While these figures show that there is still much to be accomplished in Louisiana, the fact that the public-school enrolment of the State has in the last ten years increased 53.52 per cent., as against an increase of population of but 19.01 per cent., shows that great progress is being made in the right direction.

Two letters in the *Tradesman*, one from Youngstown and the other from Cleveland, Ohio, give particulars of the shut-down of iron furnaces in the Mahoning and Shenango Valleys, caused by the competition of Southern iron. Of a total of fifteen stacks in the Mahoning Valley only three are now active. The restriction of the output amounts to 5,000 tons of pig-iron per day. The number of workmen idle is estimated at 2,000, which is much smaller than might be supposed, considering the great curtailment of production. The shipment of Lake Superior ore is already cut down one-third, and a further reduction is expected. Vessel freights must necessarily be reduced. The causes of this serious revolution in the iron trade are stated by Mr. Runyan, of the firm of Runyan, Stubbs & Mack of Cleveland, thus:

"They [the South] have their ore, coke, and limestone right at their doors, which is an ideal condition. Their investment in these lands, owing to the primary cheapness, is not great, labor is cheap, and, greatest of all, the furnaces in the South are greatly favored by the railroads. On the other hand, take the Mahoning Valley furnaces. The ore must be dug out of the very bowels of the earth, brought up to the surface, and loaded on cars. It is hauled to the lakes and dumped in vessels, transported several hundred miles, then shovelled out of the vessels on to docks, and from the docks to the cars, and carried another hundred miles or more to the furnaces."

This is no new tale. On the contrary, it has been reported a hundred times since the close of the war, but it was not believed until the iron actually came. How to meet this competition, which no McKinley Bill can shut out, is a serious problem. The writer says that in order to compete with the Southern product, the Ohio furnaces must be able to sell mill iron at Cleveland for $12 per ton. The price of Scotch pig at Glasgow at last accounts was $11.18 per ton, and of Middlesbrough pig in the Cleveland district about $10. It would seem, therefore, that a duty of $6.72 per ton was not of much use except to deprive the New England manufacturers of the cheapest raw material within their reach. In all the discussions of the Southern iron question, we have nowhere met the suggestion that, when the Southerners have crushed out Northern competition, they will put up their prices and extort any sums they please from consumers. Only foreigners do that.

The money-seeking manifesto from Parnell will, we trust, meet with the response it deserves from such of the American-Irish as have any money to spare for Irish needs. To subscribe for the maintenance of Parnell's agitation now would justify the most violent charges ever brought against their intelligence. There is no view of Parnell's position which now warrants his remaining in the field. No matter how unjustly he may have been treated, either by Gladstone or by his own Irish colleagues, his one duty to Ireland is to get out of sight. The fact that he has been ill-used does not authorize him to go on wrecking the home-rule movement. Every attack he makes on the other Home-Rulers helps to disgust the civilized world with the Irish cause, and satisfy foreign observers of its hopelessness. According to his own account, the only honest and sensible men connected with the cause are himself and a few personal followers of the kind he has sent here to raise money. But if this were true, what rational man would care to see Ireland a self-governing country? If this be not true, what a spectacle of effrontery he presents. All money given to him will be used as directly to discredit home rule as if it were given to the Tory electioneering fund, and far more efficiently. In fact, there is abundant reason for believing that Parnell is now getting all the help from the Ministry he can get privately and indirectly.

The People's Palace in East London has entered upon a new phase of its existence, which is likely to be its last, unless radical measures to mend matters are taken, and that speedily. It has now come to light that the Palace is heavily burdened with debt, and is on the verge of bankruptcy. For the last two years there has been a large deficit when accounts have been balanced. Most of the original endowment was spent in buying land and putting up the present buildings; the grants of the Charity Commissioners and the Drapers' Company have not been sufficient to meet expenses. Perhaps the most disheartening fact of all is that, despite the almost lavish expenditure which now threatens financial ruin as its result, the Palace has failed signally to accomplish the work for which it was originally intended. Its real object, as it was understood in the beginning, was to contribute to the amusement and recreation of the genuine working classes of the East End. Almost three years ago our London correspondent pointed out its tendency to substitute instruction for amusement, and to appeal to an entirely different class of people. And this is exactly what has happened. Even Sir Edmund Hay Currie has just admitted that there is a chance of the Palace being absorbed by the class who are quite able to provide themselves with amusements at their own cost, and that absorption appears to have been already brought about. The fees, Sir Edmund suggests, have something to do with this—a point upon which our correspondent dwelt in his paper on the subject. A fee of admission, to class or show, of even a penny is beyond the means of a man who has to support a family on a pound or thirty shillings a week. But it is in the supremacy given to instruction that the Palace has gone so hopelessly astray. The monkey and dog and poultry and cat shows have been declared responsible for the present financial crisis; but amusements are all too few and far between. "Utility flourishes. Shorthand and bookkeeping thrive," the London critics of the institution are now saying; and something of the present character of the Palace is explained by the fact that, at the much-lauded Sunday concerts, the people have taken to singing hymns. It is boasted as proof of popularity that 3,000,000 attendances have been registered during the first three years of the Palace's existence; but it must be remembered that every one who enters passes through the turnstile—the thousands who go through curiosity as well as members; and hence this is no criterion of the regular attendance. Despite the present financial straits, many new building enterprises are being actively pushed on the Palace grounds.

Unless all signs fail, Brazil is preparing to run the same mad course of speculation and inflation of the currency that played havoc with the Argentine Republic and Uruguay. The issues of paper money go leaping up, month by month, the total outstanding at the end of the last year being stated at $300,000,000 for the national banks and $85,000,000 for the Government. This paper currency is inconvertible, if we may believe the startling assertion of the *Jornal do Commercio*, which says that the Minister of Finance has used the gold reserve to pay off the domestic loan of 1889. Meanwhile, speculation is demanding more and more paper, and is getting about $15,000,000 a month. New corporation and investment companies are springing up like mushrooms. In 1890 over 300 were chartered with a nominal capital of $755,000,000, while in the month of January alone, this year, sixty-three new ones were started with a capital of $310,000,000. The fever that raged in Buenos Ayres and Montevideo until it had nothing left to feed upon, is now at its height in Rio. Vast enterprises are afoot everywhere, their promoters are plunging into the wildest luxury, and everything is rose-colored. No wonder that the clear-eyed *Économiste Français*, which faithfully warned French investors against the Lesseps madness, is telling the owners of the $100,000,000 of French capital in Brazil that their investments are perilous. Luckily, the Government itself does not appear to be so loaded down with debt and obligations as was the Argentine. But it may turn out that Celman's personal corruption is to find its counterpart in the career of President Fonseca; he insisted upon putting through a fat contract for improving the harbor of Torres for the benefit of a personal friend, though it cost him the resignation of a part of his Cabinet. The making public of this fact just at the time that the Rothschilds declined to act longer as Brazil's financial agents in Europe, almost brought on a panic.

Politically, Argentine affairs seem to be coming out of their sad tangle. The drift of things now points to the harmonious choice of Gen. Mitre as President. He has already been nominated for the office by a large and representative convention held at Rosario, and gives promise of conciliating in his person the warring factions left over from the revolution of last summer. It is curious to note how the leaders of that movement make no figure at present. With the powerful *Union Civica* back of them they seem to have become entirely merged in the Mitre party. Gen. Mitre himself is a distinguished personage in modern Argentine history, having won an enviable success in military affairs, and conducted an honorable Administration at the time of his former occupancy of the Presidency, and being besides a man of unusual literary attainments. His absence in France at the time of the political outbreak freed him from the necessity of taking any compromising part in those disturbances, and he is now turned to with relief as a man who can unite the quarrelling politicians in his support. We notice an interview with him in the Madrid *Imparcial*, on his way home, in which he takes his election for granted, and promises a liberal administration.

THE NEW ORLEANS MASSACRE.

THE New Orleans massacre is a horrible illustration of the working of municipal government among us when at its worst. None of our cities is as badly governed as New Orleans is, but there is not one of our larger ones which is not heading in the same direction. It has, more than all the others, been used to violence of all kinds before and since the war. Assassinations and attempts at assassination, street fights, and bloody duels have been constant accompaniments of its politics and of its administration of justice. It has had a local revolution in our own time, in which the State Carpet-bag Government was overthrown, on President Grant's refusing to furnish troops for its protection. Consequently, even the more respectable and sober-minded portion of the community are in a constant state of readiness for remedial violence. When things go very wrong, it is a comparatively easy thing to call an indignation meeting, convert it on the spot into an armed mob, and "execute the people's will" at the muzzle of the pistol and the rifle. Behind such a state of public sentiment the law is always weak, and officials very apt to be corrupt, and ruffians very powerful. The assassination of the Chief of Police last October was undoubtedly the result of the same social conditions which caused the failure of the jury trial and the massacre of the acquitted prisoners in the jail. In such social conditions men's reliance on the law for protection is necessarily small. Somehow or other the known presence of Judge Lynch in a community makes people careless about the character of the judges and juries provided by the Constitution. They are like gluttonous persons who think they have a pill which is a sure cure for indigestion.

The Italian assassins, if there are any left in the city, who murdered or connived at the murder of the Chief of Police, are doubtless terribly awed by what has happened, and so are the jury-fixers and suborners of perjury, and the whole crowd of malefactors, and they will keep out of sight for a year or two. But the seeds of improvement have not been sown. The situation has not been radically or permanently changed for the better, and the prominent citizens who have headed the mob and superintended the shocking scenes in the jail have set an example of lawlessness which has certainly unfitted them for the work of real municipal reform. Yet if any one at this distance could tell a New Orleans reformer how to go to work with advantage, he would have to be wiser than we pretend to be; but it should certainly not be in this way.

For the rest of the country the affair is simple disgrace and embarrassment. Secretary Blaine is now at last placed in a situation in which his capacity in raising a cloud of words will stand him in good stead. Although most of the Italians who have been killed were naturalized citizens of the United States, some were foreigners, and the fact that all are Italians has naturally roused the indignation of the Italian Government and of Italians all over the world. Marquis Rudini will ask for satisfaction of some kind, and under the law of nations is entitled to it, but under our Constitution there is no means of giving it to him. The massacre in New Orleans is an offence against the State law, but the Italian Government has no relations with the State of Louisiana, and, touching crimes against persons or property committed within the State, the Federal Government has no power over the State authorities. In fact, there is an unbroken line of Federal repudiation of responsibility for acts of violence committed against foreigners in the State's jurisdiction, or even for the action of State courts or officials.

In the Macleod case, where a British subject was put on trial in a New York court for murder for acts committed as a soldier in the British service, and of which the British Government assumed the responsibility, Secretary Webster was delivered from a very embarrassing position by the man's acquittal; but Congress promptly passed an act providing for the transfer of all such cases by habeas corpus to the Federal courts. In the case of Baldwin *vs.* Franks, Baldwin was arrested under a United States warrant charging him with conspiring with others "to deprive certain Chinese aliens of the equal protection of the laws and of equal privileges and immunities under the laws"; in other words, to drive them out of the place where they lived and did business. Under section 5519 of the United States Revised Statutes, the court held that although Congress undoubtedly had the power to make this statute cover aliens, it had not done so (Judges Harlan and Field dissenting), and Baldwin was therefore discharged. This is a clear and serious defect in our Federal legislation. As regards the aliens who were killed in New Orleans by the mob, the Federal authorities ought to have the power to prosecute and bring to justice all who participated in the lynching; and until such power is bestowed on them we shall every now and then, when cases of this sort occur, cut a sorry figure before the civilized world. We got off easily touching the Chinese outrages, because the Chinese are patient, barbarous, and far off, and hold life cheap; but the Italians are very different people, and we shall have no small difficulty in meeting the remonstrances which are doubtless now on their way.

THE CENSUS AND THE COLORED POPULATION.

THE Census Office has announced the population by races of the District of Columbia and of each of the old slave States except Mississippi and South Carolina. The following tables show for each census since 1860 the aggregate population by races of the District of Columbia and of the fourteen Southern States, exclusive of the two named, the increase of each race during each decade, and the percentage of that increase:

Date of census.	Population.	
	White.	Colored.
1890	14,495,166	5,504,882
1880	11,707,751	4,844,630
1870	8,793,792	3,678,867
1860	7,452,263	3,365,890

Date of census.	Increase.		Percentage of increase.	
	White.	Colored.	White.	Colored.
1890	2,787,415	660,252	23.81	13.63
1880	2,913,959	1,165,763	33.13	31.69
1870	1,341,529	812,977	18.00	9.30

If the States of Mississippi and South Carolina are included, the negroes, during the decade from 1870 to 1880, increased somewhat more rapidly than the whites in the South as a whole. In particular States their rate of increase was very much greater. In the last ten years these results of the census of 1880 have been frequently cited to prove that certain sections of the South were in process of Africanization. If the census of 1890 can be trusted, the defects of that of 1870, and not the fecundity of the negro race, were the cause of the apparently great increase in that race revealed by the enumeration of 1880. In every Southern State the official figures for which have been given out, the whites have during the last decade made a larger absolute increase, and in every one except Arkansas and West Virginia a larger relative increase, than have the negroes, as the following table will show:

States.	Increase.		Percentage of inc.	
	White.	Colored.	White.	Colored.
Alabama	168,611	81,328	25.46	13.55
Arkansas	224,986	100,561	38.03	47.74
Delaware	19,269	2,580	16.04	9.76
Dist. of Colum.	36,346	16,331	30.80	27.40
Georgia	156,556	138,583	19.16	19.11
Florida	81,856	39,988	57.40	31.56
Kentucky	208,347	1,530	15.13	.56
Louisiana	99,758	79,238	21.93	16.38
Maryland	99,456	7,774	13.72	3.70
Missouri	501,642	8,781	24.80	6.04
N. Carolina	181,949	35,893	20.98	6.76
Texas	543,953	99,453	45.43	25.28
Tennessee	194,140	31,149	17.05	7.73
Virginia	133,822	9,241	15.19	1.46
W. Virginia	136,725	7,622	23.07	29.44
Total	2,787,416	660,252	23.81	13.63

The bringing in of colored laborers to work in the mines and on the railroads of West Virginia explains the relatively considerable negro increase there. The negro population is, however, still numerically an unimportant element in the State.

There has been a large negro immigration to Arkansas from almost all of the more Southern States; but as the colored inhabitants today constitute but little more than one-fourth of its population, and as even during the

last decade the white increase, though relatively less, was absolutely 124,000 more than the negro, there is no probability that the negroes will, in Arkansas, ever outnumber the whites.

In every State, except Georgia, in which the negroes were in 1880 nearly as numerous as the whites, the latter have increased since that year much more rapidly than the former. In Georgia the ratio of growth has been practically the same for the two races; what trifling difference there was, was in favor of the whites. In all of the more northern Southern States, except West Virginia, the ratio of the colored increase has been very small. Indeed, in Kentucky, Virginia, and Maryland the negro population has, practically speaking, remained stationary in point of numbers, while in Delaware, Missouri, North Carolina, and Tennessee the negro increase was less than 10 per cent. It is not impossible that an explanation of this slow growth will be made apparent when the race figures for the old free States are given out. The negro population of California, the only Northern State the race statistics for which are as yet available, nearly doubled during the decade. In Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Louisiana, and Texas, there was a considerable negro increase, but that of the whites was still greater.

As the censuses of 1870 and of 1880 have shown us, it is not altogether safe to rest too securely on the results deduced from a comparison of the figures of two immediately succeeding census enumerations. It may therefore be worth while to compare the statistics of the eleventh with those of the eighth census, the last taken before the old order of things in the South made place for the new. As the following table, which gives for 1860 and for 1890 the number of negroes in every 10,000 of aggregate population in each of the Southern States, except Mississippi and South Carolina, will show, the negro population of the more northern Southern States is proportionately much less numerous than it was thirty years ago, while there has been, except in Texas, very little change in the relative proportions of white and colored inhabitants in the more southern States:

States.	Number of negroes in every 10,000 of total population.	
	1890.	1860.
West Virginia	439	561
Missouri	575	1,003
Kentucky	1,469	2,045
Delaware	1,722	1,927
Maryland	2,091	2,491
Texas	2,204	3,027
Tennessee	2,457	2,550
Arkansas	2,758	2,555
District of Columbia	3,296	1,007
North Carolina	3,505	3,632
Virginia	3,870	4,327
Florida	4,258	4,463
Alabama	4,504	4,540
Georgia	4,701	4,405
Louisiana	5,032	4,949

In Missouri, Kentucky, Maryland, Virginia, and Texas there has been a marked relative negro decrease. A large white immigration to the first and the last-mentioned of these States, and a negro emigration northward from the other three, have been the cause of this great change in the former numerical proportions of the races. In West Virginia, Delaware, Tennessee, North Carolina, Alabama, and Florida the whites have gained since 1860, but not very much. In Louisiana, Arkansas, and Georgia, on the other hand, the negroes have grown somewhat, and in the District of Columbia very much more rapidly than the whites. The great negro increase in the District was, of course, due to the flocking in of negroes during and immediately after the war. During the last decade the white population of the District has grown faster than the black.

In considering the statistics which show the maintenance during the last thirty years of a race equilibrium in the more southern States, it must be borne in mind that the conditions existing in all of these States during a portion, and in some of them during the greater part, of this period were more unfavorable to the increase of the white population than they are likely to be again. If under such circumstances the whites have been able to hold their own, and are now growing more rapidly than the other race, there need, it would seem, be little fear that the Caucasian will ever be relatively less numerous in any considerable portion of the South than he now is.

It is true that if there were no immigration from abroad to swell the numbers of the white race, the negro would probably be able to hold his own. His rate of natural increase is apparently about the same as that of the white man, his greater death-rate being offset by a greater birth-rate. The rate of natural increase for the country as a whole, after deducting the gain by immigration, is 14.40 per cent.; that of the negroes in the States heard from, including California, is 13.72 per cent. This slight difference against the negro will, if it be not materially changed by the statistics of Mississippi and South Carolina, probably be more than offset by the greater number of negroes than whites overlooked by the census enumerators. Whenever, under existing conditions, a Republican Superintendent of the Census uses his patronage wholly or partially for party purposes, the resulting defects in the enumeration will be proportionately more serious in the "black" belts than elsewhere, for in such neighborhoods the Republican workers, from whom the census enumerators will, under such circumstances, be selected, will be of an inferior grade of intelligence to the average petty politicians in other sections. It is possible, but we think not probable, that the census of 1890 may from this cause have failed to include so large a proportion of the negro population as to render doubtful some of the deductions we have drawn from it.

THE WORKING OF THE COPYRIGHT BILL.

THE *Examiner* of this city, the organ of the Baptist denomination, has some observations on the probable working of the Copyright Bill which, coming from a religious journal, deserve some comment. It thinks meanly of the bill, and sneers delicately at those who supported it on grounds of morality, and then remarks:

"It is very evident, nevertheless, that whatever the bill may accomplish, justice to the foreign author is not one of the things. The foreign author is placed by this bill at the absolute mercy of the American publisher. He can only obtain copyright here by accepting whatever terms may be offered. His copyright is valid only if his book is manufactured in this country. No bargaining on his part is, therefore, possible; for if he refuses offered terms, he can get no copyright, and will be in precisely the same case he has been heretofore. American publishers are human, and it is too much to expect of human nature that when the law offers any class of men such an advantage in driving a bargain, the advantage will not be used. With the exception of those few cases in which a great reputation will enable him to make his own terms, the foreign author will be very little benefited by the new privilege formally granted him."

As to this, it is to be observed that the foreign author will be in exactly the same position towards the American publisher as that now occupied by the American author. The American author is now at "the mercy of the American publisher" exactly in the same degree, no more and no less, as the foreign author will be under the new Copyright Bill. Towards the domestic author also American publishers are "human." Towards him also they use all the advantage the law gives them in driving a bargain. The unknown domestic author can only make his copyright of any use to him by accepting whatever terms the American publisher may offer him. The alternative of printing and publishing the book at his own expense is, it is true, open to him, but it will also be open to the unknown foreign author. The distinguished American author has now the benefit of competition between American publishers for the privilege of publishing his book, and a very good benefit it is. The distinguished foreign author will have it also. In fact, the American and English authors will, under the bill, be on exactly the same footing in this market. Their sufferings under the rule of American publishers will be endured in common and their harvests will be reaped in common.

The pecuniary loss which the English author will suffer in being compelled to have his book printed in this country at American rates, will probably be fully met by the use of the plates cast here for the printing of the book in England, because in England the printers enjoy no such protection. The American author who takes out an English copyright will enjoy the same advantage in England. We have freely expressed our opinion of this protective clause in the Act. It is a mean and discreditable provision, but the foreign author will not suffer from it in pocket as much as might appear at first sight.

But the passage in the *Examiner* which most grates on us as coming from a professional moralist is this—for we always like to get

from religious men the benefit of their religion for the affairs of daily life, as we have shown in discussing the Rev. Dr. Funk's case and the Rev. Wanamaker's:

"But to one thing we may as well make up our minds, and that is to pay more for our books. The moralists tell us that we ought to be willing to do this, because now our books will be 'honestly come by.' Honesty had small part in the passage of a bill that will result in a few years in the formation of a powerful monopoly, in utter disregard of the interests of authors on the one hand and of readers on the other. It requires no special wisdom or gift of prophecy to predict this outcome of the Copyright Bill."

Now, is it possible that this means that "the moralists" are wrong in telling the Christians that they ought to be willing to pay more for a book "honestly come by" than for a stolen book? Is it not true that one of the aims and uses of Christianity is to reconcile people to the expensiveness of honesty, and to make repulsive the cheapness and economy of theft? Why should a Christian man be annoyed by having to pay more for a book to the lawful owner of it than he would have to pay to a man who stole it, any more than by having to pay more for trousers to an honest tailor than to a receiver of stolen clothing?

Surely, also, the *Examiner* does not mean to teach our Baptist brethren that an act which puts a stop to one form of thieving is not to be respected unless we are sure that the motives of all its promoters are high and noble. Hardly any act is passed by any Legislature from which some knavish person may not in some way profit, but this is, or ought to be, for religious men, a small matter, provided that in the main the measure works for righteousness. We have before now compared the protection given to American printers in the Copyright Act to a provision requiring foreigners on our soil to wear American clothing in order to entitle them to the protection of the police and access to the courts of justice. But if it had been our practice to plunder all foreigners landing on our shores, no matter what clothing they wore, assuredly it would be the duty of Christian men to hail with delight a statute which admitted foreigners to civil rights on condition of putting on an American suit as soon as they landed, without inquiring too narrowly into the designs of the American clothing-men who got the bill passed. It is, we admit, a national disgrace to attach any condition at all, except honesty and peaceable behavior, to the stranger's and sojourner's enjoyment of the protection of our laws for his person and property; but it is not by any means such a disgrace as allowing bands of wreckers to wait for him at the wharf and rob him the minute he lands of everything salable among his effects. In other words, the Copyright Bill is a great advance towards justice and fair dealing, and the duty of good citizens towards it now is not depreciation of what it is doing, but insistence on what it has left undone.

CONGRESS AND THE PAN-AMERICAN PROJECTS.

At the time when Mr. Blaine was so carefully guarding the delegates to the International Conference from contact with our Congressmen, a Western member remarked that the Secretary was having a very fine time all by himself, but that when he came to ask Congress to carry out his schemes, he would wish he had recalled the existence of American legislators. A review of the fate that has overtaken those schemes in the Fifty-first Congress will show that the Representative from the West was putting it mildly.

First in order and importance among the recommendations of the Pan-American Congress was the treaty of arbitration. This has been put in the very fore-front of the wonderful achievements of Mr. Blaine, and mentioned with almost tearful emotion by himself and others. If the Senate has ratified that treaty, no account of the fact has been given to the world, and it is safe to say that no scruples about the secrecy of the Senate's action would have prevented the Department of State from trumpeting the news abroad if it actually had been ratified. The important thing is, that this failure to ratify really destroys the whole measure, since one of the provisions of the suggested treaty called for an exchange of ratifications on or before May 1, 1891. With no extra session of the Senate in prospect, the entire treaty will lapse, and the prediction of Minister Romero that the United States themselves would never agree to it will be fulfilled. It would be possible, of course, to secure a general agreement to extend the period within which ratification must be effected; but it would be difficult to explain to other nations the strange dilatoriness of the United States in accepting the work of their own Secretary of State. And it is to be remembered, too, that the other members of the Conference have been as backward as our selves. We believe that only Ecuador and Bolivia have given in an unqualified adherence to the treaty. With all the great Powers of the hemisphere declining to touch it so far, this grand invention to establish a universal American alliance of peace is left dangling in absurd helplessness.

Many other recommendations have been similarly ignored by our Congress. The scheme of international and proportional subsidies to steamships does not appear to have been so much as considered. Probably it was not meant for serious consideration, but only as an additional lift to our own subsidy-seeking lines. The proposed simplification of customs regulations has met with no other comment than the ghastly one of the McKinley Administrative Bill. The charter urged for an international bank has not been granted. The recommendation of the adoption of the metric system was only a good joke anyhow, so far as we were concerned, and its rejection was to have been foreseen. About as jocose was the proposition that we should give in our adherence to the international treaties on copyright, patents, and trademarks, adopted by the Montevideo Congress of 1888, and that, too, has been quietly ignored. The projected Latin-American Memorial Library in the city of Washington has also failed to appear.

There are left the proposed international railroad and the scheme for a monetary union, or common silver coinage. The former has been accepted, so far as to appropriate money for the initial surveys and appoint civil engineers to act in unison with those named by other countries. This is not a case, however, where it is the first step that costs, and all the immense financial and diplomatic difficulties that beset the project yet remain untouched. The naming of a Commission to study the question of an international silver coinage was regarded at the time as only a way of confessing the insolubility of the problem. If the Congress itself could not come to an agreement, there is no likelihood that the Commission can. And there would still be our own obstinate Congress to encounter, with the great uncertainties of its temper on the whole silver question. Neither of these two recommendations, therefore, can be regarded as more than tentatively accepted; yet their partial endorsement is about all that is left over of the Pan-American Congress.

In a certain sense, these results come simply to emphasize afresh the Platonic and unpractical nature of the entire undertaking. This was perceived as soon as the gathering came together. Of course, a Platonic assemblage may have valuable indirect results, and such the Pan-American Congress undoubtedly had. But its solemn deliberation for months and grave resolutions were, after all, but a simulacrum of practical action. On the other hand, the cool way in which the whole thing has been ignored by our Congress is only another evidence of the narrow views of Congressmen and their absorption in local concerns and the schemes of partisan politics. Speaker Reed's contemptuous allusion to pottering over questions of trade with "a lot of Dagoes" correctly expressed the mental attitude of the average member. Why should they trouble themselves over matters of international interest, which they could not understand, when there were private pensions to be slipped through Congress and all the thimble-rigging connected with public-building bills to be attended to?

SOME LEGAL ASPECTS OF THE FAYERWEATHER CASE.

Now that the Fayerweather will contest has been settled, the will proved, and everybody satisfied, it is proper to call attention to some aspects of the case which are of more than temporary interest. At an early period in English history it was found necessary, for feudal reasons, to enact statutes of mortmain, as they were called, by which the educational and religious corporations of that day were restrained to a considerable extent from acquiring landed property. At that period, it is to be remembered, property in land was about the only kind of property of which the common law took much account, but such is the conservatism of this law that these statutes have continued without material extension or restriction down to a time when personal property has become at least as important as realty. These statutes, we

believe, were never held applicable outside of the mother-country, and when the American colonies separated from England, they were in position to determine *de novo* their policy in this matter.

It is obvious that the result desired could be attained in either of two ways. Confining our view to testamentary dispositions, it would be equally efficacious to forbid testators giving their property to religious or educational corporations, or to forbid these corporations receiving such gifts. The latter was practically the method adopted in the State of New York, the corporations by their charters being limited in the amount of property which they are capable of taking—a principle which recently received a striking illustration in the case of Cornell University. Hence, although nominally by the statute of wills a testator was not allowed to give his landed property to any corporation, he was really hampered only by the necessity of selecting corporations upon which the Legislature had conferred a sufficient receptive capacity.

In 1860, however, a statute was passed prohibiting any testator having a wife, husband, child, or parent from giving to benevolent corporations, in trust or otherwise, more than one-half of his property. This statute was what confronted Mr. Fayerweather's legal advisers and proposed executors. He seems to have had no relatives whom he cared to enrich, and proposed to leave substantially the whole of his property to various institutions of learning. But he had a wife, and her existence raised an apparently insurmountable legal barrier to the accomplishment of his wishes. In this emergency Mr. Fayerweather's counsel seems, by a most curious repetition of history, to have resorted to one of the "dyverse and sundry ymaginacious subtile invencions and practises" which so greatly excited the ire of the common lawyers against the representatives of learning and religion in their day. These persons, to quote Spence's words, "as one contrivance for evading the laws prohibiting alienations in mortmain, procured lands to be conveyed in fee simple to some friendly hand, upon trust that they and their successors should be permitted to enjoy the profits." Although it is asserted that this trust in the Fayerweather case was not expressed in writing, it scarcely admits of doubt that it existed as a secret instruction, or at least as a tacit understanding between Mr. Fayerweather and his executors. They made themselves apparently the absolute legatees of half his estate, but the gift was unquestionably to them "to the use of" certain corporations forbidden by the law of the State to profit by this bounty.

This contrivance was very soon stopped by statute in England, so far as the ecclesiastical bodies were concerned; but the prohibition of the New York law of 1860, being without penalty, is inoperative unless invoked by some person who would have an interest in case of intestacy. That is to say, the State does not regard the matter as affecting the interests of the community, as was the case in England, but only the interests of the relatives of the decedent, and if they acquiesce the law may be disregarded with impunity. It was undoubtedly supposed by Mr. Fayerweather's counsel and residuary legatee that this acquiescence had been secured, and upon this basis the secret trust was devised. The city of New York, however, was not without lawyers of sufficient acuteness to divine the situation, and to conjecture that it might not be clearly understood by the parties interested, and this conjecture was apparently well founded. These parties withdrew their consent to the probate of the will, and the residuary legatees found themselves, so to speak, between the devil and the deep sea. It became necessary for the counsel of the testator either to confess the trust, and thus wreck the will, or else to make the somewhat awkward admission that he had used his influence with a client *in articulo mortis* to secure for himself a legacy of most preposterous magnitude.

Under these circumstances it is obvious that there was nothing for the executors to do but to surrender upon the best terms that were to be had, and while these were doubtless such as to afford the lawyers for the contestants a satisfactory compensation for their labors, it must be said that the contestants themselves displayed the greatest moderation. In fact, they might not unreasonably claim that their names as well as that of the testator should be engraved upon the memorial tablets which, after the custom of learned institutions towards their benefactors, will doubtless be set up. Should this claim be ignored, it may be apprehended that considerable casuistry will have to be employed by the authorities of these bodies in order adequately to express their indebtedness to those munificent donors, the Fayerweather legatees, who did not postpone their benevolence until they could enjoy their wealth no longer, but hastened to pour it all upon the altar of learning before they had fairly tasted the sweets of acquisition.

Yet, while we may not nowadays, with mediæval scepticism, question the sanctifying effect of the end of gifts to benevolent associations upon the means by which they are obtained, it cannot be denied that a secret trust, the terms of which are not committed to writing, and are known to the trustee alone among living men, is not in all respects the most satisfactory of means. The trustee might peradventure forget some of the conditions of the trust, or he might not always be a person of originally unimpeachable and permanently enduring integrity, or he might possibly be cut off before he could carry out the trust, leaving heirs whose consciences were not affected by a knowledge of its terms. It is true that a court of equity can ransack a secret trust so that if the trustee is perfectly veracious and of sound memory the nature of the trust will be brought to light, but these conditions may not always prevail, and the difficulties in the way of such investigations are very great. Such difficulties, however, would not deter litigants, and it is not inconceivable that some college omitted in the scheme of distribution of the Fayerweather legatees might feel compelled to demand a disclosure of the terms of the trust, upon the claim that it should have been a beneficiary. Nor can it be regarded as absolutely certain that the State would be unable to enforce obedience to its statutes. The O'Hara case, in the ninety-fifth volume of the New York Court of Appeals Reports, contains some suggestive remarks. As Lord Eldon said: "Is the Court to feel for individuals, and not to feel for the whole of its own system, and compel a discovery of frauds that go to the root of its whole system?" Judge Finch, in quoting these words, seems to consider that there is such a thing as "a fraud upon the law" as well as upon human beings:

> "If equity withholds its power, one of two things is accomplished: either the legatee holds the estate beneficially, which is a fraud upon the testatrix and the intended objects of her bounty, or the fund is devoted to unauthorized purposes, in fraud of the law and of the heirs and next of kin. . . . If in the one [case] the fraud grows out of a refusal to perform, which would be the voluntary act of the legatee repudiating his promise, and so an actual fraud, in the other it grows out of the impossibility of performance except in defiance of the public law, which is legally a fraud. In neither event can the legatee honestly hold. . . .
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> "While it is true . . . that our statute does not forbid charitable devises and bequests, it does forbid expressly and imperatively a certain manner of making them. Gifts or transfers made in that manner are prohibited and made void. The principal legatee in this case knew it, and it was distinctly planned between him and the testatrix that her understood and declared purpose, which could not be lawfully carried out by a devise on the face of the will, should be effected by an absolute devise coupled with his honorable obligation to hold and appropriate the property to forbidden uses. An evasion of the law was the very occasion and object of the absolute devise. Without that it could not have been suggested without a fraud upon the testatrix, for if there was no need of it, if no statute was to be avoided or flanked, the very suggestion of an absolute devise was fraudulent. . . . Any devise or bequest of this character is dangerous and indefensible. It exposes testators to the suggestion of unnecessary difficulties as inducements to the artifice of an absolute devise concealing an illegal trust. It exposes the devisee to temptation, and, even when he acts honestly, to severe and unrelenting criticism."

THE EARLIEST WASHINGTONS IN VIRGINIA.

NEW YORK, February 27, 1891.

IN looking over the Washington *excerpta* of the late Col. Joseph L. Chester, by permission of his literary executor (George E. Cokayne, Norroy King of Arms), I came upon a statement that appeared almost incredible, namely, that so early as 1636 a patent was taken out in Virginia by Arthur Washington. I was aware that one of that name had a patent in Virginia in 1701, but the earlier date—a period when the great-grandfather of the President was a baby in Tring or Purleigh—was so startling as to require verification. There now appears little doubt that it is true. The fact has escaped notice through all these generations because the name was erroneously indexed in the land-book (No. 1) at Richmond as Hashington. Fortunately, Mr. Wilson Miles Cary of Baltimore, going through the book page by page, found the record (p. 408) and sent a note of it to Col. Chester. Dr. R. A. Brock, Secretary of the Virginia Historical Society, finds that in other parts of the volume the capitals H and W are hardly distinguishable. I could find no one in this country whose genealogical expe-

rience could accept "Hashington," and Dr. Garnett of the British Museum writes me, "Hashington certainly seems an impossible name." Dr. Brock kindly made a facsimile for me, and I tried to make it fit Haslington: but the "h" is perfectly formed. And, indeed, to any one acquainted with the exactness of Mr. Wilson Miles Cary, it will be conclusive that, as he tells me, "There was nothing in the character of the writing to make me persistently mistake an H for a W in patents running all the way from 1636 to 1714." For there is a succession of Arthur Washingtons in Virginia, historically traceable as far as 1701, and never genealogically connected with the Westmoreland family in that State.

The record is as follows:

To all to whom these p'sents shall come, I Capt. John West Esq'r Govern'r &c. And &c. Now know yee that I the said Capt. John West Esq'r doe with the consent of the Councell of State accordingly give and grant unto Arthur Washington twoe hundred acres of land situate lying and being in the Countie of Warwicksqueake [Warrasqueake?] joyning upon the land of Epaphroditus Lawson Easterly Northwest upon Nansimond river South East into the woods. The said twoe hundred acres of land being due unto him the said Arthur Washington for his owne p'sonall Adventure and by and for the transportation of three p'sons into this Colony whose names are in the records mentioned under this pattent. To have and to hold &c. dated the 23d of december 1636. Ut in alijs.

ARTHUR WASHINGTON. THOMAS MORGAN.
JOHN BANISTER.

This pattent renewed in the name of Gresham Cofeild the 18th July 1640.

Banister is no doubt the same as Bannaster, one or more members of which family were in Virginia in 1637 with William Stone, eleven years later Governor of Maryland.

Mr. Thomas M. Cleeman of Philadelphia communicated to the *N. E. Hist. Gen. Register* for July, 1890, a record of Surry Co., Va., that in November, 1658, John Washington was betrothed to Mary Flood, whom he married, and by whom he had one child, Richard. Col. John, the ancestor of Gen. Washington, is first mentioned in Virginia in 1659 (July). It is probable that the John who married Mary Flood was son of the Arthur of 1636. Richard married Elizabeth, daughter of Arthur Jordan, who died 1698. It has been supposed that in this way the name Arthur came into the family, but it is now certain that the earliest Washington in Virginia was of that name. The Virginia grants to the "Surry Washingtons" were in the names of Arthur (1636), Richard (1682), John and Arthur (1701), Richard (1714). The children of Richard and Elizabeth Jordan were George, Richard, John, William, Thomas, James, Arthur, Elizabeth, Priscilla, Faith, and Mary. The Hon. Joseph Edwin Washington of Tennessee, and Mr. Benjamin Gregory Washington of Isle of Wight Co., Va., are living representatives of the family, from whom I learn that Thomas, Jane, and Lucy are characteristic names of the family, to which may be added their own.

In attempting to place the family in any English race one finds these names puzzling. There are two great branches of the family—the Yorkshire and the Northamptonshire branches—so long and persistently separate that no links are known between them except their name and arms. And it happens that in the course of several centuries nearly all of the above names that are found in either are found in both. There does not appear, however, in the Northamptonshire pedigree, any James or Joseph, and only one Richard and one Gregory—the names of younger sons; whereas in the old Yorkshire family these names have persisted, the eldest sons being Richard and James as normally as those of the Northamptonshire line are Lawrence, Robert, and John. The most notable thing is that Arthur, the name of our earliest Virginia Washington, persistent on this side of the Atlantic, is unknown in either branch of the family in England. I have a note of an Arthur Savage, son of Mary Washington Savage, in the early seventeenth century, and of an Arthur Beswick who married a Martha Washington about the same time—both in England—but neither of these could have been honored in the Washington family early enough to bring an Arthur into Virginia in 1636.

There are, however, indications of a connection, possibly early enough, between the Yorkshire families of Washington and Arthur, who dwelt not far apart. In the Public Records Office (Easter, 1700, No. 254) are Chancery proceedings (1696) in a suit of Henry Washington of South Cave *v.* John Arthur of Doncaster. It is alleged by John Arthur that Henry Washington came to him as a poor lad, and, being the nephew of his wife Katharine—her half-sister's son—they took care of him, and brought him up to his (John Arthur's) own profession, the law. Henry seems to have been with the Arthurs in 1683. John Arthur also appears in a suit (1714) of Richard Washington against the Hon. Sidney Wortley, alias Montague. In all branches of the Washington family in England the custom of repeating family Christian names was adhered to.

There is a tradition in the Surry (Va.) family that they had an ancestor named Lawrence, who was an uncle or granduncle of Gen. Washington. Washington had no such relative of that name; his great-granduncle Lawrence of Rappahannock County had one son, whose name was John, concerning whose descendants the General seems to have been ignorant in 1798. In that year (April 5) he wrote to his half-nephew, Col. Wm. Aug. Washington, "I feel obliged by your endeavours to discover the genealogical descent from Lawrence Washington, the younger brother of our ancestor John." Prof. Chapman Maupin of Maryland, a descendant of Lund Washington, has made out this pedigree: Lawrence's only son John married Mary Townshend (1691); their eldest son John married Miss Massy, and the younger, Townshend, married Elizabeth Lund—all in Virginia. It will be seen, therefore, that the ancestors of the Surry Washingtons could not be in this line. They were in Virginia before Lawrence, who, in England, had only one child, Mary, whom he left there with her grandparents (Jones). The descendants of Lawrence, by his Virginia wife (Joyce Flemming), were numerous. Among them were Col. Bailey Washington of Stafford, Virginia, where some of his many descendants reside, those of his son Col. William Washington, hero of Cowpens, residing in South Carolina. Possibly there was some marriage between the two branches in Virginia, for the father of the Hon. Joseph E. Washington was George Augustine (born 1815). The traditional descent from the General's granduncle may, therefore, have been maternal.

The "Surry Washingtons" use the eagle crest, normal, I believe, in the Yorkshire family. This, again, is not conclusive, for Burke mentions it as a subordinate crest of the Northamptonshire family, whose crest was a raven. The eagle was also used by the General's grandfather, and by himself in one instance (1758). But the Surry family alone have preserved it. This fact, the repetition in Virginia of the names in the main Yorkshire line—Richard, James, Joseph—and the absence at any early date of any Yorkshire or Virginia Lawrence (the most characteristic name of the Northhamptonshire and Westmoreland [Va.] line), point to a Yorkshire origin for our Surry Washingtons. The fact that they have lived in Virginia for two and a half centuries beside the other branch, without any common stem being found by Dr. Brock and other experienced genealogists, corresponds singularly with the similar phenomenon in England. There also the Yorkshire and Northamptonshire branches, growing side by side, have never been united in one pedigree. There, too, a tradition of relationship to the General's ancestors is cherished by descendants of the Yorkshire Washingtons. In the family of Richard Almack, F.S.A., there is preserved a Bible inscribed, "Ann Washington, ye gift of Elinor Washington." "Elizabeth Idoll, her book, 1729." John Idoll, Gent., of South Cave, Yorks., married Anne, daughter of Henry Washington (1719), also of South Cave, as we have seen by his suit with John Arthur. This Henry married Eleanor Harrison (1691) and the Hon. Henry Fairfax married her sister Ann, both being daughters of Richard Harrison of South Cave. A son of this Henry and Ann was William Fairfax, who came to Westmoreland in 1734, and whose daughter married Washington's half-brother Lawrence.

This casts some light on a sentence in Washington's letter to a kinsman of that family, Earl Buchan (1793); "The family of Fairfaxes of Virginia, of whom you speak, are also related to me by several intermarriages before it came to this country (as I am informed), and since." It is plain that the General believed himself to be of the Yorkshire family, since with that alone the Fairfaxes were connected; though, unless Col. John's first wife was a Fairfax, it is not easy to guess the "several intermarriages." In 1790 he wrote to Baron von Washington of Munich, unquestionably of that line: "There can be but little doubt, Sir, of our descending from the same stock." In 1792 Sir Isaac Heard, King of Arms, suggested the Northamptonshire lineage. He answered, "I have often heard others of the family, older than myself, say that our ancestor, who first settled in this country, came from some one of the northern counties of England; but whether from Lancashire, Yorkshire, or one still more northerly, I do not precisely remember." The later letter to Earl Buchan suggests that his impression had returned to Yorkshire. This impression is sufficiently justified if we adopt the no doubt well-considered assertion of Sparks: "John had resided on an estate at South Cave in Yorkshire, which gave rise to an erroneous tradition among his descendants, that their ancestor came from the north of England."

John Washington came to Virginia as early as July of 1659. He brought a wife and two children, and a son was born in September. It is a pretty straight story that he lodged a complaint against the ship's captain for the execution of a passenger, Elizabeth Richardson, as a witch. Mr. F. A. Winder (London *Athenæum*, July 19, 1890) notes that two of the Washingtons had by marriage the name Elizabeth Richardson, one being a grandaunt of the immigrant; but we may reserve our horror at the suggestion. His wife having died, John married the widow Brodhurst, *née* Ann Pope. In 1671 (Oct. 2) John received 560 acres on the Rappahannock for transporting to Virginia William Gerley, Mary Jones, Wm. Grant, George *Gregory*, Grace Langley, Wm. Gray, James Bryant, Thomas Gresham, Martin Gardner, Wm. St. John, Anthony Glover, John Thorpe. Gregory was a name used by the Yorkshire Washingtons. In the Chester

excerpta (MS.) is noted a discovery of John Ward Dean, Boston, Mass., that there was a family of Wrights at Plowland, near South Cave, where the Rev. Francis Wright died 1655. In Virginia Major Francis Wright married Col. John Washington's daughter (by his first wife) Anne. The Yorkshire pedigree begins with the marriage of Richard Washington to Jane Lund, one of an ancient family at Adwick-le-Street, Yorkshire, not far from South Cave. We find an early intermarriage between the same families in Virginia. And here were those Jordans (Yorkshire), one of whom was Arthur; also, the Harrisons of South Cave, probably ancestors of President Harrison, some of whom appear to have been in Virginia with the earlier Surry Washingtons.

These facts present a balance of probabilities that John Washington was sojourning at South Cave when reports came there from Arthur Washington's family, and perhaps the Jordans and Harrisons, telling of prosperity in Virginia, and that he emigrated about the same time with the Wrights, Lunds, Gregorys, Whitings — all Yorkshire — with whom his family intermarried in Virginia, and among whom he himself may have found his first wife. John was loyal and impecunious enough to emigrate. His will shows no property in England except money, some of which he bequeaths to buy the King's arms for Washington's parish church. I found evidence in the Public Records Office, England, that his money there was for shipments of tobacco: "Feb. 20, 1676. To Coll. John Washington wch hee hath from the account of charges from Westmoreland County, 2000. £80." In June, 1675, Coll. John is credited with £33.9.3, and contra £223.2 0. He and Maj. Allerton are in one instance credited with 12,000 lbs. tobacco. Another entry is: "To Coll. Augustine Warner, £40. To Coll. John Washington, £80. Acct. sent by Robert Beverley, Clk. Assembly. Date April 2, 1677." MONCURE D. CONWAY.

THE REACTION IN JAPAN.

TOKYO, February 12, 1891.

"THAT is the point which decides the welfare of a people: *Which way does it look?* If to any other people, it is not well with them." These words of Emerson's may be called to mind in connection with the reaction which has progressed so rapidly in this country within the last six months. Japan has for twenty years been guided by European standards; the essentials of foreign art, science, industry, and manners were eagerly absorbed, and in the past few years even the non-essentials—velocipedes and waltzing, for instance—became the fads of the day. Now the natural reaction has set in. As English law in the thirteenth century, German literature in the last quarter of the last century, and American thought in the middle of the present century, began to repudiate foreign models and to enter on the process of national development, so Japan is retiring upon itself to assimilate the useful portions of that which it has adopted, and to do what every virile nation must naturally and inevitably do, develop its institutions upon the lines marked out by its own history and temperament.

Some examples will convey an idea of the way in which this attitude is manifesting itself. It is, of course, more marked in particular departments; art, for example, and pure science being as yet scarcely involved. At the present moment one may say that it is a matter of sentiment rather than of judgment, and it may be looked for in almost any quarter. In education, perhaps, the tendency is most notable. The foreign schools in which the staple material is foreign learning have shown (though, of course, not in every case) a decided falling off. In one instance two schools have been amalgamated, one of which a few years ago had 300 pupils, the other 150; now they muster together only 150 or thereabouts. The ranks of the foreign instructors in the Imperial University have been seriously thinned, and their places are being filled by young graduates of promise, and the process has included even the representatives of German science, which has of late been in the highest favor. Parliament has questioned the policy of educating students abroad at the expense of the State, and it is likely that the number of these students will be gradually reduced. The students who are taught here in foreign languages are not found to be so ardent as in former days in the acquisition of the foreign tongue, and the task of conveying such instruction has become correspondingly difficult. In the matter of laws, too, the postponement by Parliament of the operation of the Commercial Code until 1893 is significant. It is a close adaptation of the German code, and its repugnance to the customs of the country was the strong point with its opponents. Parliament is very anxious, too, to know whether it is necessary to maintain so many foreign advisers and superintendents in the Government departments, and the Ministry is placed always in an attitude of defence and explanation, not to say apology.

In religion, too, the reactionary movement is strong. The recent action of the Presbyterian Synod in adopting a national creed of its own (practically the Apostles' Creed, with a short preamble) instead of the Westminster Creed, is but one instance. The delegates would not even accept foreign initiative in drafting their new creed. But, curiously enough, the draft adopted, which they thought emanated from a committee of their own number, was in fact the work of a foreign clergyman. So strong was the feeling on the subject that the Synod refused to retain an article of the constitution permitting foreigners to become members of the Synod by special vote. They quite intended to include the foreign workers, but they objected to any article which even seemed to grant a special privilege to foreigners; and accordingly the word "foreign" was eliminated, and the privilege was left open to any person—though in practice only the foreign workers will receive the benefit of it. This was paralleled by the debate in the Peers over the new weights and measures project. In the course of this it was seriously contended that even if the metric system was in fact adopted, it was derogatory to the national dignity formally to mention the new measures in the statute as "the French metric system." This opinion was advanced repeatedly, and the final vote adopting the objectionable section was only 66 to 37.

Commercial affairs are hardly disturbed by this impulsive patriotism. One reads that the Osaka Mint has decided to use a certain number of home-made crucibles, though the foreign ones are admitted to be of better quality; and some attempts are being made to procure subsidies for the tea and silk export trades, on the plea of retaining in the pockets of citizens the profit of the foreign middleman. But, on the whole, sentiment enters but little into business. There is, however, a slight falling off in woollens and dress goods, due partly to the tendency to return to native costume. One hears, too, of Paris dresses, never worn, which their owners would now like to dispose of privately. The desire to expedite treaty revision had not a little to do with the adoption of foreign dress by the Court, and it is to be hoped that the imperial household will soon see its way to rescinding its regulation.

Of the causes for all this, we may put down as one the natural reawakening of the *pro patria* sentiment, ever a strong one in Japan. The *patria* of Japan was of old the *kuni*, or clan home; now it is the whole land. The affection for the native soil is no longer a divided one: it has but a single object, and it burns the stronger. Parliament's particularly pronounced action is in part accounted for by its desire for economy, and this force naturally expends itself along the line of least resistance. Other causes, too, help to facilitate or retard the expression of the sentiment in question. But it is undoubtedly a popular sentiment—which must be understood with these limitations, that an immense number of people, below in the scale, do not care or think much about the subject, and that, at the other extreme, the Government knows too well the value of its foreign assistants, and is too little swayed by prejudice, to partake really in the movement: in whatever it has done or will do it only obeys what public opinion requires. There is, of course, something of the factitious about it all. The new patriotism serves as a politician's war cry, just as "Jo-i" (Expel the foreigners!) did in the sixties, and just as the Cobden Club gold and Lord Sackville West's letter have done with us.

It is easy to sympathize in the abstract with this feeling. At the same time it must result in retarding Japan's acquisition of adequate expertness in foreign arts and sciences, while it adds serious obstacles to the work of foreign students here, and makes it more than ever difficult to pursue investigations in the numberless attractive themes that clamor for attention. On the other hand, it is stimulating the spirit of self-development. Domestic industry will profit greatly, and the native scholars are turning to their own historical institutions with a truer sense of their value, and with a new zeal which will in the end give us the most valuable results. J. H. W.

TALLEYRAND'S MEMOIRS.

PARIS, March 5, 1891.

THE long-expected memoirs of Prince de Talleyrand have appeared at last. Four years before his death, on January 10, 1834, he made his will, and two years afterwards, October 1, 1836, he added to it a declaration which was a kind of short *Apologia pro vita mea*. Looking over his long life (he was then eighty-two years old), he said, with a mixture of solemnity and of pride, that "recalling to himself the numerous acts of his political life (which had been long), he found, in brief, that of all the governments which he had served, there was none from which he had received more than he had given; that he had abandoned none before it had abandoned itself; that he had placed the interests of no party, nor his own interests, nor the interests of his family in the balance with the *true* interests of France, which were not, in his opinion, in opposition to the *true* interests of Europe." After this declaration come some prescriptions relative to the keeping and the publication of his memoirs.

The Duc de Broglie has written a preface in which he gives all the details respecting the various persons who received the memoirs in trust. He has himself been charged with the mission of publishing these memoirs, and no better person could have been found for the purpose. The Duc de Broglie has allowed himself no retrenchment or modification of any

sort of the text prepared by Talleyrand for publication. The memoirs are divisible into two portions: the first begins with the youth of Talleyrand, and goes as far as 1815, to the close of the Ministry of which he was a member. The Duc de Broglie judges that this part of the memoirs was composed under the Restoration. The two volumes which now appear end with the Congress of Vienna in 1815. The second part of the memoirs begins in 1830, with Talleyrand's embassy to London, and was probably written in 1834. There is therefore a gap of fourteen years.

The public life of Talleyrand is so well known that it was natural that public interest should be especially awakened by the first part of the memoirs. Talleyrand was born in 1754. His father was Lieutenant-General and held office at court. His own education was neglected: "Multiplied cares would then have seemed pedantic; a tenderness too much expressed would have seemed something new and consequently ridiculous. Children then were the heirs of the name and arms. People thought they had done enough for them by arranging for some promotion, places, entails, by marrying them or augmenting their fortune." Talleyrand, as a child, had been confided to a woman in the faubourgs of Paris. She once let him fall from a commode; his foot was broken, the accident was neglected, and for his whole life Talleyrand was lame. He could therefore not enter the army and he was destined for the Church. His grandmother, Mme. de Chalais, who lived in Périgord, seems to have shown him some affection, but he was almost a stranger to his father and mother. He pursued his studies in Paris in the Collége d'Harcourt, and from Paris he was sent to Reims, where his uncle was assistant to the Archbishop. He did not see his parents before his departure. "I am perhaps the only man of distinguished birth and belonging to a numerous and esteemed family who never had, for one week of his life, the happiness of finding himself under the paternal roof." It is no wonder if, under such circumstances, the emotions of youth were never felt by him, and he became unnaturally cold and reserved. After a year spent at Reims, reading the memoirs of Retz, Richelieu, and Ximénès, placed in his hands in order to prepare him for the Church, he spent three years at Saint-Sulpice. He fell in love, in one of the chapels of the church, with a girl who was on the stage; she allowed him to visit her. Her parents had made her an actress against her will; he was a reluctant seminarist. His superiors shut their eyes on this love-affair; they had no reproaches to make to a young seminarist whom they thought destined to the highest position, who might become a cardinal, perhaps a prime minister.

Talleyrand left the seminary at the time of the coronation of Louis XVI. He witnessed this great ceremony, and made, at Reims, the acquaintance of some ladies who remained his friends, the Duchesse de Luynes, the Duchesse de Fitz-James, and the Vicomtesse de Laval. He saw soon afterwards a General Assembly of the clergy: "When the pecuniary interests of the clergy were attacked, the resistance was general." Talleyrand soon perceived all the worldly passions which lurked under the spiritual mask. After the Assembly, he entered the Sorbonne, where he spent two years, much more occupied with his pleasures than with theology, and having at times an ambitious dream before the fine mausoleum of Richelieu. The King gave him the Abbey of Saint-Denis at Reims, which insured him a good revenue; he began to form a good library, and lived in the world chiefly with M. de Choiseul, M. de Narbonne, and others. The life of our abbé was an easy one. His rooms, where his friends could find a breakfast every morning, presented a singular motley of men—the Duc de Lauzun, the Abbé Delille, Mirabeau, Chamfort, Dupont, De Nemours, Rulhière, Choiseul, Louis de Narbonne. Everything was discussed—questions of trade, of administration, of finance; the spirit of the Revolution was already felt. Talleyrand saw the best company of Paris and made visits to his mother.

"She had no pretensions; she only spoke in half tones; she never uttered a bon-mot—it was too pronounced. Bon-mots are remembered, and she wished only to please and to have what she said forgotten. She inspired me with a great dislike for people who, in order to speak more exactly, employ technical words. I do not believe in the *esprit* or the knowledge of people who do not know equivalents, and who are always making definitions; they owe all they know to their memory, and then they do not know well."

I have transcribed this passage in order to show that Talleyrand, though he did not wish to be considered a writer, knew how to write; he could express very delicate shades of thought, and had a curious fluidity of style.

The life of Talleyrand while he was an abbé was obviously very unedifying. He soon made for himself the reputation of a wit; he became a visitor of Mme. de Montesson, the morganatic wife of the Duc d'Orléans, who had a theatre. "At her theatre, there was for the slightly dissipated clergy a box to which I was admitted by the Archbishop of Toulouse, the Bishop of Rodez, the Archbishop of Rodez, the Bishop of Comminges." In 1775, he was delegated to the Assembly of the Clergy. These Assemblies were periodical and contributed to the public expenses by a "don gratuit" made to the King out of the then enormous revenues of the Church. Talleyrand soon perceived that they would not sacrifice any of their privileges. His mind began to work on questions of finance, which was then assuming a great importance. He gives an amusing account of the state of a society which combined amusement with political criticism, and discussed a literary topic with as much ardor as a financial reform. All ranks were mixed, though the spirit of caste was omnipotent; "cards and *bel esprit* had confounded everything." "I remember," he says, "that at a ball, between two quadrilles, Mme. de Haïl was explaining what was the *domaine d'Occident;* Mme. de Blot had opinions about all the officers of the French Navy; Mme. de Simiane thought that no duties ought to be levied on Virginian tobacco. . . . 'There is much more learning in the Parlement of Rouen than in the Parlement of Paris,' said Mme. de Hénin." The power of what is called Society was immense before the French Revolution, and the powers of the Government had become purely nominal. There was no real statesman in power, no leading mind; in consequence, everybody made plans. The American Revolution had given a great impetus to the spirit of reform, the philosophers had attacked all the ideas of the past, the economists were a new class of philosophers who aimed to change everything in the State; everything was in a state of fermentation and confusion.

Talleyrand seems to have incurred, after the necklace trial, the displeasure of Marie Antoinette by reason of his intimacy with some of the people who had judged the Queen with severity; at any rate, he says that the Queen contrived to deprive him of a Cardinal's hat, which Pope Pius VI. was willing to confer upon him. She invoked the influence of the Court of Vienna against this nomination. It is not impossible that this circumstance may have had something to do with Talleyrand's attitude when the Revolution began.

It is interesting to compare Talleyrand's notes on the state of French society before the Revolution with those, for instance, of Mme. de Genlis and of Gouverneur Morris. We get everywhere the same impression: we see a society in a state of decomposition, a mixture of worldliness with an ignorant preoccupation concerning all sorts of social and political problems, high aspirations and no experience, great hopes without any special direction; the spirit of caste and the rising spirit of equality, contempt of the past and inability to imagine anything new and definite. In the crisis which was produced by the state of the finances, the States-General were considered a kind of panacea; the Opposition also regarded Necker as a saviour. Talleyrand did not feel a great admiration for Necker.

"Perhaps," he says, "in ordinary times he might have done some good; I do not know, and, personally, I do not think so. But what I am sure of is, that in 1788 the King could not have made a worse choice. During a national crisis, to put at the helm a stranger, a *bourgeois* of a little republic, whose religion was not that of the majority of the nation, with mediocre talents, full of himself, surrounded by flatterers, without any consistency and obliged to please the people, was for the King to address himself to a man who could only convoke the States-General and do it out of season."

The States-General were composed of deputations from the three orders of the nation; nobody was of necessity a member of them or could become so without an election. Necker fixed the number of the deputies, and fixed too high a number. Talleyrand thinks that it would have been wiser to form a peerage, similar to the English peerage, out of members of the episcopate and of the old French nobility, and to have a second chamber composed of elected deputies. Two chambers would have formed the elements of a true parliament, and rendered constitutional government possible. A single chamber, divided into three hostile parts, was sure to become very chaotic, and in reality the spirit of the times was such that it might easily have been prophesied that the *Tiers*, the commoners, would soon carry all before them, and sacrifice the interests, not only of the Church and the nobility, but of the Crown. The privileges of the nobility and clergy were monstrous, and the *Tiers* was determined to abolish them. It had shown its true spirit in the famous pamphlet of the Abbé Sieyès, 'Qu'est-ce que le Tiers? Rien. Que doit-il être? Tout.'

A struggle, a death struggle, was imminent: what position was Talleyrand going to take? His great intelligence showed him clearly the dangers of the situation, but he had not enough influence to force on the King and on the three orders the English ideal of constitutional government.

Correspondence.

THE FIFTY-FIRST CONGRESS.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: If we were to look for the one characteristic which would especially describe the Congress which has just closed, it would be this, that it was wholly given up to legislation for private, local, and party ends, with an almost complete disregard of the interest of the mass of the nation. The McKinley Bill, the Force Bill, the Silver, and Pension, and Subsidy Bills—all these were distinct and

almost unquestioned jobs, intended to put money and party influence into the hands of individuals. It is true, the national will and conscience were strong enough to kill the Force and Free-Coinage Bills, but this was only a negative upon propositions so monstrous that the Government of Constantinople might have been ashamed of them. Perhaps the one shining exception which proves the rule, and stands almost alone in paying some regard to the national honor and interest, is the International Copyright Bill.

It is unjust to charge this state of things to the individual members, as Congress is perfectly organized to produce it and to produce nothing else. I should be ashamed of such repetition, did I not earnestly desire to fix the attention of your readers upon this circumstance, that the national interest has no representative in Congress. Every man who has voice or vote in either house represents either a State or a district. Everything that he does or says on behalf of his immediate constituents is quite in order. But if he goes out of his way to defend the national interest on any other than party grounds against local or private attacks, he is snubbed and regarded as impertinent. Again, the 300 and odd members in one house and eighty in the other are all precisely equal, without any official or even party leader to look up to. They are like a lot of drunken men who can only stand up by holding on to each other, and even so their condition is so perilous that they keep trying to set up posts for the "end men" to lean against. Does anybody suppose that Mr. Lodge cares two cents about the Force Bill? It is simply an attempt to fling out a banner gaudy enough to attract the support of the so-called national Republican party.

If anything is to be got through Congress, therefore, it is never presented and discussed from a national point of view, but the struggle turns upon securing for its support, by intrigue, persuasion, or worse motives, the greatest number of equal and separate units—a game in which private schemes have an overwhelming advantage—and thus backing them up by a public opinion artificially manufactured through party newspapers, and such combinations as the Farmers' Alliance, the Grand Army, the Knights of Labor, etc. The supposed public demand for free coinage turns out, in the light of the Wisconsin resolutions and the Fanueil Hall meeting, to be, in fact, no public demand at all, while the so-called liberality of pensions to soldiers and sailors is, in fact, a scheme of pension-agents in Washington who want a large sum by way of commissions. It is this kind of management which is converting our large financial surplus into an equally large deficit, if, indeed, anybody knows anything about the matter at all.

It is idle to expect any improvement from a change of men, as under such a system Congress does and will go from bad to worse; and equally idle to expect it from substituting Democrats for Republicans, as the latter have some traditions of organization, even though on bad principles, while the Democrats will be like sheep without a shepherd. The remedy must be sought where the disease is. There should be representatives of the national interest in Congress, who can only be the Cabinet officers. They would be at once leaders, whom independent members could look up to and follow instead of being obliged to stumble for a footing in the meshes of party intrigue, and embodiments of great national questions to excite personal enthusiasm in the mass of public opinion. We have seen what that public opinion could do in the civil war with Lincoln, and Grant, and Sherman at the front. It may speak again in tones of thunder if only it can find competent leaders to direct its energy in civil affairs. G. B.

Boston, March 14, 1891.

THE RECESSION OF THE NIAGARA GORGE.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: The recent publication of the Journal of William Maclay, Senator from Pennsylvania in the first session of Congress, brings to light an earlier observation of the recession of the Niagara Gorge than geologists have hitherto had at their command. Before the survey of Prof. Hall in 1842 the only data were local observations. Bakewell, in 1829, was told by "Mr. Forsyth, the proprietor of the Pavilion Hotel on the Canada side, that during his residence of forty years the Falls had receded forty yards" (*Am. Journal of Science*, May, 1857, p. 85). Sir Chas. Lyell, in 1841, estimated the rate of recession at one foot a year. The passage in Maclay's Journal takes back popular observation thirty years, and, so far as any dependence can be placed upon it, confirms the observation of Lyell. It reads as follows:

"February 1st [1790] . . . Mr. Ellicott's accounts of Niagara Falls are amazing indeed. I communicated to him my scheme of an attempt to account for the age of the world, or at least to fix the period when the water began to cut the ledge of rock over which it falls. The distance from the present pitch to where the falls originally were is now seven miles. For this space a tremendous channel is cut in a solid limestone rock, in all parts one hundred and fifty feet deep, but near two hundred and fifty at the mouth or part where the attrition began. People who have known the place since Sir William Johnson took possession of it, about thirty years ago, give out that there is an attrition of twenty feet in that time. Now if 20 feet = 30 years = 7 miles or 36,960 feet; answer, 55,440 years."

With that fertile thought anticipating one of the greatest of modern geologists a half century in suggesting the recession of the gorge as a geological chronometer, the keen-witted politician dropped the subject. One feels that Ellicott must have dismissed the scheme as a vagary. Upon turning to Appletons' 'Cyclopædia of American Biography,' to learn more of Mr. Ellicott, the following interesting fact, apparently unknown to all writers on the gorge, was discovered: "He [Ellicott] was selected by Washington in 1789 to survey the land lying between Pennsylvania and Lake Erie, and during that year he made the first accurate measurement of the Niagara River from lake to lake, with the height of the falls and the descent of the rapids." Ellicott's papers would seem to be still in existence, according to the article, and the results of this measurement ought to be accessible either in his printed papers or MSS. Supposing them to be found, then instead of the hitherto known data for calculation, viz., local observation from 1789 to 1829–1842, and surveys from 1842 to 1883, we should have: local observation from 1759–1789, measurement by a skilled engineer in 1789, to be compared with the survey of 1842, and then on as above. In view of the varying conclusions reached by geologists, it is to be hoped that these additional facts may prove of service in the discussion. In connection with this, the popular observation from 1759 to 1789 might be checked by comparison with the careful description of the falls by Kalm, printed in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for January, 1751, the main points of which are quoted by Mr. Garbett (*Nature*, vol. xxxii., p. 244).

Perhaps it is well to state that Mr. C. K. Gilbert of the United States Geological Survey, from the data afforded by recent surveys, estimates the age of the gorge at about 7,000 years; and Prof. G. Frederick Wright, after comparison of the phenomena of the gorge with those of several gorges in northern Ohio, decides in favor of this short estimate as against Lyell's of about 35,000 years. It is hardly necessary to say that the great interest of this question arises from the fact that the cutting of the gorge is generally held to have begun with the retreat of the ice-sheet at the close of the last glacial period. The calmness with which Senator Maclay figured out the age of the gorge at 55,440 years, in 1790, is very remarkable, when one remembers that Hutton's 'Theory of the Earth' was first separately published in 1795; that Buffon, in 1751, was forced by the Theological Faculty of the Sorbonne to say, "I abandon everything in my book respecting the formation of the earth, and, generally, all which may be contrary to the narration of Moses," and that in 1758 the botanist Gesner rejected a theory of the formation of the Apennines on the ground that it required about 80,000 years, or more than ten times the age of the world. Edward G. Bourne.

Adelbert College, Cleveland,

"*ADVANCIVE.*"

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: As you point out in p. 159, col. 1, the ill-formed word named above was used by Washington in 1779 and 1785. But it was in print more than a century earlier, as appears from the subjoined passage, which I came on some time after Dr. Murray had passed the letter A:

"Have, then, the so many magnificent structures of your Colledges been devis'd only to delude the People with a deal of pretty talk not a jot *advancive* of Reason?" Rev. Thomas White, *An Exclusion of Scepticks*, etc. (1665), *Preface*.

The work here quoted is in answer to the Rev. Joseph Glanvill. Its author, a learned, but eccentric, Romish priest, wrote largely in English and in Latin. His name he latinizes as Thomas Albius and Thomas Anglus ex-Albiis East-Saxonum. His native county was Essex. He died in Drury Lane, London, in 1670, at the age of ninety-four.—Your obedient servant, F. H.

Marlesford, England, March 4, 1891.

P. S.—In many instances, an early occurrence, if not the first, of a word which, though now common, is usually supposed to be of very recent origin, is found in some unfrequented corner of oldish literature. The substantive *pervert* was used by the first Earl of Orrery in 1666, and repeatedly by Myles Davies in 1716. Before the days of Lord Shaftesbury, John Evelyn, between 1657 and 1683, has *cult*, which was preceded by *culto* in 1588. *Educational*, as I have shown elsewhere, dates from 1652, at least. *Hygeist* and *physicist* were in print in 1716. And so I might go on; but I shall stop, after noticing the monstrous *bathetic*. This term is generally thought to be Coleridge's; and, quite possibly, Coleridge was not aware that he had been anticipated in venturing it. "Pathetic and *bathetic*" writes, however, the anonymous author of *A Piece of Family Biography* (1799), Vol. III., p. 16, as I have just discovered. And he asks, in a foot-note: "Why not *bathetic* from *bathos*, as well as *pathetic* from *pathos*?" That *pathetic* is not from *pathos* is Dr. Murray's very sufficient answer. F. H.

Notes.

An Atlas of the State of New York is contemplated by the well-known house of Julius Bien & Co. of this city, who stand at the head of our map-making establishments. It will embrace a general map, county maps, street maps on a large scale of the principal cities, temperature and rainfall maps, etc., with an alphabetical register showing the population at the last census, and a list of post-offices. The price will be $30. The enterprise awaits public encouragement, which can hardly fail.

Harper & Bros. have nearly ready Kobbé's 'New York,' a hand-book for tourists and visitors to the metropolis, on the pattern of Baedeker.

The first of the five volumes of the Talleyrand Memoirs will be issued by the Messrs. Putnam in a few days. Mr. Whitelaw Reid's introduction will be accompanied by a preface by the Duc de Broglie, and besides four portraits there will be some pages of MS. facsimile. The second volume will shortly follow. Notice is given that single volumes may be purchased. The same firm will publish at once, in their "Questions of the Day" series, 'The Question of Copyright,' consisting of the text of the new American law, of the older law, now superseded, of the British law, etc., the International Copyright Convention at Berne, Sept. 5, 1887, and many other important documents, essays, etc., on the general subject.

D. Appleton & Co. announce an anonymous work, 'The Sovereigns and Courts of Europe,' with a recent portrait in each case, engraved on wood.

'Gray Days and Gold,' by the well-known poet and critic William Winter, a companion-book to the 'Shakespeare's England' of the same author, will be published by David Douglas of Edinburgh in his American authors series, in April.

The edition of Sherman's Memoirs for which, as we have already recorded, Mr. Blaine is preparing a contribution in the nature of an appendix, is a cheap one in a single volume, with the imprint of Charles L. Webster & Co.

The Cassell Publishing Co. project a "Blue Library" of select fiction, beginning with Mme. Bazán's 'A Christian Woman,' translated by Rollo Ogden. They have just made arrangements, also, to publish the novels of Mr. J. M. Barrie, beginning with 'A Window in Thrums.' As the publishers of Marie Bashkirtseff's 'Journal,' they offer to receive American contributions towards a proposed monument to this artist in Paris.

Mr. Winfield S. Nevins of the staff of the Boston *Herald* has written for early publication a history of the Salem witchcraft, with some reference to the delusion in other parts of New England two centuries ago.

Ginn & Co. have in press 'The Children's Primer,' by Miss Ellen M. Cyr, and a new (the third) edition of Dr. Keep's 'Essential Uses of the Moods [in Greek and Latin].'

Mérimée's most charming story, 'Colomba,' is about to be brought out by D. C. Heath & Co., with an introduction and notes by Prof. L. A. Fontaine of the University of Mississippi.

The *Globe* Publishing Co. of Atchison, Kan., will begin in April *Howe's Quarterly*, composed of the writings of E. W. Howe, author of 'The Story of a Country Town.' 'An Ante-Mortem Statement' is the title of the first story; 'The Confession of John Whitlock, late Preacher of the Gospel,' of the second (July), etc.

Mr. Edward Robinson's new catalogue of the casts from ancient sculpture in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts will shortly appear, being actually in the press of Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

Judged from the sample before us, 'The Fishes of North America that Are Caught on Hook and Line' will meet with a hearty welcome from all admirers of the beauties in the waters, and will be an especial delight to anglers. The author, Mr. Wm. C. Harris, editor of the *American Angler*, *Nature's Realm*, etc., is well equipped for the task he undertakes. The book is in folio, and is issued in parts, each to contain a couple of the beautiful life-color portraits with text. The plates are reproduced from oil paintings. It is estimated that an expense of $45,000 will be necessary to place the work on the market. A great deal of encouragement will be needed for an enterprise on such a splendid scale; it will deserve it, and it will be pretty sure to get it. Drawings and text are both so admirable that one dislikes to find fault with either. No doubt the author will gratefully prefer to have his attention directed to a weak point in the nomenclature before it is too late to profit by it. The Rocky Mountain trout is called "*Salmo mykiss*—Jordan"; it is *S. mykiss* (Pall.) Pennant, of 1784. The maskallonge is called "*Lucius masquinongy*—Jordan"; though not indicated, this is probably *Esox masquinongy* Mitchill. Here the generally accepted name of the genus, *Esox* of Artedi and Linné, 1738–66, and of subsequent authors, is set aside for *Lucius* of Klein and Walbaum, 1792, which we do not believe will be accepted for any length of time, if at all. Credit that should go to Pallas for other names is given to Walbaum.

Mr. Charles Ledyard Norton's glossary of 'Political Americanisms' (Longmans) does not rise above the amateurishness of the magazine article of which it is the outgrowth. Nor does it afford a tolerably satisfactory basis for a more perfect structure. The definitions are loose and ill-worded, not seldom incorrect (as when *buncome* is defined as talking for talk's sake); the etymologies are often hazardous, and Webster's improbable derivation of *caucus* is retained, though it has been abandoned by the latest editors of the Dictionary itself; there is too much guessing (as where "it is believed that Andrew Jackson was the first to resort to the pocket veto, in 1830," whereas President Madison resorted to it in the first session of the Twelfth Congress), and too much positiveness (as when Mr. Norton asserts that Burchard's "Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion" turned the election in New York against Blaine); there is no proportion in the amount of detail, nor any sure principle of inclusion; nor has the author's research done much if anything to fix with precision the origin of words and phrases. In short, Bartlett's 'Dictionary of Americanisms,' and especially Brown & Strauss's 'Dictionary of American Politics,' with the "noted sayings" gathered together in Stedman & Hutchinson's 'Library of American Literature,' at once make Mr. Norton's work uncalled for (with some trifling exceptions), and reveal by comparison its imperfections.

The damnatory record of Belle Isle, Salisbury, and Andersonville is of the past; but those who suffered or whose friends suffered there will repeat the dreadful story, of which there seems to be no reasonable denial. Asa B. Isham, Henry M. Davidson, and Henry B. Furness, ex-prisoners, have prepared, in three parts, a large volume, 'Prisoners of War and Military Prisons' (Cincinnati: Lyman & Cushing). The book is free from material exaggeration, but is popular rather than precise in tone, and the most valuable section is Mr. Furness's, with copious extracts from Confederate sources. Official records have no undue bias in favor of the enemy. Necessarily cruel as organized conflict is, no darker record of man's inhumanity to man has blotted the history of modern warfare. Much distress, but distress rarely inflicted with deliberation, marked Fort Delaware, Elmira, Point Lookout, and perhaps other Northern prisons; but, mercifully, these did not rival those. Savannah, ever fair and hospitable, has the one redeeming page in that sad history.

Macmillan & Co. have issued the fifth thousand of Walter Pater's 'Marius the Epicurean,' which is now not unhandsomely condensed into a single volume at a reduced price.

In like manner, Spencer Walpole's 'Life of Lord John Russell' takes on a more popular and cheaper form, if still in two volumes, in the edition just issued by Longmans, Green & Co. In both these cases the hand is favored as well as the pocket.

The son of the late President Woolsey has supervised the sixth edition of the well-known 'Introduction to the Study of International Law,' of which the fifth was published a little more than ten years ago. The revision is readily detected by the bracketing of what Mr. Theodore S. Woolsey has added, and it is evident that he has thoroughly scrutinized the original text. As a consequence, the work has been wholly reset, as is always to be desired.

Mr. Lewis Sergeant's 'Government Handbook' (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co.) is the same author's 'Government Yearbook' of 1888, 1889. He has discovered the impracticability of making an annual of his "record of the forms and methods of government," and will henceforth renew the work only when there is a sufficient accumulation of changes. Statistics, in other words, occupy a subordinate place. Nevertheless, if admitted at all, they should be kept fresh, and yet all those pertaining to the United States remain as in the first issue. The most of them stop at 1887, and there is a guess of 65,000,000 as the total population in 1888, with no allusion to the census of 1890 and its disappointingly low figure of 63,000,000. The addenda to the United States, on "political tendencies," are quite worthless, and close with a page and more of spread-eagleism from Chauncey Depew. There are still no head-lines to the pages, and the new edition has very few signs of life.

Mr. Keltie, on the other hand, in the 'Statesman's Year-Book' for 1891 (Macmillan), has availed himself as far as was possible of our latest census returns; and generally his work shows the needful revision. The alternate headlines have been used to indicate the sections under discussion. In this case we are dealing with a live publication, now in its twenty-eighth year.

Germania, whose bound second volume lies before us, appears to have made a substantial success in its line of furnishing entertaining reading in German and of affording practical help in the way of exercises, etc., to students of the language. Its place of publication is not the West, but the East (Manchester, N. H.: A. W. & E. Spanhoofd). We can recommend it as cheap, well printed, and well conducted. It is a monthly periodical, of quarto size, and employs liberally (though not exclusively or mainly) the Roman letter.

From R. H. Tilley, Newport, R. I., we receive the first number of a new quarterly *Magazine of New England History*, "a medium of intercommunication for historical and genealogical students." It will be made up of original and selected articles.

The new Copyright Act is printed in the

Publishers' Weekly for March 7. The same number contains a good portrait of that estimable publisher, the late John Wiley.

Dr. Alfred Philippson's report of his journey through Northern and Middle Greece fills No. 149 of the *Zeitschrift* of the Berlin Geographical Society. The accompanying map shows the geology of Middle Greece.

The Fuller Collection in the Free Reference Library in King Street, Manchester, has been catalogued as No. 2 of the Occasional Lists. It was, as will be remembered, got together by the late John Eglington Bailey, and relates both to Dr. Thomas Fuller and to other authors of the name of Fuller.

The third report of the Massachusetts Commissioner on the Custody and Condition of the Public Records of Parishes, Towns, and Counties is a document of universal interest and application. Apart from its main object, it illustrates the ease with which legislation becomes a dead letter, and it has a curious chapter on the functions and remuneration of the town clerk which deserves a place among the details of Bryce's 'American Commonwealth.' Mr. Swan also takes up the question of ink for records, and supplies a chemical analysis of sixty-seven commercial samples that should attract general attention. Finally, he discusses the proper paper for records.

From B. Westermann & Co. comes No. 1 of the first part (English-German) of an 'Encyclopædic English-German and German-English Dictionary,' edited by Prof. Dr. Ed. Muret and (for the second part) Dr. Daniel Sanders. It is "uniform in plan and arrangement with Sachs-Villatte's French-German and German-French Dictionary, giving the pronunciation according to the phonetic system employed in the method of Toussaint-Langenscheidt." Condensation by means of signs, abbreviations, triple columns, and small type is carried very far, but the presswork is clear. For the vocabulary the editor claims unparalleled fulness (in *A* alone 1,671 titles to 1,468 of Murray or 1,312 of the *Century*), but he omits to mention the fact that his scheme admits proper names, *e. g.*, Adams, Ackerman's Hotel, Alabama, Akrokeraunian, Albion, Alemanni, Alexander, etc., etc. He also proclaims his attention to Americanisms, in proof of which we observe under *all* the "Pennsylvania Dutch" usage, "It is all [or *all any more*, as Muret gives it]," meaning that a certain article (as of food for the table) is exhausted. The array of colloquial and idiomatic phrases is very rich. The work deserves the attention of those who aim at a ready understanding of one or other of the two languages, rather than to acquire a literary knowledge.

— More light is thrown upon the respective effects of masculinity and femininity upon the possibility of intellectual attainment by some examinations recently held in England than by a great deal of à-priori discussion. The examinations referred to were held at 142 local centres and at 135 schools, in all parts of the country, and they were taken this year by very nearly ten thousand boys and girls, and by very nearly an equal number of each. The percentage of boys and of girls who passed in the first, second, and third class, respectively, is given in the following table:

	Girls.	Boys.
First class	55	56
Second class	61	42
Third class	76	76

From this it is plain that in the studies of the Third Class the girls are exactly as good as the boys, that in the studies of the First Class they are very nearly as good, and that in the studies of the Second Class they are half as good again. Everybody who is familiar with the theory of probabilities knows that when the numbers dealt with are so large as in this instance, one is absolutely safe in drawing from them the deductions that they seem to lend themselves to. The great superiority of the girls in the Second Class is attributed by the examiners to the fact that in that class particular stress is laid upon foreign languages and upon geography and history. The conclusion to be drawn from these statistics is, then, that in Latin and mathematics the girls and the boys are exactly abreast of each other, and that, in what may be called the humanistic studies, the girls are far superior to the boys. As in England girls are chiefly taught by women and boys by men, the further conclusion may be drawn from these statistics that, unless in the humanistic studies, in which the superiority of the girls may be in part due to superior instruction, there is no difference to be detected between the merits of men and women as teachers. The examiners state that the percentages do not differ markedly this year from other years, although the number examined is much greater than it has ever been before.

—The people of Ohio are to be congratulated on the excellent quality of the first annual report of the third organization of their State Geological Survey, by Prof. Edward Orton. State geologists may well take it as a pattern of clear style. It contains a review of the structure of the State in the light of recent explorations; and here the chief novelty is the announcement that the so-called Cincinnati axis, an ancient uplift of the strata in the Ohio Valley, trends northwest and not northeast, as it has always heretofore been described. Oil and gas in recent years have naturally taken the greatest share of attention, and this report is for the most part concerned with accounts of their formation and exploration. The chapter on the origin and accumulation of petroleum and natural gas presents a broad review of this interesting subject, and makes it most unhappily clear that, at the present rate of consumption, the natural gas cannot last long into the future. The recklessly extravagant use of the gas in factories and even for burning lime, where grosser forms of fuel can be as well employed, is seriously deplored. In Prof. Orton's opinion, the gas should be reserved for domestic use, where its value as a cheap, clean, and convenient fuel is so great. If thus used, its duration might be greatly extended. Other articles by the author on the same subject may be found in the Eighth Annual Report of the United States Geological Survey, and in the Bulletin of the Geological Survey of America. An interesting item concerning the form of leases for oil land, taken from the above report, is of value to Ohio farmers. Instead of following the old custom of leasing entire farms on one-eighth royalty, it is suggested that the leases should be for areas not larger than fifty acres, in which the owner shall retain absolute control of ten acres, where he may drill for himself or lease to other parties. This plan should have been invented and adopted years ago; it would certainly have resulted in a vastly more equitable and healthful distribution of the enormous profits that have accrued from oil production under the ordinary form of leases.

—We can commend the report of Ensign Albert P. Niblack, United States Navy, upon the manners and customs, arts, industries, etc., of the Coast Indians of Southern Alaska and Northern British Columbia, to all who are interested in ethnology, or who, from humanitarian or other motives, may wish to get a good idea of the position which these people have reached in the march of civilization. Summing up, in brief, the results here given, it may be said that, in their social and tribal organization, they do not differ materially from the Indians who lived east of the Mississippi at the date of the discovery. Totemism exists among them, and descent, especially in the more northern tribes, is in the female line. A man's influence depends largely upon his wealth, though this seems to consist not so much in what he has as in what he gives away. Slaves are, or rather were, numerous, and much of the drudgery of life was left to them. Aside from this, the labor necessary to the support of the family was and is equitably divided between the sexes. Women as well as men devote themselves to special pursuits, and the time not employed in procuring food is given to their several occupations. Expert house-carpenters can be found among them, as well as canoe-builders and tanners. Some work in metals, carve in wood, stone, bone, and horn, while others, especially the women, make baskets and weave cloaks and mats of cedar-bark and wool. With the disappearance of the shamans, many of their superstitions are going; and, in spite of the evil effects which contact with the whites at first produces, they are fast adjusting themselves to the new conditions. In a word, considered as a group, they are said to be "capable of almost any rise in the scale of civilization." It is proper to add that Mr. Niblack passed several seasons upon this coast engaged in Government work, and this volume is based upon observations then made and upon the collections in the National Museum. It forms a part of the report of that institution for 1887–'88, and contains 161 pages, 70 plates, 2 charts, and more than 300 illustrations in the text.

—The first number of a new illustrated periodical, *Black and White*, which lately made its appearance in London, contained a bit of literary news that caused a certain ripple of sensation among readers. This was a report that the 'Journal of Marie Bashkirtseff,' which purported to be a transcript from an actual diary taken from an original manuscript, was really a work composed in part by M. André Theuriet, or at any rate very ably edited by him, and changed in the editing. Marie, at various epochs of the story, was set down as being much younger than she really was at the time, and other embellishments were added. Besides this, it was said that M. André Theuriet had never had the whole manuscript of the 'Journal' in his hands, but only certain fragmentary notes, out of which he had produced the book, altering some of them very markedly. This story was published in France, "with all reserves," by the *Temps*, and drew from M. Theuriet the next day a most explicit and formal denial. He says:

"At the request of the family of Marie Bashkirtseff, and in memory of my friend, Bastien-Lepage, and without any other motive, I consented to busy myself with the 'Journal,' with a view to its publication. Heaps of manuscript books were brought to me consisting of the entire text of the 'Journal' since 1873. I read the whole of this manuscript, and, in concert with the family, eliminated from it whatever might prove tedious—repetitions, *enfantillages*, useless descriptions of dress, confidences disagreeable to third persons. After this severe revision the 'Journal' still contained enough matter for

two volumes, which have been published without one addition or one alteration."

M. Theuriet adds a remark which seems true enough, and even obvious, to wit, that a very slight degree of literary discernment is sufficient to enable any one upon the first reading of the book to make himself quite sure that the whole of it is the work of one hand. Nevertheless, it is well that a prompt and complete denial has been given to the false report.

—The longest article in Parts x. and xi. of the 'Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften' is one of seventy-eight pages on "Beer and the Beer-Tax." The editor is moved to apologize for this inordinate allowance by saying that the author of the article exceeded the space allowed him, but that as so thorough an exposition of the subject is nowhere else to be found, it was thought best to print the article unabridged, and the publishers promise to furnish forty-eight pages additional matter in the next number without extra charge. Along with other interesting information, the article in question contains an instructive table of the beer production of various countries of the world, from which it appears that although formerly Great Britain and Ireland took the lead in this industry, there has been a change in the last two years. In 1888–89 Germany was the largest beer-producing country, brewing 48,354,218 hectolitres; Great Britain and Ireland ranked second, with 46,861,584 hectolitres (28,644,000 barrels of ale-measure); the United States ranked third, with 31,460,978 hectolitres (26,820,953 barrels of beer-measure). When we consider the annual consumption of beer per head of population, the order of precedence is changed. Here Belgium, the country which leads the world in intemperance, stands first, consuming 186 litres per capita; Great Britain and Ireland next, 119½ litres; Germany, as a whole, comes third, 101½ litres; but if we have regard to the separate States, Bavaria would lead the world as a beer-drinking country, the average annual consumption of each man, woman, and child reaching 227 litres, while Würtemberg, with its 159 litres per capita, would come immediately after Belgium. After Germany comes Denmark, 95 litres, and then the United States, 57 litres per head. Second in point of length is the article (of sixty-three pages) on theories of population, more than two-thirds of it being devoted to Malthus. First we have an exposition of Malthus's theory; secondly, an account of his predecessors; then an account of his adherents in the first half of the nineteenth century, considered under two heads, *i. e.*, as adherents in theory and adherents in practice; after that his opponents are taken up under three subdivisions. There follows a similar consideration of opinion in the second half of our century; also, a criticism of Malthus in the light of the actual movement of population in various countries from 1871 to 1880. This learned essay is by Dr. Ludwig Elster, Professor of Political Sciences at Breslau, and one of the four editors of the work. Other interesting titles, which we have space only to mention, are Stock Exchanges, Book-Trade, Whiskey Tax, Inland Commerce, Budgets, Book-keeping, Blind Asylums, etc., etc. There is further the usual number of brief biographies, with full bibliographic details, concerning John Bright, Maurice Block, Lujo Brentano, and other contributors, living and dead, to economic science.

THE DE QUINCEY FAMILY.

De Quincey Memorials: Being Letters and other Records here first published, with Communications from Coleridge, the Wordsworths, Hannah More, Prof. Wilson, and others. Edited, with introduction, notes, and narrative, by Alexander H. Japp, LL.D., F.R.S.E. 2 vols. New York: United States Book Co. 1891.

Dr. Japp is the apologist of De Quincey. The particular attack that these new memorials seemed designed to meet is the doubt of De Quincey's veracity in the autobiographic details which he wove into his works. Some question of the Opium-Eater's truthfulness was early expressed, and latterly Mr. George Saintsbury has printed suspicions of the same sort which lost none of their vexatiousness coming from his pen. Mainly in consequence of this critic's remarks, if one may judge from the constant reference to them, Dr. Japp and the representatives of De Quincey have published in these volumes the family correspondence. The exposure of private affairs, nine-tenths of which have no interest whatever to outsiders, is complete. The interior arrangements, both domestic and financial, are laid open, and in the letters of De Quincey's mother, two sisters, and two brothers every one is made welcome to a not very edifying story.

The family was not a happy one. The mother was unable, apparently, to win the affection of the children, and they on their side were impatient of her discipline. Mrs. De Quincey was a woman of much formal propriety, attached to the Clapham sect in religious and moral sympathy. De Quincey himself draws a vivid picture of her as he remembers the impression she made on him in early years:

"Figure to yourself a woman of admirable manners, in fact as much as any person I have ever known distinguished by ladylike tranquillity and repose, and even by self-possession, but also freezing in excess. Austere she was to a degree which fitted her for the lady-president of rebellious nunneries. Rigid in her exactions of duty from those around her, but also firm herself; upright, sternly conscientious, munificent in her charities, pure-minded in so absolute a degree that you would have been tempted to call her 'holy'—she yet could not win hearts by the graciousness of her manner. . . . It is as good as a comedy in my feeling when I call back the characteristic scene which went on every morning of the year. All of us, for some years six, were marched off or carried off to a morning parade in my mother's dressing-room. As the mail-coaches go down daily in London to the inspector of mails, so we rolled out of the nursery at a signal given, and were minutely reviewed in succession. Were the lamps of our equipage clean and bright? Were the springs properly braced? Were the linchpins secured? When this inspection, which was no mere formality, had travelled from the front rank to the rear, when we were pronounced to be in proper trim, or, in the language of the guard, 'all right behind,' we were dismissed, but with two ceremonies that to us were mysterious and allegorical—first, that our hair and faces were sprinkled with lavender water and milk of roses; secondly, that we received a kiss on the forehead."

It is not to a son's credit to write thus of his mother; but the tone shows plainly the absence of any warmth of feeling, a perfect coldness and apathy of filial affection. It is added that Mrs. De Quincey taught her children to undervalue themselves so that, says De Quincey, "we held it a point of filial duty to believe ourselves the very scum and refuse of the universe." And, to add the last anecdote that fills out this unfavorable picture, it is related that a servant, on being asked why she did not appeal to the mistress, replied: "Speak to mistress! would I speak to a ghost?"

Notwithstanding all this, it is plain enough that Mrs. De Quincey was a mother devoted to the welfare of her children. She had the disadvantage of having guardians associated with her, one of whom, Dr. Hall, was certainly a most unfortunate choice. Mrs. Baird Smith, one of De Quincey's daughters, thinks that she was self-distrustful and sought advice from her friends, the Clapham people, and that the children felt this interference of strangers as a bar between them and their mother. Whatever was the reason, the result was that both Thomas and Richard ran away and suffered much hardship, and none of the others exhibit any attachment to the mother. On her side, however, we think none can read her letters without being inpressed by her excellent qualities, and in particular, in later years, by her willingness to assist De Quincey and the rest to the utmost of her means. From the time he went to Oxford her purse was used for him, and after he had wasted his inheritance she gave him continually from her funds as much as was possible, though she insisted, with good sense, on keeping the capital intact and settling it on the grandchildren. She certainly lacked tact in appealing to the children, and she spoke her mind freely about their faults, but not so harshly but that a grown person, making allowance for her religious belief, strongly colored with evangelicalism as it was, should have seen and honored the motives and feelings which prompted such criticism. Here is as unfavorable a passage as can be quoted, written on hearing and too readily believing that the education of De Quincey's daughters was being neglected. She offers to pay the school bills, and then goes on as follows:

"I have long been too certain that you were bringing up your sons in idleness, but hoping they were to be made scholars and their minds taught to work, I supposed they would be kept from falling necessarily into profligacy, and live by literature, but I know not where or what now to hope; and, O my son, if they are all brought up in idle ignorance, what but the worst can be expected? I am sure of this, that a Parent with your means who does this is utterly unworthy of children; but still in the present time where must the wages of this bad work fall the heaviest? In this time, bad as it is in many points, to bring up girls in idle ignorance is only to make them victims, not prepared to take their place among industrious people laboring for bread, yet too ignorant to be received elsewhere!! I cannot express my feelings as I ought; I can only proffer my help; and if you can possibly be angry to hear the truth, I too well remember what you said touching my respect for the lowly virtues to be surprised, though not shaken in my well-assured convictions."

This is an extreme instance of fault-finding, and there is nothing in it that any one can object to, except the readiness to believe that De Quincey was so derelict in his parental duty; and it is allowed that as respects the girls there was some color for the censure. Perhaps another passage is not amiss as representing his mother's tone in his boyhood. She writes to him at the Manchester Grammar School as follows:

"I plainly perceive that you have exalted one, and that the most dangerous faculty of the mind, the imagination, over all the rest; but it will desolate your life and hopes, if it be not restrained and brought under religious government; it may then be turned to the use it was assuredly given for, in the pursuit of any profession, and be nobly used in the service of your Maker. In a worldly sense, without you bring this busy, restless power into submission to reason and judgment, you are undone; you are now carried away, wholly blinded by the bewildering light of your fancy, and that you may never see clearer your reading is all of a sort to weaken your mental optics."

These passages serve for illustration of Mrs. De Quincey's character and temperament, but they really do injustice to her since they do not disclose the continual anxiety she felt for her children, and her serviceableness to them

practically after they grew up. She repelled them by her principles, too narrowly held and too rigidly enforced; she did not win their trust, and appeal to her against what they thought wrong in their school-life appears not merely to have been useless, but to have brought only her strongly expressed displeasure on them as unruly and disobedient. And these errors of conduct cost her their affection. It was a full price to pay, and justice may now be done to her more admirable traits of fidelity, self-sacrifice, and devotion to her parental duty.

Richard was the child who suffered most from the defects in his guardianship. He ran away from school because he was flogged, and, on being returned and flogged for this offence, he ran away a second time, joined a merchant ship as cabin boy, was captured by pirates on the South American coast, escaped and made one of the storming party at Montevideo, and so distinguished himself that he was at once rated a midshipman by the English admiral. He was in the action at Copenhagen, taken prisoner by the Danes, and afterwards exchanged, on which occasion he made himself known to his family. They questioned his identity at first, as he refused to meet them personally, but he afterwards satisfied their doubts, and was in pleasant intercourse with them till he met an early and unknown death in Jamaica on a hunting excursion. He was twice in England during his wanderings and was in want, but he so feared his guardians that he kept himself obscure; nor did he finally disclose himself till he was safely past twenty-one years of age. This persistence of Richard in what must have been a hard and unwelcome life is the strongest proof of the severity and lack of sympathy he felt in his natural friends, and, indeed, his feelings towards his guardians must have amounted to hatred. In his letters he shows a pleasant disposition and the intellectual tastes which characterized the family, and he is altogether the most attractive of them. The letters of the sisters are not of any special interest except as they carry on the family story; and Henry, the last brother, seems to have been rather a weakling.

The literary part of the Memorials is considerable in bulk and separable from the family portion. Its principal feature is the collection of letters from Dorothy Wordsworth to De Quincey. These are admirable, and sufficient in charm and interest to give the volumes permanent value in literature. They describe, in the rapid, natural, and feminine way that belonged to their author's pen, the interior of the Wordsworth household; and as De Quincey was especially interested in the children, they are full of anecdotes and news about the little ones, who were as fond of De Quincey as he of them. Nothing, perhaps, is more childishly delightful than "Johnny's" interpolation into his evening prayer for his "good friends" —"Mr. De Quincey is one of my friends"; but there are several incidents of the sort. There is, of course, much besides the children's affairs—about the De Quincey cottage, then in the furnishing, the Green family lost in the snow, the doings of Coleridge, Wordsworth's verse-writing, Jeffrey's reviews, and especially the Convention of Cintra pamphlet which De Quincey was seeing through the press. Wordsworth was somewhat apprehensive of being prosecuted for this publication, and Dorothy writes:

"William still continues to haunt himself with fancies about Newgate and Dorchester or some other gaol, but as his mind clings to the gloomy, Newgate is his favorite theme. We, however, have no fears; for even if the words be actionable (which I cannot but think they are not), in these times they would not dare to inflict such a punishment."

We should mention also two admirable letters of Wordsworth to De Quincey before meeting him, very characteristic and kind, and a letter of Coleridge to De Quincey when the latter asked repayment of some loans, in which Coleridge appears to advantage in the sincere expression of feelings honorable to him. The correspondence with Prof. Wilson lets more light upon the financial relations of De Quincey with himself, both being borrowers, and exhibits the former's indulgence and friendship under trying circumstances. The correspondence of Lord Altamont abundantly justifies all that De Quincey said of his association with the family, and shows the peer's own character in a pleasant light. Of the other heterogeneous material perhaps nothing needs particular notice except some fragments of Patrick Brontë's poems, not in themselves of any merit.

The net result of this collection is to sustain De Quincey's accuracy of statement, and so far to benefit his reputation. At all points where he is tested by these documents he is found correct. At the same time, the history of the family is so exhibited as to give better opportunities for judging of his position in early life, and of how they discharged their obligations to him after he fell into misfortune. It is perhaps well to have the subject cleared up, though it is not one with which the public has much concern. It does not appear to us that, all things considered, he was illiberally treated. He took his career into his own hands with more or less excuse, but he did not prosper in the undertaking. As soon as he came into his inheritance, he used it, in part generously, but altogether foolishly, and soon it was gone. He wrote a long and minute history of this worldly failure, and in it he discusses his hopes and the reasons of his various decisions. One passage illustrates his estimate of himself:

"I hoped, and have every year hoped with better grounds, that (if I should be blessed with life sufficient), I should accomplish a great revolution in the intellectual condition of the world. That I should, both as one cause and one effect of that revolution, place education upon a new footing throughout all civilized nations, was but one part of this revolution; it was also but a part (though it may seem singly more than enough for a whole) to be the first founder of true philosophy; and it was no more than a part that I hoped to be the reëstablisher in England (with great accessions) of mathematics."

This was apparently written in 1818, in De Quincey's thirty-third year. That he formed such hopes, and retained them so long, shows the lack of judgment with respect to himself and his own life which characterized him. He had already fallen under the opium habit. He excused himself from ordinary labor in the professions on the ground of these great aims, and the fact was that most of what he really accomplished was piecemeal work done for the magazines to get money. His mother had about £13,000, which she determined to hand down to her grandchildren, *i. e.*, De Quincey's children, but she assisted him out of the income; and in this her decision must commend itself to a practical mind. His uncle in India also assisted him at times, but, after his retirement on a reduced allowance of perhaps £700 a year, seems to have found that sum no more than sufficient for his bachelor tastes. It cannot be made out that De Quincey did not receive as much from the family estate as was fairly to be given to him. The reproach that they were indifferent to his welfare and practically deserted him has no foundation in the light of these Memorials. Altogether, the story seems more honorable to his mother than to himself, in substance, though she cannot be wholly freed from responsibility for errors of judgment, and for the cold demeanor in early days which made the youth of the boys so unhappy both in itself and in its results.

ANTIQUATED ENGLISH.

A Select Glossary of English Words used formerly in Senses different from their present. By Richard Chevenix Trench, D.D., Archbishop. Seventh edition. Revised by Rev. A. L. Mayhew, M.A. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1890.

A Select Glossary of Bible Words; also, a Glossary of Important Words and Phrases in the Prayer Book. By Rev. A. L. Mayhew, M.A., Chaplain of Wadham College, Oxford. London: Eyre & Spottiswoode. 1890.

It was but seldom that Dr. Trench succeeded in rising above a humble linguistic plane; and he reached, at the highest, only a popular mediocrity in the trifling book now reprinted. Yet, so far as regards England, the book has proved fortunate, owing to circumstances quite apart from its intrinsic worth,—circumstances in default of which the first impression of it would, in all probability, have been also the last. For who can doubt that, at the cost of no more trouble than skilful use of a dictionary like Johnson's or Richardson's, a compilation of the same stamp, and in no wise inferior, could have been executed without difficulty? That it was not forestalled may, therefore, appear singular. Any forestalment of it, at least by other than a writer of some name, must, however, have failed of acceptance; nor would it have fared differently with the present performance, but that its author, by having already discoursed on our language in a way to attract attention, had seemed to give promise of merit in what farther ventures he might undertake as a verbarian. Characterized strictly, it is, in fact, hardly more than a collection of illustrated jottings; of interest, doubtless, to such as, by reason of a beneficial perusal of Dr. Trench's earlier manuals, are preresolved to extract utility from it, but of very slight interest otherwise. To whomever it concerns, it chiefly affords proof that its author had dipped, with his wits about him, into a moderate number of older writers; a revelation of no particular importance, we take it, save to his friends and pupillary admirers. And, in saying thus much, we almost complete an appraisal of it. While offering but a minimum of new facts to even an ordinarily thorough student of English literature, its details, though conned ever so diligently by any one else, are very unlikely to effect a serviceable lodgment in the memory. Its practical value is, accordingly, to be rated as of the smallest.

For a person professing to investigate the history of words, Dr. Trench was, at one time or other, capable of deliverances indicating a strangely imperfect acquaintance with literature, a ludicrous precipitance of judgment, and other equally discrediting singularities. For instance, he could speak of *educational* as having been, between 1830 and 1840, "an offensive, or, to say the best, a very dubious, novelty in the English language"; an oracle, by the by, only half intelligible. As to *starvation*, so astonishing was his heedlessness of historical verity that he stigmatized it as "an Americanism." Again, treating of *topsy-turvy*, 'there is," he asserts, "no doubt of the fact, that it is a corruption of *topside the other way*." And similarly wild conclusions of

his are far from being infrequent. Indeed, considering that he tacitly laid claim to both wide and exact scholarship, the superficialness of his inquiries, his groundless pronouncements, and his headlong conjectures are quite beyond all reasonable expectation.

Of everything of this kind Mr. Mayhew, having profited by the guidance of a host of philological experts, is fully aware. But how can he be justified, as editor, in identifying himself, in the manner he has done, with the author he has reproduced? Think as one may of his free-handling, yet his frankness is commendable. For he tells us: "In the present edition, the 'Select Glossary' has been carefully revised, and a few of the articles have been rewritten." The articles here spoken of as "rewritten" are, to be sure, enclosed in square brackets; but, since additions or insertions obviously editorial, like those under "flirt," "ought," "sad," "trivial," etc., are in no way marked as such, how is one readily to discriminate the teachings of Dr. Trench's reviser from those of Dr. Trench himself? Besides this, where we are offered "rewritten" articles, the articles for which they are substituted are quietly displaced. The heretic Aerius was satisfied with equalizing episcopal authority and presbyteral. But now we have a step forward, and one in keeping with the spirit of a progressive age, in that the former rank of authority is postponed to the latter. Would not Mr. Mayhew do prudently in being more cautious?

"This little volume," says Dr. Trench, "does not propose to note the peculiarities of single writers, but the general course of the language." Yet, in numerous instances, it transgresses this ill-expressed programme. At the same time it often fails to record, where record of them would have been apposite, obsolete senses, once widely current, of words now in vogue. To close these remarks, let us consider, as sufficiently exemplifying the defect here named, the verb *discover*. In Psalm xxix. 9, *discover* denotes "strip," though Dr. Trench defines it by "uncover"; a meaning which, however, it bears in Micah i. 6, etc., unnoticed by him, as likewise are Isaiah xxii. 8, etc., where it signifies "strip off," "remove." *Discover*, as, till very recently, one with "disclose," "reveal," he was warranted in passing by; but that he neglected to mention still another signification of the word, common enough in older authors, betrays, somewhat strikingly, the partial character of his researches. Its equivalence to "explore," "survey," "reconnoitre," "examine," "view," etc., as in the subjoined quotations, is here referred to:

"Sirs, go and ryde forth into the feldes, and *dyscouer* the countre euery way, and loke if ye se any thynge, and come hyder agayne."—Lord Berners, *Froissart* (1523), Vol. I., p. 245 (ed. 1812).

"In lyke maner as knyghtes doe by lande go before the bataylles, to *dyscouer* the countrey and enbusshes." *Ibid.* (1525), Vol. II., p. 357.

"Furbisher, presently takyng vpon him, with his company, fully to *discouer* the same [*i. e.*, the Ilandes Moluccae]," etc. Richarde Willes, *Hist. of Travayle* (1577), fol. 231*r*.

"She laie a slepe upon her backe, with her handes cast over her hedde—as, for the most parte, yong women are wont to do—so that forthwith the yong Prince *discovered* her from toppe to toe." Barnabe Riche, *Farewell to Militarie Profession* (1581), p. 102 (ed. 1846).

"They perceived that, vpon Christmas daye, they had *discouered* along the coast three score and tenne leagues to the Eastward." Nicholas Lichefield, *Lopes de Castanheda's First Booke*, etc. (1582), fol. 10*v*.

"After him came also Sancho de Toar, who went to *discouer* Sofala, and made relation thereof to be a small Iland," etc. *Ibid*, fol. 95*v*.

"To leuie souldiers . . ., and to send them to *discouer* the Ilands of the west." Robert Parke. *Mendoza's Hist. China* (1588), p. 137.

"It is not possible to declare the bredth and length thereof [*i. e.*, of Mexico]; for that vnto this day it is not all *discouered*." *Ibid*, p. 316.

"Crauing libertie of Don Henry to *discouer* the Islands of Cape Verde, which was granted them." Rev. Richard Hakluyt, *Galvano's Discoveries of the World* (1601), p. 73 (ed. 1862).

"The gouernour . . . sent foorth his sonne, John Arias de Auila, . . . to *discouer* also by sea and by land." *Ibid.*, p. 127.

"Iovinus . . . sending out before a diligent scout-watch to *discover* the coasts, made haste," etc. Philemon Holland, *Ammianus Marcellinus* (1609), p. 305.

"He walk'd into the Island with Alcippus, Osmin, and Gartias. One part of it he *discover'd*, and, finding no other Inhabitants there but wilde beasts," etc. William Browne, *Polexander* (1647), Part III., Book IV., p. 125.

"Nor was Don John less active, but, a good while before day, moved from Namure, sending before . . . to *discover* the wood-land country, and possesse himself of advantageous places." Sir Robert Stapylton, *Strada* (1650), Books VIII.–IX., p. 50.

"I went out into the island, with my gun, to . . . *discover* the country." De Foe, *Robinson Crusoe* (1719), Vol. I., p. 84 (ed. 1840).

"God commanded Moses to send twelve Men to *discover* the Land of Canaan." Rev. Jeremy Collier, *Essays*, Part IV. (1722), p. 146 (ed. 1725).

"Having, therefore, in this manner rather *discovered* than subdued the southern parts of the island, Cæsar returned into Gaul, with his forces." Goldsmith, *History of England* (1771), Vol. I., p. 11.

"We set out from Peru for the river Maranham, to *discover* and settle there." Southey, *Expedition of Orsua* (1821), p. 129.

Of no less frequent occurrence than the *discover* seen in these passages were, for a long while, *discoverer*, *discovery*, and *undiscovered*, for "explorer," "exploration," and "unexplored."

Of Mr. Mayhew's 'Select Glossary' there have been several kindred precursors, meritorious in different degrees, the most noticeable among them being Dr. Aldis Wright's 'Bible Word-book.' Still, as possessing features of its own, it is by no means superfluous. Clearness, brevity, and critical scholarship distinguish it throughout. The extent to which the Bible revisers of 1611 injudiciously thought fit, by copying from their forerunners, to entail on after-ages the perplexity attaching to archaic phraseology, is distinctly brought out in its pages; and its bringing this out constitutes its leading differentia.

THREE NOVELS.

Dr. LeBaron and His Daughters: A Story of the Old Colony. By Jane G. Austin. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

Martha Corey: A Tale of the Salem Witchcraft. By Constance Goddard DuBois. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co.

Walford. By Ellen Olney Kirk. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

MRS. AUSTIN has evidently met with the fate that often overtakes the too eager seeker after buried literary treasure. In her last unearthing of Old Colony chronicles she has called up a multitude of spirits which she has not had the power to marshal into order. The story of 'Dr. LeBaron and his Daughters' will doubtless be interesting to the comparatively small number to whom the book is dedicated—"the kith and kin of the name and lineage of LeBaron"; but it is lacking in the qualities necessary to maintain the interest of the general reader. The figures crowd upon and jostle one another, appearing and disappearing in a rapidly shifting panorama, and presenting confusing genealogical complications that are a weariness to the spirit of any but the most untiring of local antiquarians. The Doctor himself stands out with a certain distinctness, due, however, to the man's inherent qualities rather than to the literary ability of the author. Faults of style abound, unpardonable in an author of Mrs. Austin's experience; besides grammatical inaccuracies, there are passages that irresistibly provoke a smile where no humor was intended, while the humor is often clumsy when it is not trivial. For example, we read:

"But in 1775, the First Church, still orthodox in name and tenets, assembled itself beneath its hundred-foot-high spire with a gilded weather-cock on top, and, muffled in great-coats, cloaks, shawls, and furs, for no sybarite had as yet suggested fires in a meeting-house, prepared itself to listen with a divided mind to Parson Robbins's eloquence."

The occasional strong passages give evidence that, with more care in the selection and use of material, we might have had a clear page of living history instead of this blurred, confused picture, the manifest work of a careless, unsteady hand.

By no means lacking in vigor is the romance of 'Martha Corey,' one of the victims of the Salem witchcraft delusion. The tale begins in the mother country, where live the actors with whom the fatal thread of Martha Corey's life is interwoven. The daughter of an impecunious Earl, whose hand has been promised to the son of a wealthy London wine merchant, to cancel a heavy money obligation; the hero himself, a youth who has early discovered the hollowness of the world; the typical villain, nephew of the Earl and madly in love with his cousin; his female accomplice, "born with an obliquity of moral perception," ward of the wine merchant and in love with the son—these plot and counterplot, weaving the thread of destiny that is to entangle innocent people on the other side of the Atlantic. There is some novelty in the daughter of an Earl going alone to a new country and achieving local distinction as cook in a public inn, but the impetuous action of the story very naturally takes her there and, at length, into the friendly shelter of Martha Corey's household just as the first cloud of the witchcraft tempest, no bigger than a man's hand, is seen on the horizon. Martha Corey, joyous, independent, and walking by inner light, is a character against whom the spirit of the times in which she lived would naturally be opposed. It would seem, however, as if the Rev. Mr. Parris had already enough to answer for in the terrible results arising from his religious fanaticism, the flame of which was fed, so history hints, by personal malice; but in this story he is dyed a still deeper black by being made the purloiner of the private papers of a chance travelling companion merely to obtain temporary power over a stranger. The author has evidently the best of intentions, for as far as possible she liberally rewards the virtuous and punishes the guilty; but in dealing with hard facts of history one is obliged to resign the happy position of holder of the scales of justice. The style is somewhat amateurish, but vigor of plot and fertility of incident save it from being commonplace.

An involuntary recognition of kinship with the men and women portrayed in a character-study is instant testimony to the presence of the glow and warmth of life. Without this radiating power such a study is a more or less ingenious piece of mechanism. It would hardly be fair, perhaps, to pronounce 'Walford' a mechanical piece of work, yet through all its movement there is always a suspicion of outward rather than inward impetus. In spite of superabundant activity, the figure of one of

the heroines (there are two sisters) fails to give us a sense of vitality. Beautiful, and with a decided philanthropic bias, which ample means allow her to follow, she has many admirers of both sexes who tell us of her ardent desire to ameliorate suffering in every form; but although we are present at her ministrations, we are not stirred by so much as a throb of responsive sympathy. Perhaps the author dimly felt this and allowed her to fall into the vulgarism of a quasi-engagement to the odious mill superintendent in order to give her a touch of nature. The sister awakens sympathy and interest because of the sudden and mysterious loss of her only child; but the reader's painful sense of her having married the wrong man is not mitigated by the clumsy manner in which he is disposed of to make room, after a decorous period, for the friend of her girlhood. The plot, though well worn, does good service by the introduction of fresh incident, but the literary substance of strikes has been already hammered into such thinness that it will hardly bear working over without the addition of new material.

The Development of Africa. By Arthur Silva White. London: George Philip & Son. 1890. 1 vol., 8vo.

Mr. White has treated what is properly a scientific subject in a strictly scientific manner, and has put together in logical sequence and connection all that is accurately known of the Continent of Africa. The work is so full of facts, and contains so great a mass of details, that anything like an exhaustive notice of it within reasonable limits would be impossible. With all its conciseness, however, the book is very interesting, and after the wearisome petty details in which most travellers indulge, it is refreshing to find that the gold has at last been separated from the mighty mass of sand. In the author's own language, his plan has been to build up Africa under the eyes of the reader, and to give complete pictures of the continent by dealing successively with the various aspects under which it is known in Europe. An admirable series of maps by Mr. E. G. Ravenstein accompanies the volume. Each map is a well-repaying study, and brings vividly to mind the familiar lines of Horace—

"Segnius irritant animos demissa per aurem
Quam quæ sunt oculis subjecta fidelibus."

Mr. White gives us at first a bird's-eye view of the continent, embracing its geology and characteristic features and illustrated by three maps. The geology we may omit as not particularly interesting; the physical characters are briefly as follows. Dry land occupies the greater portion of the continental plateau, while the shore line is almost without indentations. From the surrounding seas the continent rises terrace upon terrace, and the neighboring island of Madagascar, formerly part of the continent, exhibits the same structure. A narrow coast line from 100 to 300 miles in breadth, and not more than about 600 feet in elevation, encircles the greater part of the continent, the mean altitude of which is about 2,000 feet. Kenia, Kilima-njaro, and Ruwenzori are the highest mountains, each reaching a height of about 19,000 feet. The great drainage areas are the Atlantic, the Mediterranean, and the Indian Ocean. The inland drainage areas are the Sahara, the Kalahari Desert, and Eastern Abyssinia, of which the first is by far the most extensive. The political settlement of Africa has coincided with the ocean drainage areas, as the inland areas are practically uninhabited. Where the great rivers break through the plateaus their beds are filled with rocks, and navigation is consequently obstructed at short distances from their mouths.

Mr. White devotes his second chapter to the African lakes, rivers, and mountains, in great but very interesting detail. We have next a chapter on climate and cognate phenomena, including the fauna and flora of the continent. From this we extract what will perhaps be of general interest—the account of the great desert of Sahara, which is not, as commonly supposed, a level expanse of sand:

"The true desert is where, in this vast plateau, the dunes lie heaped up and murmur like the waves of the sea; where animal life, if it exist at all, assumes the protective color of the sand; where there are no birds, no trees, no flowers; 'the sky without clouds, the sands without shadow'; 'the region of blind forces of heat and wind.' Only about one-ninth of the Sahara is covered with sand; the remainder consists of mountains and rocks, steppes and oases. In the high-lying districts the valleys are covered with trees and are fairly habitable; and in the Arabian desert to the east a luxuriant vegetation exists in the river valleys. . . . This is what the Sahara is not unlike in fine weather, but when a sand-storm occurs, or when the suffocating hot winds blow, then it is a region unfit for man or beast."

A chapter on the indigenous population follows. Mr. Ravenstein, after a very careful calculation, estimates the population of Africa at only 127,038,370, and gives an interesting and valuable table of the areas and populations of the different European possessions. The six indigenous races are the Semites, Hamites, and Fulahs, with curly hair; negroes and Bantu, with woolly or fleecy hair; and Hottentots, with woolly hair growing in tufts. To these we must add the Malayo-Polynesian family in Madagascar. The geographical distribution of each race is given, and is quite accurately known. The whole chapter is full of interest, and amounts almost to a treatise.

Chapter v. is devoted to Islam and Christianity. Our author sums up the advance of the two religions very pithily: "Islam or Arab influence advances with the sword in one hand and the Koran in the other, as it appears to us. Christianity or European influence advances with the sword or paper treaties in one hand, and the Bible or a case of gin in the other, as it appears to the native mind. It is no use quarrelling with the comparison; it is a just and faithful one." The greater part of northern Africa is and has for more than 1,200 years been Mohammedan. Christianity has begun at the southern extremity of the continent, mainly at least, and is gradually advancing towards the equator, where, perhaps, the two religions are destined to come in contact for the final struggle. Of course there are isolated Christian communities north of the equator and similar Mohammedan communities to the south. The opinions of travellers as to the influence of Mohammedanism in elevating the negro are divided. The weight of evidence appears to us to be in favor of a decided influence for good. Mr. White states the case very impartially, but seems to lean rather towards the views of Lenz and those who regard Islam as decidedly injurious to mental growth.

The much-vexed subject of the traffic in slaves forms another monograph, not, perhaps, adding much to our knowledge, but emphasizing the frightful details. Our author suggests the establishment of firm bases at different points on the coast connected by chains of settlements across the continent; and an organized system of native police under European officers, with gunboats on the great lakes, which are intersected almost at right angles by the eastern slave routes. Of course, joint action of all the European Powers would be necessary, but the climate and the heavy expense would be serious obstacles.

An excellent historical sketch of the progress of African exploration and discovery follows. It is too detailed to permit of special notice in this place, but forms a most convenient work of reference. The subject of the commercial resources of the Continent is next in order, and naturally is discussed at much length. The ivory question alone is one of great importance, since ivory is almost the sole cause of the slave trade. Considering the enormous loss of human life which the traffic entails, it is surprising to find that the value of the annual export of ivory, according to Westendarp, is only seven or eight millions of pounds sterling. It is estimated that about 65,000 elephants are killed annually. The animals are forsaking the coasts for the interior, and will probably be extinct in another century or two. An idea of the ruin produced by the liquor traffic may be obtained from the fact that from 1883 to the end of 1887 more than 30,000,000 gallons of spirits were imported into Africa. An earnest effort was made at the Berlin Conference in 1885 to put a stop to the importation, but it was thwarted by interested parties. All European Powers take part in the trade.

A survey of European domination forms the subject of another chapter, and this is followed by one on the kindred subject of political partition. The author shows how the Continent is being divided into "protectorates" and "spheres of influence"—diplomatic euphuisms for wholesale robberies. The present political status is best shown by the excellent map. The general result is, that south of the equator the whole continent has been divided among European Powers, but north of the equator the boundaries are nearly all unsettled. Pagan Africa is now European, while Mohammedan Africa is Arab. Mr. White concludes his work with an excellent general summary of the principles underlying the development of Africa along natural lines. We heartily recommend the book as thoroughly readable, and as a conscientious and painstaking compilation of facts which to thoughtful minds are full of interest, even if often painful and seldom inspiring well-grounded hopes for the future.

Cardinal Newman. By Richard H. Hutton. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1890.

Without the express avowal that this book was undergoing its last revision in the proofs when Cardinal Newman died, the author's name would have saved it from a suspicion that it is one of those books hastily constructed to economize the interest in a distinguished person immediately following his death. We had had an earnest of its quality in Mr. Hutton's essay upon Newman, which was republished with others in this country a few years ago. Indeed, this volume, written, it appears, as one of a series of "Religious Leaders," is hardly more than an expansion of that essay. Of biographical detail it has the merest thread, only enough on which to string a series of criticisms of Newman's writings in the order of their publication. No finer critical faculty could have been brought to the interpretation of Newman's strange experience, and there is no such painful contrast of the style of subject and biographer as there must generally be when Newman is the theme. Mr. Hutton's habitual style is good enough to spare the haunting echoes of Martineau's that are sometimes here—a tribute to the early teacher whose teachings he is anxious to forget. That now and then his hand is subdued to what it works in is only what we should expect, and there are passages

almost as Newmanish as Newman's own, while everywhere there is a choice of words and a felicity of phrase that are perfection in their kind.

A peculiar interest attaches to Mr. Hutton's book because of the nature of his own religious experience and the ardent, while still imperfect, sympathy that he brings to Newman's progress from the Church of England to the Church of Rome. The son of a Unitarian clergyman, and in his youth a protégé and pupil of Martineau, he had a progress or regression of his own quite as extensive as that of Newman, which should qualify him to appreciate the changes Newman underwent. But his sympathy is much more positive than could arise from such a source. It is the sympathy of one who has gone far on Newman's way from Anglicanism to Rome; so far, that we find ourselves wondering why he did not go farther, and whether, even now, it is too late for him to go the remainder of the way. The remainder is much less than the distance Newman traversed, after the condemnation of Tract 90 in 1841, to his submission to Rome in 1845. There is some adverse criticism of Newman and a good deal of Rome, but of sympathy and approval there is much more, with sometimes, apparently, the irritation of a man who maintains himself in a position of unstable equilibrium by a painful effort of the will. If we are not greatly mistaken, the reader will often forget the sufferings of Newman, now fifty years remote, in his sympathy with those of the victim who is still stretched upon the rack of theological uncertainty.

No part of Mr. Hutton's book was less required than the argument for Newman's genuineness and greatness with which the opening chapter is taken up. The argument is based on the singleness and steadfastness with which he devoted himself to a noble aim, and on the consecration of a literary talent of the highest order to the original purpose of his life. In the course of the argument Mr. Hutton takes Mr. Huxley to task with some asperity for his suggestion that a Primer of Infidelity could easily be made from two or three of Newman's works. Mr. Hutton is so much troubled by this suggestion and the coördinate belief of many that Newman was fundamentally skeptical, and only believed because he was resolved to do so, that he returns to the matter in his fifth chapter, which is given up to it entirely. Mr. Hutton utterly rejects such a construction, and he makes out at least a plausible showing for the view that it was not his own but others' difficulties which he was endeavoring to overcome. So much seems to be undoubtedly true so far as natural religion was concerned, but that so many have derived a contrary impression of his belief in revealed religi n and the Church cannot, we think, be quite unwarranted. In Mr. Hutton's contention with Huxley in chapter v., the utterly unscientific character of his own thinking gives a naïve absurdity to some of his remarks. That we have not exaggerated Mr. Hutton's approximation to the Cardinal's position is evident from the terms in which that position is disclaimed. He "cannot adopt for himself his [Newman's] later conception of the Church of Christ, *hardly even* that earlier conception *which led so inevitably to the latter*." The italics are ours.

In Newman's first considerable work, 'Arians of the Fourth Century,' there was a "full expression of his confidence that dogma is the backbone of religion." Mr. Hutton gently insinuates that he made too much of dogma, or, at least, that he did not sufficiently distinguish between the intellectual conceptions implied in Revelation and the life and character which it reveals. Here and elsewhere we have something of that fluffiness which we owe to the influence of Maurice upon Mr. Hutton's mind, an admirable device for those who would fain avoid clear thinking and believe some things and not believe them at the same time. He finds the style of 'The Arians' dry almost to grittiness, and contends that Newman's greatness of style was largely a development of his Roman Catholic period. This, however, if true at all, is only true of his major works, not of his sermons. Mr. Hutton would have us believe that it is equally true of his sermons; but his quotations are convincing that he goes too far.

The chapter on "Hurrell Froude and the Mediterranean Voyage" gives a more agreeable impression of Froude than we get from Newman's 'History of His Opinions.' It is very interesting that it was Froude, the more Roman of the two in advance, who came back to England less impressed by what he had seen in Italy, and better satisfied with the Church at home—this, in part, because he was more an English Tory than he was anything else. Mr. Hutton finds much of Froude's thought in Newman's language in the 'Lyra Apostolica,' written upon the voyage, and remarks the fact that the various scenes had no suggestions of pagan art, or poetry, or history for Newman's mind. Off Ithaca he wrote a poem "On the Death of Moses," and off Zante one on the Greek Fathers, and so on. Newman's poems are rated highly, Mr. Hutton saying of the poem comparing the Jewish race to Œdipus that Æschylus would have been proud to have written it if he had lived again in our time, while the "Dream of Gerontius," which Newman dropped into his waste-basket after he had written it, he cannot praise enough.

In the chapter "Newman at St. Mary's," subject and critic are at their best, for it brings out that ethical and spiritual quality of Newman's mind which transcends all theological and ecclesiastical differences, and comes home to all men who are in temptation or in sin. Nevertheless, it was a St. Mary's sermon, on the wisdom of the serpent and the harmlessness of the dove, on which Kingsley founded his charge of Newman's indifference to truth, whence came the 'Apologia' in reply. Mr. Hutton's defence brings out the dangerous side of Newman's teaching. Coming to "Advancing Estrangements" and Tract 90, Mr. Hutton flatly contradicts Newman's assertion that Mr. Oakeley was the head of the new Oxford school that pushed the founders of the movement from their seats. It was, he says, George William Ward, and there are no more entertaining pages in his book than those describing this troublesome spirit. It is a serious charge that Newman gave out as history "facts which had not gone through the form of taking place," because he had been alienated from Ward. It was the pestering of Ward and others possessed by a conviction of the anti-Roman character of the articles, that compelled Newman to write Tract 90, the least characteristic of his writings, in Mr. Hutton's opinion, giving "a very false impression of his mind and genius." "It was very far, indeed, from an insincere document," but it "took refuge behind the ambiguities of a creed artfully devised to suit the views of two very distinct parties whose drift was at bottom wholly irreconcilable."

Newman's experience was very tragical in the years between Tract 90 and his submission to Rome, to whom through all this time he was theoretically drawn, while practically repelled; held by personal ties, and alienated by an illogical position. 'The Development of Christian Doctrine' was written while he was already a Romanist in his heart. Mr. Hutton describes it as "full of devout subtlety," and criticises it more elaborately than any other writing, and less satisfactorily. Sometimes, however, he strikes home, as in reply to Newman's making the partial and local degeneracy of the Church, without prejudice to the authority of the Bishop of Rome, a "note" of its divinity. Here Mr. Hutton compares him to the German monk who argued "that no church not divinely sustained could survive such corruptions."

Only 60 pages out of 251 in Mr. Hutton's book are given to Newman's Roman Catholic years, though they were almost exactly half of the whole eighty-nine. The astonishing sermons on "The Glories of Mary" read as if Newman had resolved to outdo his new companions in the grossness of his superstition. The "Lectures on Anglican Difficulties" were heard by Mr. Hutton when they were first delivered, and he gives an eloquent description of their effect upon his own mind. Into his criticism of Newman's subsequent writings we cannot follow him. It is always interesting and suggestive, if it is nothing more. One sentence hits the white as, perhaps, no other in the book: "Whatever he thought that he 'ought' to believe, he has always found the means, not only to believe, but to interpret to himself with a unique vivacity and intensity of conception." All too briefly Mr. Hutton sketches Newman's relation to the decree of Papal infallibility. In a private letter to his bishop he called those who favored it in England "an aggressive, insolent faction," though personally it had for him no difficulties whatever. But when Pius IX. was succeeded by Leo XIII. in 1878, Newman's "minimizing" view of the Vatican decree came to the front and he was made a Cardinal in token of the change.

Power through Repose. By Annie Payson Call. Boston: Roberts Bros. 1891. 12mo, pp. 169.

AMERICANS who have been abroad are always struck on their return to their native land by the over-expressiveness of their countrymen's faces, both while talking and in would-be repose. The brow and eyes are contracted, the mouth screwed up or down or to one side; an expression of subdued agony or anxiety, or else a smile so intense as to squeeze all further possibilities out of the countenance. In short, a species of contortionism, of which the aggregate effect is very strong and unexpected, makes our whole nation look odd and off its balance, until we get once more accustomed to the phenomenon. Nowhere in this country do we get the cod-fish eye, the slab-like cheek, the tranquil voice, which give to the population of England so massive a look of reserved power.

Miss Call is a lady who, having been struck by the abnormality in us of this constant tension of so many muscles not in use, has taken the matter to heart and studied it in all its ramifications, and who, after much practical experience, gives a sketch in this charming little volume of the ways in which we may train ourselves out of the vicious habit, and depicts the wide-spreading benefits which thereupon accrue. The evil does not affect merely the face: all the muscles of the body take part in the habitual over-contraction; so that, having learned first to contract our muscles in order to do things, we must again voluntarily study how to relax those which

are not needed for the end in view. And not only when working or acting, according to Miss Call, but when sitting, when lying down, when thinking, even when sleeping, is there in most of us an inveterate inward tension which we never let go and which makes complete repose an impossibility.

This signifies much more than a material waste of tissue which adds itself to the total wear and tear of the day, for its remoter reflex effects may, in certain temperaments, be formidable and widespread. A perfectly calm and placid tone of mind is out of the question with a system that is never completely relaxed, but always quivering with residual and incipient contractions. Such a person never rests with his whole weight on his chair. His feet still press the ground, half ready to rise, his fingers convulsively clutch the chair's arms or work at each other. On the pillow the neck muscles still are rigid. A certain inward breathlessness, vague expectancy, dispersion of the attention, and worry are the inevitable results of such muscular habits as these. We are all sinners. If the reader's attention has never been called to the matter before, he will be little less than astounded to find how twisted up his muscles are. Let him relax each contracted point as he notices it, and he will find layer after layer of new contractions appearing, which were masked until the stronger ones gave way. Only after a long series of muscles have been "let go" is complete sedateness attained; and the perfect calm of it is then likely to seem a new experience of bliss.

Miss Call's merit is to have taken this important truth *au grand sérieux*, and to have worked at it with a zeal which some might almost deem fanatical. According to her, there is hardly anything which systematic training in relaxation will not accomplish for certain persons. It will regenerate their nervous strength, their temper, their ability to attend, their speech, their powers of effective work in every direction, and of course their cheerfulness, their gait, and grace of presence. It is probable that Miss Call's claims are in no wise overstated for a certain class of persons. The sedative effect of habitual relaxation does "make them over again." What the *rationale* of these remote effects may be is another matter. Probably Miss Call takes too simple a view of it when she ascribes it all to physiological rest. It is something more psychological than that. Take this case:

"A lady who suffered very much from having her feelings hurt came to me for advice. I told her whenever anything was said to wound her at once to *imagine her legs heavy*—that relaxed her muscles, freed her nerves, and relieved the tension caused by her sensitive feelings. The cure seemed to her wonderful" (p. 68). Again, "when you begin to *worry*, think your legs heavy. Your friends will appreciate the relief more than you do, and will gain as you gain" (p. 71).

It seems clear enough that in cases like this the relaxing of the leg muscles is only a means of redistributing the attention and changing the whole emotional tone and attitude.

We regret to have no space for other extracts which might sound less eccentric than these. The book is short, and written with a beautiful simplicity and sincerity. It combines unusual knowledge of human nature with unusual depth of sympathy with human needs. It should become widely known; and a philanthropist with some surplus income might do a much worse thing than to distribute it widely among the teachers of the land.

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NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MARCH 26, 1891.

The Week.

THE *Tribune's* announcement that "the public will be especially interested to find that the President expresses himself unreservedly against renewal of the agitation on the tariff or the silver question," has naturally produced a profound sensation. "Especially interested," indeed! Why, the public are thunderstruck. Extensive preparations have been made for this agitation. A large number of the leading newspapers are committed to its continuance. Clubs have been founded for that purpose, and considerable amounts invested in houses for their accommodation and in the production of documents for popular circulation. There is, too, behind these preparations a great deal of dissatisfaction with the McKinley Bill and alarm of one sort or another about the prospect of free coinage. There is also a widely diffused belief—perhaps a mistaken one, but none the less a fact—that the President is the people's servant; that it is for him to listen, for them to speak; that "agitation" is simply the popular name for discussion among his masters as to what he shall be directed to do or refrain from doing, and that one great use of agitation is to clear his mind as well as that of Congress on public questions. His prohibition of any more discussion on these subjects for the present is therefore a terrible blow to those who do not agree with him. Of course they were aware that they did not know as much about such questions as he does; that the cogitations on political economy and finance carried on in that Indianapolis law-office raised his intelligence far above that of the mass of his fellow-citizens; but they always thought that, although he might despise their prattle, he would let them prattle on. We shall still hope that this deliverance of his is not final. Delegations will, we are sure, shortly leave this city for Washington to remonstrate, respectfully, of course, with our ruler on the impolicy, demonstrated by centuries of human experience, of closing the public mouth in periods of great disturbance. Great minds, especially great Indiana minds, reach their conclusions *per saltum*, as it were, but ordinary people elsewhere have to chatter to each other a good deal before they can be sure they are right.

We wonder whether the President has ever read with comprehension section 25 of the McKinley Bill, which allows a drawback on the imported raw materials used in articles manufactured for export. That he has read it is apparent, for he told the correspondent of the *Tribune* in that immortal interview that

> "Under this act the American merchant can get raw material, for the duty is not charged where such material is imported to be manufactured into articles for exportation, and so the American merchant will be able to sell at the same point of advantage as the English merchant, with the additional advantage of free entry into ports where treaties are made."

But has he read it with comprehension? We fear not, for it runs thus:

> "That the imported materials used in the manufacture or production of articles entitled to drawback of customs duties when exported shall, in all cases where drawback of duties paid on such materials is claimed, *be identified, the quantity of such materials used and the amount of duties paid thereon shall be ascertained, the facts of the manufacture or production* of such articles in the United States and their exportation therefrom shall be determined, and the drawback due thereon shall be paid to the manufacturer, producer, or exporter, to the agent of either, or to the person to whom such manufacturer, producer, exporter, or agent shall in writing order such drawback paid, under such regulations as the Secretary of the Treasury shall prescribe."

We are quite sure, if he had understood it and had talked to any manufacturer about it, he would have found out that no American would attempt to compete with British manufacturers in a product in which the free raw material would have to appear and be "identified" so that it could be weighed or measured by custom-house officers, with the risk of disallowance, of appeal to the courts, of endless affidavits, of charges of perjury, and of delays and annoyances of all kinds. Fancy, for instance, using a proportion of foreign wool in the carpet manufacture, and having to point out the particular threads of foreign origin, and swear to them, before he got his drawback. The venerable men who drafted this section, we suspect, knew well what they were about, but it is plain they did not let the President into their secret.

We are looking with much interest for the responses which Republicans of the land, in and out of the press, may make to the *Tribune's* second-term Harrison proclamation. Thus far, not only are there next to no favorable notices, but scarcely any notice whatever is to be found in the leading journals of the party. This is the more remarkable when we consider that the President has appointed something like twenty leading editors of the country to lucrative and honorable public office. With the creditable exception of the *Tribune*, not a single one of the journals whose editors have been so favored has had a word to say in approval of the second-term boom. This extraordinary silence ought to be explained by some one who understands it, which we are free to confess we do not, and we call upon the *Tribune* to enlighten us, and to rebuke its fellow-beneficiaries for their ungrateful conduct. Absolutely the only favorable notice that we have been able to discover after several days' examination of the newspaper mails, is one from a poor little paper in Poughkeepsie whose editor has only recently been made Postmaster. His gratitude has not yet had time to cool, and yet he is only able to say that he thinks time will convince everybody that the President is really and truly a great, big man and not "under-sized and insignificant," as his political enemies have represented. Here is the striking portion of the Postmaster's tribute: "It is altogether too early yet to talk of the nomination for 1892, and we do not speak of him as a probable or possible candidate then. But the people are recognizing his sterling worth, his greatness of mind, and his sound statesmanship, and we believe this feeling will increase greatly during the remainder of his term."

The Republican newspapers are naturally hugely delighted with Mr. Phelps's article on Blaine's diplomacy, and think that it makes a very good joke on the Mugwumps, which it undoubtedly does. We cannot recall any joke on anybody in politics quite so good of its kind. Mr. Phelps was about the last man from whom either Mugwumps or Democrats looked for an article defending Blaine's diplomacy, not on legal grounds, but on any grounds that came to hand. A teacher of law to young men at Yale College, too, was one of the last men from whom they looked for ridicule of arbitration, and commendation of war, as a means of settling international differences. And he was among the last Democrats by whom Mugwumps, who had opposed Blaine in 1884, and assisted to defeat him because they believed him personally dishonest, expected to be called on to certify to a foreign nation in 1889 that they believed him to be just and truthful in all his dealings, and an honorable and worthy and competent exponent of his country's rights in the forum of international diplomacy. The joke is the more enjoyable, too, because Mr. Phelps's article is the first defence of Mr. Blaine's diplomacy which has appeared anywhere. The journalistic endorsements of it as "superb," "overwhelming," and so forth, which have been put forth by the party organs, do not count. These organs have never pretended to have any knowledge or even opinion of their own about the Bering Sea question, and no Republican lawyer of standing or character has ventured to come to their aid. But they must not laugh too long, or crow too loudly, for they are already, in their glee, on the edge of an approval of Mr. Bayard's diplomacy as able and patriotic and shrewd, which, considering how they spoke of it when Mr. Blaine came in, would be very mortifying, if they did it inadvertently. They must therefore pull up short, and not make too much of Mr. Phelps. He is a dangerous man to handle, as he stands just now. He is by no means a "dead wire."

Senator Allison and ex-Representative Cannon have completed their statement of the appropriations made by the last Congress. The total for the two sessions foots up $988,000,000, but this does not include the direct-tax refund, amounting to upwards of $15,-

000,000. If this is added, as it should be, to the other extravagances of the Fifty-first Congress, the sum reaches more than a thousand million dollars for two years, being an increase of $170,000,000 over the appropriations of the last Congress. The greater part of this increase is due to pension largesses by which modest and honest veterans have been tempted to join the greedy and the unscrupulous in a general rush on the Treasury, and to barter their fame for money. The increase in pension appropriations for the two years is $113,000,000, but this does not measure the real increase, since the examination of claims under the Dependent Pension Bill has only begun. Under this bill, as Gen. Alger triumphantly explained to the Grand Army men, it makes no difference whether the claimant is rich or poor. If he is unable to earn a living by manual labor, he has a good claim, and it rests largely with himself to decide whether he is able to do so or not.

The Italian Consul at New Orleans, Signor Corte, has made a statement about his countrymen in that city which we trust will receive due attention from the members of the late lynching party, because it opens up a really fruitful field of reform. He speaks with great justice of the enormous service rendered to the State by the large number of sober, hard-working, and, on the whole, well-behaved Italian laborers employed on the sugar and cotton plantations around New Orleans.

"But," he adds, "this does not exclude the fact that there are among them about a hundred criminals, escaped from Italian prisons, most of them long since naturalized as Americans, mixed up in the city and State politics, and caressed and protected by politicians, through whose support several have obtained important political places. Their especial occupation was to naturalize newly-arrived Italians here."

The truth is, we believe, that the Louisiana State law allows immigrants to vote at State elections as soon as they have declared their intention to become citizens of the United States, or, in other words, it may be the day after they land, and there is a rush of politicians on board every emigrant vessel to secure votes as soon as she gets to the wharf. A more shocking state of things it would be difficult to imagine, and how the "good Americans" who broke open the jail the other day in order to get at the products of this iniquity, can have allowed it to exist all these years, it is difficult to comprehend. But it shows clearly that they are not the symmetrical, all-round reformers that the crisis calls for. Somebody in Boston has proposed, as a remedy for the evils of profuse immigration and reckless naturalization, the establishment of a "Professor of America" in every college, whose duty, we suppose, would be to brag about his country to his class. But this is not what is needed. Every man, or nearly every man, can do his own bragging, both about himself and his country. What is wanted is a Professor of the Sins, Negligences, and Ignorances of "good Americans," and among them the patience and good nature with which they submit to the rule of the "ignorant foreigner," and, indeed, the cheerfulness with which they accept it, if they think it will put them in the way of an office, however petty, or make a reduction in their taxes, or even relieve them of a little "bother." It is quite safe to say that there is not, in most of the States at least, a single evil or abuse usually attributed to immigration which is not due in the last analysis to native indifference, connivance, or cowardice.

The New Orleans jury is now undergoing the most thorough investigation. They all say they were not bribed, and the blame of the local press seems to fall mainly on Seligman, the foreman, who fled to Cincinnati on the day of the massacre. It appears that an affidavit touching Seligman's unfitness was sent to the District Attorney before the trial, and the District Attorney now says in an interview that when he received this affidavit the jury was already empanelled; that had it reached him sooner he would have excluded Seligman—an excuse which the *Daily Picayune* treats as flimsy. It says Seligman controlled the jury absolutely through his superior intelligence. The probabilities are, however, that if the jurymen shared, as they doubtless did share, the popular opinion about the Mafia, they acquitted the prisoners from sheer terror. No juryman will stand up against the fear of assassination. The reasonable assurance that his death will, if he falls, be terribly avenged, does not under such circumstances console either the ordinary man or his family. This is the experience of all nations and races. He wants to live and carry on business at the old stand, and thinks murderers ought to be pursued and punished, as the California Sheriff said, "by the darned fellows they murder."

We learn from the *American Manufacturer and Iron World* of Pittsburgh that the plate-glass manufacturers have called the attention of the Treasury Department to the fact that they are about to open 390 new works or pots, and that there are not enough skilled laborers in the country to operate them. What the Treasury Department is going to do about it is not stated. Perhaps it will be asked to issue an order for 1,500 first-rate glass-workers and assign them to the Diamond Plate Glass Company, the Charleroi Plate Glass Company, the Ford City Glass Company, etc., etc. The Treasury Department has been charged with the duty of executing the Alien Contract Labor Law, not of violating it or winking at its violation. We cannot see any reason why these highly protected manufacturers should apply to the Treasury Department for foreign laborers, any more than why buyers of plate glass should apply to the same department for a remission of the duties, which amount to 141 per cent. ad valorem on the larger sizes of plate. The plate-glass business is combined in the form of a Trust, or something very closely resembling it, and the profits of the business are such that those who carry it on ought to be able to take care of themselves without any more help from the Government than they are already receiving.

The *Financial Chronicle* calls attention to the fact that the country is now shipping gold abroad where it would be shipping silver but for the senseless law, passed last year, increasing the Government's purchases of the latter metal to 4,500,000 ounces per month. This result was pointed out by the *Evening Post* at the time when the new Silver Act was passed. It is a mathematical formula that if we produce 54,000,000 ounces of silver per year and export one-half of it, we can retain an equal amount, say $27,000,000, of gold or of other things at gold value. But if the Government buys and locks up the whole amount, we must send abroad $27,000,000 more than we otherwise should of gold or other equivalent goods. In order to avoid sending gold, we must put down the price of the other goods in order to induce foreigners to take them instead of the gold. In short, the Silver Bill of last year is a bill to depress the prices of all exportable commodities except the precious metals. The deluded farmers and planters who urged the passage of that bill are now paying the cost of it in lower prices for wheat and cotton.

The opinion seems to be held in some influential quarters that the action of the Treasury Department in refusing to furnish gold bars for export will cause more gold to be exported than would otherwise be taken at this time. The implication is, that some people's nerves will be so affected that they will jump into the gold-exporting business regardless of expense, and send out the yellow metal even though the rate of exchange would not reimburse them. We can see not the slightest evidence of such a tendency. The truth is that the United States is the only country, we believe, that has ever put upon its statute-book a provision authorizing its Treasury officers to pay out something better than its own standard coin. Our act of May 26, 1882, went further than that: it not only authorized but required this. The authorization still continues. The Treasury can give bars for coin if it chooses to do so. It can charge something for the exchange if it chooses to do so. The object of the law originally was to take away from exporters any motive for "picking and choosing" among the various gold coins coming into their hands—selecting those of full weight or a trifle over weight to send abroad, and leaving the lighter ones at home. This was the *raison d'être* of the law, and it had no other. In this view it was a wise provision, but the exercise of the discretion conferred by it must be left to the Department. There is no reason to suppose that it has been erroneously exercised in the present instance.

A very interesting struggle is in progress in Boston, growing out of the efforts of Gov. Russell to expel "politics" from the police administration of the city. In 1886 the Republican managers of the party in the State had a law passed by the Legislature which transferred the control of Boston's police force from the Mayor of the city to the Governor of the State. The object was to enable the Republicans to convert the police into a party machine which would increase their strength in a Democratic stronghold, and this object has been pursued without concealment for the past four years. The police, and through them the liquor-dealers, gamblers, and criminal classes, have been drawn to the support of the Republican party in Boston through the instinct of self-preservation. The result has been that while the Democratic strength in the city has been cut down, the lawless elements of the population have grown in audacity, and the enforcement of the laws against them has become more and more lax. Gov. Russell is trying to mend matters by removing a police commissioner who is chiefly responsible for the demoralization of the force by means of political uses of it, and appointing a Republican of high character in his place. It is said that the Republicans of the Governor's Council are determined to oppose him in this by refusing to approve the new appointment, and by upholding the present commissioner.

The Newfoundland trouble is entering on a more acute phase nearly every week. A resolution signed by all members of both houses of the Legislature has been transmitted to the Colonial Office, protesting in the strongest terms against the threat of coercion contained in the bill now before Parliament giving the Crown fresh power to enforce the treaty with France. The Ministry is evidently in a condition of great perplexity over the matter. France has a hold on them which she will not relinquish, through fear of weakening her position in Egypt; and the only excuse which can be made for coercing Newfoundland for her benefit is the one Lord Salisbury makes, viz., that in case of war with France, England would have to defend Newfoundland. But the Newfoundlanders would plainly sooner have their shores to themselves than have England's guarantee. The affair would be capable of a money settlement were it not for the Egyptian complication. It ought to and probably will give a death-blow to the "Imperial Federation" scheme, for it will bring home to all the colonies the embarrassments which might overtake them were they to become responsible for the maintenance of the British Empire as it now is.

The English are laboring in a somewhat helpless way with a very melancholy judicial complication. Sir James Stephen is one of the Justices of the Queen's Bench Division of the High Court of Justice, better known, perhaps, to an earlier generation as Fitzjames Stephen, the author of 'Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity,' and of various essays on law, politics, and morals, in which the views of the Positivist school were set forth with a vigor that sometimes bordered on the humorous. But he has also achieved much fame in legal circles as the author of a code for India, of a Digest of the Law of Evidence, a Digest of the Criminal Law, and a History of the Criminal Law of England. Moreover, he was for the usual term of five years the Legal Member of the Governor-General's Council in India—a place once filled by Macaulay and more recently by Sir Henry Maine. He has filled his present place on the bench since 1879, and, in spite of a somewhat dogmatic manner and an over-readiness to take part in current political discussion, has filled it admirably. Recently a growing infirmity of temper and grave fits of forgetfulness on the bench have alarmed the bar and the suitors in his court, and have led to strong pressure on him to resign, which, however, he has resented and resisted. An application in the House of Commons to the Government to take up his case has been refused by Mr. Smith, on the very good ground that any readiness on the part of the Ministry of the day to procure a judge's removal might be construed as, or might some day degenerate into, an attack on the independence of the judiciary; and he intimated that the moving of the address to the Crown which was necessary in such cases, ought to come from a private member, so as to deprive it of all party color. No private member has as yet shown signs of any inclination for the task, as, of course, all the Judge's friends desire, if possible, to avoid removal by procuring his voluntary resignation. The latest news is, that the Lord Chief Justice has induced him to refrain from sitting in court pending a thorough medical examination of his condition.

The affair has brought out a good deal of comment on the numerous cases in which English judges, high and low, continue to discharge their duties with faculties impaired by great age, to the very serious injury of litigants. At present there appears to be no machinery for dealing with such cases. There is not, as in Continental countries, any Minister of Justice charged with a general supervision of the courts and responsible for the character and competency of the judges; so that old judges, like old ministers of the Established Church, sometimes hold on to their places after hearing and sight and memory and judgment have all become impaired. Our rule of compulsory retirement at seventy, in fact, seems to be looming up as a probable solution of the difficulty; but the English will never copy our system of turning old judges out in the world without any provision for their decent maintenance. No judge in England will be forced to retire without a good pension, so that his latter official years will not be disturbed, nor his independence menaced, by pecuniary cares.

The condition of rural France has some resemblance to that of rural New England. The *Économiste Français* gives a digest of a number of recent documents relating to the condition of the agricultural laborer there. Wages of farm hands have quadrupled during the present century, and the greatest increase has been in the lowest form of labor. The man-of-all-work who was paid only 96 francs per year in addition to his board in 1834, now gets 400 francs, while the shepherd, "the aristocrat of the farm," who received then 360 francs and board, now gets only 600. His wages have not doubled, while those of the humbler workman have more than quadrupled. The increase of wages of farm hands is ascribed in part to the demand for labor in factories and on railroads, and in part to the military service, which takes young men from the farms at the period when their habits are forming, and gives them a taste of town life from which they are never wholly weaned. When their term of service expires, they begin to look for situations in the towns and to worry the public men to find places for them. These drafts upon the rural population, tending to lessen the number of farm laborers, raise the wages of those who remain. The result is smaller profits to the farmer and a sort of agricultural crisis. Still another fact in the matter of rural depopulation is noticed, namely, a diminution in the number of children. Several cantons are named in which there has been a marked decrease of population since 1868. In two of these the ascertained reason for a diminution of the number of births was "the desire of the parents to improve their own condition," and it is added that this effect has followed. Here we find real Malthusianism in practice.

In consequence of the scarcity of French rural labor, Italians come over the southern border and Belgians over the northern to work for stated periods and then go back to their homes. In Corsica the Italians come in squads of six to ten, each under a leader, whom they call the Corporal, who is generally the best workman, and whom they pay something extra for his services as Corporal. Their wages are usually 450 francs per year, out of which they pay their own expenses (board 160 francs, travelling 35 francs, Corporal's fees 15 francs), so that they are able to carry back at the end of the year's work 240 francs ($48), which is considered by them good pay. In the north of France, Belgian laborers flock over the border from the middle of July to the first of September in great numbers. They are described as sober, frugal, seldom seen in the wine-shops, and lodging on the farms where they work. In one small commune of 150 inhabitants in the Department of the Nord 10,000 francs in wages was paid to transient Belgian laborers in one harvest, because French laborers could not be obtained.

MR. PHELPS ON MR. BLAINE.

A VERY singular article is contributed to the April *Harper's* by Mr. E. J. Phelps, our late Minister to England, on "The Bering Sea Controversy." To appreciate its singularity fully, one must know that the Bering Sea controversy, *quâ* controversy, was closed in 1888 by the agreement between Secretary Bayard and Lord Salisbury, to which Russia was a party, making provision for a close time in Bering Sea, and for the hindrance of seal-killing in the interval. In making that agreement, of course, Lord Salisbury admitted the interest and value of seal life and the importance of preventing the extermination of the breed. When Mr. Phelps last had official cognizance of the matter, the execution of this agreement awaited, as appeared by the correspondence, two things, the consent and approval of Canada—the real party in interest on the British side—and the passage of an act of Parliament conferring on the Government the necessary powers. Our chargé in London, Mr. Phelps being absent, was so satisfied that all was settled that he kept going to the British Foreign Office asking, "Has Canada been heard from?" Canada had not been heard from when Mr. Phelps went out of office, and the reason was that the Canadians contested the facts of the American case touching the effect on the number of seals of seal-killing in the open sea, and insisted on the taking of further evidence. This caused very unfortunate delay. But the delay left only two questions for further discussion, namely, the right of Canada to interfere in the negotiations, and the accuracy of American figures. These were the points, and the only ones, left for Mr. Blaine, or Mr. Phelps, or any one else to consider when the Cleveland Administration went out of office. There was some excuse for Canadian doubt in the fact that both in 1887 and 1888 Mr. Tingle, the American agent, had reported the seals as rapidly increasing in spite of the poachers, and there was other testimony of a similar character forthcoming.

The delay was very regrettable. It is not necessary for our present purpose to say whether it was excusable or not. But Mr. Blaine, becoming impatient under it, took the law into his own hands by authorizing or permitting American cruisers to seize British ships in the open sea, and carry them into port as lawful prizes. This raised the new question, Have the United States jurisdiction of the sea known as Bering Sea, so as to make it a *mare clausum?* In answer to this, Mr. Blaine wrote to Sir Julian Pauncefote (January 22, 1890) "that it is not necessary to argue the question of the extent and nature of the sovereignty of this Government over the waters of Bering Sea; it is not necessary to explain, certainly not to define, the powers and privileges ceded by his Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Russia in the treaty by which the Alaskan territory was ceded to the United States." "The weighty considerations growing out of that transfer might," he said, "be safely left out of view," while he justified "the action complained of by her Majesty's Government." That meant, of course, that a complete justification was to be found elsewhere for the seizure of British ships on the high seas by American cruisers. What was it?

It was that the killing of seals in the open sea was a "pursuit that was in itself *contra bonos mores*" (January 22, 1890). Now, this argument startled lawyers and publicists all over the world. *Contra bonos mores* is a term of municipal, not of international law. Nations have between themselves no rule of right and wrong which is not the result of general formal agreement or acquiescence. No one has the power to set up moral standards of conduct for the others. No one was able to do this even with regard to the slave trade. When Mr. Blaine announced, therefore, that killing seals in the open sea was a violation of international obligation which might be resisted by force, diplomatists rubbed their eyes. Why seals more than whales? they said. Because seals are interesting and useful, answered Mr. Blaine. But the same thing is true of whales. A leading naturalist* has pronounced whales "in many respects the most interesting and wonderful of all creatures." But seals are warm-blooded mammals, says Mr. Blaine. So are whales. But seals may be easily exterminated, if killed too freely. So may whales. They supplied oil for the scholar's lamp for centuries, and would probably have disappeared wholly from all the accessible seas before now, but for the invention of illuminating-gas and the discovery of petroleum. But who ever thought of putting whales under the protection of international "boni mores"?

Now, here is a point at which we should have said Mr. Phelps's intervention in the controversy would be most useful. He is a lawyer and a lecturer on law, and has spent four years in the diplomatic service. He ought to have something illuminating to say on this very novel proposition of Mr. Blaine's. We accordingly turned to the article in *Harper's* with much curiosity. What he says is this: that the game laws of all civilized nations forbid the destruction of wild animals (not noxious) during the period of gestation, and particularly the laws of Great Britain; that seals are very interesting and valuable wild animals; that "the repression [of their slaughter when heavy with young] ought not to be the subject of a moment's debate between Christian nations"; and that besides this they are "a large and valuable property." Not one word has he offered, or apparently has to offer, on the question whether there is an international game law; whether there is a rule of international law, known as *boni mores;* and whether under such rule each nation has the right to capture and condemn as pirates foreign vessels engaged in sealfishing on the high seas. He intimates, or hints, that there ought to be such a rule, but he does not affirm that there is one; and he has previously admitted that the British Government, when the question was first raised, entirely concurred in the arguments brought forward on our side in favor of protection for the seals by mutual agreement between England and America (*H. M.*, p. 767.)

The most remarkable feature in the property argument is, however, Mr. Phelps's proposition that "this colony of seals, making their home on American soil, and unable to exist without a home on some soil, belong to the owners of the soil and are part of their property, and do not lose this quality by passing from one part of the territory to another in a regular and periodical migration necessary to their life, even though in making it they pass temporarily through water that is more than three miles from land" (*H. M.*, p. 769). It is difficult to decide whether this should be treated as law or natural history. In either view it is as novel as it is erroneous. It would, if good law, make it criminal to kill any migratory bird—wild ducks, wild geese, swallows, robins, or a host of others—away from their breeding-place, or salmon or shad away from their spawning-ground, and in fact would fill the world with somewhat absurd claims and more absurd quarrels. Moreover, neither Mr. Phelps nor any one else knows where the colony of seals go when they leave the Aleutian Islands. This is still a mystery.

Six months later (June 30, 1890) Mr. Blaine abandoned or dropped the *contra bonos mores* argument, and took his stand on the rights and privileges over Bering Sea transferred by the Russian Government to that of the United States when it sold Alaska. These rights, he said, included the right to prohibit the approach of foreign vessels within one hundred miles of the shores of Bering Sea. Mr. Blaine's contention is, that the issue of a ukase in 1821 containing this prohibition proves that the Czar had the right to issue it, and that when the United States and Great Britain protested against all claims on the part of Russia to exercise any jurisdiction over the high seas or any part of "the Southern Ocean," they did not mean Bering Sea, because in various contemporaneous maps the body of water now known as Bering Sea appears as such, and not as the "Pacific" or "Southern Ocean," and is spoken of as such by various contemporaneous writers. The futility, or one might say the childishness, of this was easily pointed out by Lord Salisbury, for if the distinction had any value, it would show that the Bay of Biscay was no part of the Atlantic Ocean, and the Gulf of Lyons no part of the Mediterranean. The leading geographer of Europe has recently testified that it was a chimera of Mr. Blaine's. Moreover, Russia is not on record as having ever attempted to put the ukase in force against any foreign vessels, so that there never was any occasion to contest her claim in detail or before any legal tribunal.

England denies Mr. Blaine's interpretation of her protest against Russian claims. That America ever admitted this particular one, Mr. Blaine extracts from a despatch of the elder Adams by a feat of forced implication. No special mention of the claim to jurisdic-

*Prof. Flower.

tion over Bering Sea has been made by any contemporary writer. Mr. Fish, writing in 1875 on the Canadian fishery question, showed he had never heard of it. No American Secretary since 1825 has ever even alluded to it.

But if the claim were well founded, its inevitable consequence in the forum of international law was to make Bering Sea a *mare clausum*. No sea has ever been forbidden to foreign vessels for one hundred miles from the shore except a sea acknowledged by all concerned to be a *mare clausum*. But, says Mr. Blaine—again (June 20, 1890)—"It did not, as so many claim, declare the Bering Sea to be a *mare clausum*. It did declare the waters, to the extent of 100 miles from the shores, were reserved for the subjects of the Russian Empire." Now, is it possible for any Power to do this? Is there such a thing known to the law of nations as a *mare semi-clausum*—that is, a sea which can be cut up into compartments outside the three-mile limit, and some reserved for the jurisdiction of municipal law, and others left to international law?

We looked to Mr. Phelps's article with much interest for an answer to this question, which the whole cast of Mr. Blaine's mind and the nature of his training make it impossible for him to give. One has only to count the adjectives in his despatches to see the unfitness of his mental constitution for the work of diplomacy. What does Mr. Phelps tell us? Simply that Mr. Blaine has "presented the argument on this point with great ability, fulness, and clearness, and there seems to be nothing left to be added in either particular"! This contribution to the discussion strikingly resembles those already made by our learned contemporary, the *Tribune*.

The really important portion of Mr. Phelps's article is the concluding part, where he reproves American writers for criticising or opposing Mr. Blaine's views in this controversy, where he ridicules arbitration as a mode of settling this and, indeed, it would seem, any international difference, and advises Mr. Blaine to use force in Bering Sea without further delay against what he considers depredations on American property. We presume the article was written before Lord Salisbury and Mr. Blaine had agreed on arbitration as the sensible, rational, and humane course. The lives of men slain in the smallest war between England and America being, *pace* Mr. Phelps, far more valuable than those of all the seals that ever migrated or gestated, it is hardly necessary to discuss this point further. But all Mr. Phelps's friends on both sides of the water will be sorry to see a man of his standing counselling violence as a desirable substitute, under any circumstances, for a possible resort to an impartial tribunal administering, under the rules of right reason, established international usage.

His dislike for arbitration clearly influences, if it does not shape, his view as to the function of the press during international controversies. It is natural that one who believes in war as a not undesirable mode of settling international quarrels, should look on all previous discussion as in some degree preparation for war, and expect the national press during a diplomatic discussion to occupy itself simply in inflaming popular passions in support of a bellicose issue. But the better portion of the press in all civilized countries has long refused to play this rôle. Mr. Phelps is mistaken in supposing the English press plays it. The best newspapers denounced Lord Salisbury's diplomacy in dealing with Russia in 1878 as warmly as it now supports it. Journalists who respect themselves, no longer cry ditto to every extravagance and monstrosity which ambitious politicians momentarily in power produce to tickle the ears of the groundlings.

The following declaration of Mr. Phelps, also touching the share of the public in these controversies, needs much limitation, qualification, and explanation:

> "A nation divided against itself can never achieve a diplomatic success. A Government that is not backed up by the unanimous sentiment of its people, but is opposed in its dealings with foreign nations by a large share of the best intelligence of its own country, if not in the ends it seeks, at least in all the means it takes to obtain them, will never be a formidable figure in diplomacy, especially when its force is found to expend itself in argument rather than in action."

The saying that all party differences should cease at the ocean's edge is only a half truth. Even when war has been declared by our Congress, it is debatable therein when the war should cease, and may be a proper party issue. Treaties are now open to popular discussion in countries where they are not binding till ratified by Parliament or Senate, or executed by Congress. When, in our own history, has a subject like the Bering Sea dispute been withdrawn from newspaper or Congressional debate? We wish no "formidable figure" in our diplomacy that cannot bear the keen sunlight of publicity and fair discussion. What are all the fur seals present and to come in Bering Sea worth to our country and its taxpayers? What are the taxpayers willing to expend or imperil for those fur seals? Those are questions for voters, for Congress, for the law to decide, and not solely for our agents, whether diplomatic or executive. What is going on in the British House of Commons today over the diplomacy of Lord Salisbury and Lord Knutsford over Newfoundland?

SUMMER BOARDING AND RURAL HEALTH.

THE possibilities of the summer-boarder industry are coming to be more fully realized by New Englanders every year. Considering his reputation for shrewdness, the Yankee has been unusually slow to recognize the importance of this crop, and it is still difficult to convince the people in the "back districts" that there are literally "millions in it" to any State which will cultivate it with care. A few far-seeing men are gradually getting their neighbors' eyes open, prominent among them being Mr. Oramandal Smith, Secretary of State in Maine, and Mr. N. J. Bachelder, Commissioner of Agriculture and Immigration in New Hampshire. A few years ago Mr. Smith brought together a mass of valuable matter, showing the great importance which this industry had already attained in the Pine-Tree State, and urging the people to redouble their efforts to attract the tide of summer travel in that direction. Mr. Bachelder has recently sent out from his office a very creditable pamphlet, which contains many really excellent views of the lakes with which New Hampshire abounds, and gives a long list of places where summer boarders are taken, with names and rates, arranged alphabetically by towns.

The railroad companies, which have hardly shown their usual enterprise in this matter, are also waking up, and two or three of the chief lines leading to the lakes and the mountains of northern New England—like the Boston and Maine and the Central Vermont—are spending considerable sums this year in collecting and publishing the detailed information needed by the general public, while they also announce lower rates of fare than heretofore. These efforts are now especially directed towards "opening up" Vermont, which has never had a tithe of the summer visitors to which its remarkable charms of natural beauty entitle it. But the Green Mountain folk have themselves chiefly to blame for this, for they have done little to advertise the attractions of their State. Even now that the transportation companies offer their aid, the farmers are slow to respond. "The Boston and Maine Railroad," says the St. Johnsbury *Caledonian*, "has twice sent an agent over the Passumpsic and Lake roads to obtain full lists of hotels and boarding-houses, with number of rooms, rates per day and week, etc. Yet we are informed that the responses to these inquiries have not given as complete information as could be desired."

The financial gain to the farmer from the advent of the summer boarder is obvious to everybody. But there are other advantages to the rural community that follow in his train which are not so apt to be thought of. One is the marked improvement in the sanitary condition of a State which is sure to be brought about if a large number of its villages are visited by outsiders during the summer. This phase of the subject is discussed in an interesting manner by the New Hampshire State Board of Health in its recent annual report.

This Board has now been in existence nine years, and the report opens with an expression of justifiable pride in the progress which has been made during this period. It says that there is probably not a town in the State but is in a better sanitary condition than it was five years ago, and that in many rural towns the continuance of undesirable conditions is owing to the lack of funds rather than to a total ignorance of their bearing upon life and health. "Towns that for generations gave no thought to hygiene have been aroused from their inactivity to intelligent and systematic action, and the results are to be witnessed on every hand. Typhoid fever has almost vanished from some towns that formerly had an annual outbreak of the

disease. Scarlet fever has been greatly lessened by isolation and disinfection, and diphtheria by the same means is rendered less fearful to any community that will avail itself of these safeguards. No progressive town to-day thinks of neglecting sanitary matters, or of ignoring an outbreak of infectious or contagious diseases, as was formerly the practice."

While due credit for the improvement is given to the many efficient and active local boards of health, and to the better information of the average citizen in regard to the sanitary necessities of his town and the importance of sanitation to private and public interests, it is pointed out that "private interests are the greater stimulus to sanitary action, as evidenced by the work accomplished in manufacturing communities and in towns frequented by summer boarders." The report says that tens of thousands of summer visitors come into the State annually in search of recreation and health, and that "a majority of these visitors are of the most intelligent classes, and are, as they should be, ever watchful for agreeable and healthful surroundings. They demand that the conditions shall be such that the danger of incurring disease therefrom shall be reduced to the minimum."

The Board maintains that "it is the duty of the State to protect, as far as it is able, the health of the thousands who visit this 'Switzerland of America' each year." After speaking of the incalculable benefit to the State of the money which they leave, the report takes this broad view of the various ways in which the commonwealth profits: "The summer traveller has made valuable many a valley and hillside that without his patronage would not be worth the taxes now paid upon the property; supports schools and churches; builds better highways; beautifies and vivifies many a town that but for him would be moss-grown and silent; constructs and maintains railroad lines; exerts a moral and educational influence; contributes to the culture and intelligence of many localities; increases property valuation; and in innumerable other ways adds to the welfare and prosperity of the State."

In return the State incurs certain obligations to the summer visitor, first among which is his protection against diseases arising from sanitary neglect or oversight. It is encouraging to learn that the Board finds the proprietors of hotels and boarding-houses, as a rule, alive to the importance of good sanitation and the pecuniary benefit accruing therefrom. "It is not a difficult matter to secure the needed improvement," says the report, "when it is known that a single case of diphtheria, typhoid fever, or other zymotic disease means an immediate loss of business; and as a rule the summer-resort property-owners pay close attention to the sanitary needs of their respective places."

Every careful observer knows that there is a large measure of fallacy in the traditional belief about the necessary healthfulness of country life. It should be healthy, and it is under proper conditions; but in many a community zymotic diseases prevail year after year simply because of the ignorance or carelessness of the people regarding fundamental rules of hygiene. Perhaps the most beneficent work of the summer boarder is to convince the farming population that a large proportion of the disease among them is unnecessary, and that it must be abolished or visitors will not come.

REFORM IN PRUSSIAN TAXATION.

On the 20th of November last, the new Prussian Finance Minister, Dr. Miquel, explained to the House of Deputies the reform of taxation which, in the name of the Government, he had proposed. Its aim is so to change the direct or personal taxes that their weight upon each taxpayer may be more nearly than heretofore in proportion to his ability to bear it. Questions of increased revenue do not come into consideration. The Minister emphasized that fact, and with reason. The recent denial that Dr. Miquel is about to take Caprivi's place as Chancellor of the Empire does not deny that the Doctor aspires to the Chancellorship; and since he is a "parliamentary" statesman, whose skill lies rather in coming to terms with opposition than in conquering it, each favorable vote is one more stepping-stone to the office whose recent not-parliamentary occupant commonly forced majorities to come to terms with him. To Dr. Miquel, therefore, a proposition to reform taxation and a proposition to increase revenue are, just at present, two quite separate things. Nevertheless, while the existing Prussian tax system can doubtless be improved without increasing its productiveness, any genuine tax reform must recognize, among other things, the necessity of increasing the public revenue.

The division of taxes among the different taxing powers in Germany is quite similar to that which has taken place in the United States. Import duties are as completely forbidden to Prussia as to Pennsylvania, and the Empire has laid hands on the most important objects of indirect internal taxation—on salt, sugar, tobacco, liquor, and beer. The principal sources of Prussia's revenue are, therefore, domains, forests and mines, fees of the courts, bridge, road, and harbor tolls; earnings of the State railways; taxes on real estate, on trades and industries, on incomes, and on inheritances. The pending reform concerns only the last three taxes, and in judging it one must therefore bear in mind that the proposed taxes constitute only part of the tax system. If they seem to fall heaviest upon the rich, it must be remembered that duties on bread and clothing, and taxes on salt, sugar, and beer, fall heaviest upon the poor.

The existing tax on trades and industries (*Gewerbesteuer*) is based substantially on the law of May 30, 1820. Taxable are trade and manufacturing, inn-keeping, handicraft in case the master-workman employs several assistants. An industry situated in a large town is taxed more heavily than one situated in a small town, on the antiquated assumption that only a large place can support a large industry; and the matter is further complicated by the division of industries in large places, and also of industries in small places, into three grades with different tax-rates according to the extent of the industry. The inequality of a tax assessed on modern industries according to hard-and-fast rules that were made before the invention of railways, may be imagined. Large industries pay, as a rule, less than 1 per cent. of their profits, while on the contrary the handicrafts frequently pay more than 2 per cent. The proposed reform exempts from the tax all industries—about one-third of the whole number—which neither employ 3,000 marks capital nor have profits of 1,500 marks yearly, but subjects inn-keeping, a large portion of which would go free under the exemption, to a new special tax. The larger industries are divided into four classes, the highest class having at least a capital of one million marks or a yearly profit of 50,000 marks. For this class the tax is 1 per cent. of the profits. The three lower classes are taxed at slightly less rates, and the tax is assessed partly on the profits and partly on the capital.

Under the present system of income taxation, all natural persons enjoying incomes of 900 marks or more are taxed. Historically and formally the tax is divided into two parts, a class-tax (*Klassensteuer*) on incomes between 900 and 3,000 marks, and an income tax proper on incomes above 3,000 marks. Practically the two parts form one tax. The new, unified tax will be levied on legal as well as on natural persons, and, like the existing tax, on no income less than 900 marks. Like the existing tax, again, the new is to be a digressive income tax, *i. e.*, all incomes larger than a fixed amount (to be 10,000 marks) are to be taxed at a uniform rate (3 per cent.), while smaller incomes are taxed at a continually diminishing rate, falling, in case of an income of 900 marks, to 0.62 per cent.

Incomes will be divided, as at present, into grades, but the new graduation will be much closer. For instance, there are now fourteen grades of income between 3,000 and 20,000 marks, and there will be twenty-six grades. Incomes will not be taxed upon exact figures, but only as belonging to some one grade; and the tax will be computed upon the middle, and not, as heretofore, upon the lowest figure of the grade. Thus, all incomes falling in Grade twenty-six (9,500 to 10,500 marks) are taxed 3 per cent. on 10,000 marks.

In addition to this attempt to render the tax more equal by making the income grades smaller, the reform proposes, as a much more effective measure of justice, an extended application of the principle, already recognized in Prussian tax legislation, that the condition of the taxpayer shall be considered in assessing his income. The most important of the provisions looking to this end allows, in the case of incomes less than 3,000 marks, a deduction of 50 marks from the assessment on account of each child under fourteen years of age. Other considerations which may operate to reduce assessment are an obligation (actually fulfilled) to support relatives who

have no property and contribute nothing to the taxpayer's income; prolonged sickness; accident. These considerations may effect, in case of an income below 3,000 marks, at most a reduction of three grades; from an income between 3,000 and 6,000 marks, at most of two grades. From incomes above 6,000 marks no reduction is made. The greatest reduction of tax, therefore, that can take place from any combination of these three causes is from 54 to 36 marks for an income of full 3,000 marks, and from 165 to 135 marks for an income of full 6,000 marks.

The proposition to extend the income tax to legal persons, *i. e.*, to stock companies, whose shareholders already pay an income tax on the dividends, has met just opposition as double taxation. This objection the Minister seeks to meet, first, by freeing from the tax 3 per cent. of each company's earnings; and, second, by the rather droll assertion that because the cities are permitted to tax such income twice, the State might as well tax it twice also.

The first change to be made in the existing law regarding assessments is, that each person enjoying an income of 3,000 marks or over is expected to declare the amount upon which he is taxable. Assessment by declaration has not lacked critics. Mill considered it "unequal in one of the worst ways," the tax "falling heaviest on the most conscientious." This objection is manifestly conditioned by the state of public morals among the taxpayers. Minister Miquel believes that, in respect of tax-dodging at least, the Prussians are conscientious. In introducing the declaration clause he said: "I have full faith that the Prussian citizen, when required on his honor to tell the truth to the State, as a rule will tell the truth." Nevertheless, Dr. Miquel does not propose to walk by faith alone. While he believes that a personal appeal to individual citizens will, in many instances, stimulate the dormant sense of civic duty, he provides also a more tangible stimulus. The declaration will not be obligatory, but the taxpayer who neglects to make it loses the right of complaint in case he is over-assessed. Any taxpayer who "consciously makes an incorrect or incomplete return which may lead to the diminution of his tax, or in any way conceals taxable income," is finable from four to ten times the whole amount of which he has defrauded or attempted to defraud the State, but in no case less than 100 marks.

But of course local assessors who are not independent enough to assess as well as they know how at present cannot be expected to follow a new and stricter system. The second change to be made in the present law regarding assessment provides, therefore, that while a majority of each new board of assessment shall be elected, as heretofore, from the district, a minority shall be permanent trained assessors appointed from Berlin. Exactly where these trained assessors are to come from is not very clear. Probably they must get their official training in office; but that is exactly what the elected assessors are obliged to do, and as the appointed assessors will be independent of local influence, and will make assessment their business, they bid fair to become the more efficient part of the Board. Nevertheless, it is doubtful whether they will be able to accomplish all that is expected of them. Dr. Miquel's proposition, in so far as it deals with declarations and appointed assessors, is closely modelled on a law adopted in Saxony in 1878. In the opinion of the Saxon assessors, assessment is much more equal than under the old law. It is difficult to reconcile their opinion with the facts. The following table shows, in millions of marks, the amount of income from the principal sources as assessed in Saxony in 1883 and in 1878:

	Land.	Interest and Rent.	Trade and Industry	Salaries and Wages.
1883.....	233	135	378	450
1878.....	214	109	357	334
Increase.....	19	26	21	116

Income from salaries and wages is notoriously easy to assess, and consequently suffers injustice under any system of assessment. A reform, therefore, which increases such income 37 per cent., whereas income from interest and rent is increased 24 per cent. and income from trade and industry, in one of the chief manufacturing sections of Germany, but 6 per cent., does not deserve untempered admiration. The proposed means for checking incorrect and fraudulent income returns in Prussia are apparently in no way superior to those provided by the Saxon law, and, save upon the assumption that Prussians are more honest than Saxons, there is no reason to expect a closer approximation to justice.

The third of the taxes which Minister Miquel seeks to reform is that on inheritances. Prussia has already a tax on bequests to distant relatives and unrelated persons, but, as in most other States of Germany, bequests to near relatives are free. The reform proposition provides that legacies of more than 1,000 marks (excluding from the estimate clothing, house furniture, etc.) shall be taxed 1 per cent. in case the legatee is husband or wife, and one-half per cent. in case the legatee is a lineal descendant of the testator. This tax has two purposes in view—first, to furnish a means of checking income assessments, and, second, to tax funded income higher than personal or professional income. It is, perhaps, the most clearly justifiable part of the whole reform proposition. Curiously enough, it has roused more opposition than any other part, and its failure in the House of Deputies seems assured.

A question naturally and frequently asked is: What will be the financial result of the new system? According to the estimate, the income from the *Gewerbesteuer* will not be altered; the tax on inheritances, if adopted, will bring in three and a-half or four million marks more than the present tax; and the income tax, improved assessment being left out of account, will lose more by the new exemptions than it will gain by the multiplication of the income grades and the inclusion of the stock companies. Whether this resulting deficiency, estimated at less than two million marks, will be covered, or more than covered, by the sharper assessment, Dr. Miquel declines even to guess. Similar assessment devices raised the revenue from the income tax in Saxony 20 per cent. in five years. A like increase in Prussia, where the income tax in 1889 90 yielded sixty-six million marks, would justify an estimate of at least sixteen or seventeen millions larger revenue as the net result of the changes in all taxes.

But the proposed reform does not deal at all with the most troublesome part of the Prussian tax question, viz., local taxation. At present, local expenditures are met by a surtax, or addition to the State tax; but for several years there has been talk of handing over the trades and industries, or, as in Pennsylvania, the real estate, for local taxation. Minister Miquel talks with admirable indefiniteness about his intentions—sometimes he calls them simply hopes—of doing something of the sort as a result of the pending reform, or of measures based upon it. There the ambitious parliamentarian once more gets the better of the financier.

GENERAL JOHNSTON.

THE death of Gen. Joseph E. Johnston (which occurred at Washington on Saturday evening), so soon after that of Gen. Sherman, at whose funeral he was one of the pall-bearers, will seem to the country a coincidence giving a dramatic completeness to the history of these great men who were antagonists in the critical campaigns of Atlanta and of North Carolina, in which the fate of the rebellion was sealed. They had also been personally pitted against each other in the subordinate campaign of central Mississippi after the fall of Vicksburg. Thus it happened that from July, 1863, till Johnston's surrender near Raleigh at the close of April, 1865, and from the Mississippi River eastward to the ocean and thence northward nearly to Virginia, the fortunes of the nation were staked upon the military leadership of these two men—the one, with tireless aggression, leading the Union armies ever deeper into the heart of the Confederacy; and the other, with sleepless wariness and signal ability, exhausting the resources of the military art to neutralize the superiority of force on the national side, and to postpone to the latest hour the downfall of the cause to which he had devoted himself. This great duel will always be the part of his career first thought of and most vividly recalled when Johnston is named, but he had been prepared for this work by a long military career reaching back to a time which few living persons have seen.

Joseph Eccleston Johnston was a native of Prince Edward County, Virginia, born in February, 1807. He was graduated from West Point and entered the United States Army in 1829. With the exception of a single year (1837-'38) when he tried his fortunes as a civil engineer, he was constantly in the military service of the Government till he followed his seceding State in April, 1861. He was a captain of topographical engineers on the staff of Gen. Scott at the beginning of the Mexican war, in which he was twice wounded and was brevetted major, lieutenant-colonel, and colonel for gallant conduct and meritorious service, entering the City of Mexico as commandant of the Voltigeur

regiment which he had brilliantly led in the latter part of the campaign, and in which he was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel. His regiment was disbanded on the reduction of the army after the war, and he returned to duty in the corps of topographical engineers. He served as Inspector-General with the Utah expedition of 1858, and in June, 18 0, he was made Quartermaster-General of the Army with the rank of brigadier-general.

On the secession of Virginia, he resigned his commission and went to Richmond, when he was immediately made Major-General of Virginia troops by Gov. Letcher. He tells us in his narrative that "no other officer of the United States Army of equal rank, that of brigadier-general, relinquished his position in it to join the Southern Confederacy." This was literally true, though Lee was his equal in age, both being fifty-four, and nearly his equal in rank. They had served together in Mexico and had been side by side in much of their military duty. They resigned together, and together were appointed to equal rank in the Virginia army. They entered the service of the new Confederacy together as Brigadiers, and were together made generals when that grade was created by the Confederate Congress. A day or two may have separated them in one or another of these steps, but for all practical purposes they were simultaneous.

Johnston's first command in the civil war was at Harper's Ferry, where he organized the forces that were assembled to cover the Shenandoah Valley on both north and west. When the advance of the national army under McDowell against Beauregard became imminent, Johnston transferred his command to Manassas, and in the battle which followed he was in command as the ranking officer on the field, though he gave such full scope and recognition to the energies of Gen. Beauregard as to prove that the position of second in command could be made a most brilliant one instead of the dubious and undesirable thing it is commonly reckoned.

The results of his successful engagement, while putting him officially in the lead of all the Confederate officers, planted the seeds of subsequent griefs and disappointments; for controversies arose as to the personal relations of Mr. Davis, as Confederate President, to the campaign, in which the President's susceptibilities were wounded. A personal antipathy was excited between him and Gens. Johnston, Beauregard, and G. W. Smith, which was never healed, and which affected permanently the fortunes of these officers. The law passed by the Confederate Congress in May, 1861, provided that as between officers of the same grade in the Confederate Army who had gone from the United States service, seniority should be determined by their former rank. Under this rule Gen. Johnston was senior of the five generals created, the others being Cooper, A. S. Johnston, Lee, and Beauregard. But when in August Mr. Davis sent in his nominations to the Senate, he fixed arbitrary dates at which the commissions should take effect, so that Joseph Johnston was reduced from first to fourth place. Against this the latter protested, but it was held that the confirmation by the Senate gave to the change the effect of law. The antagonism thus created was permanent, and rendered cordial coöperation between Davis and Johnston almost impossible, though both were undoubtedly devoted to the cause in which they were embarked.

Johnston remained in command of the Confederate Army before Washington during the year, and when, in the spring of 1862, McClellan transferred the Army of the Potomac to Fort Monroe, Johnston confronted him on the Peninsula, and from Yorktown to the Chickahominy illustrated the stubborn and skilful defensive strategy for which he afterwards became still more famous. At Seven Pines, on the 31st of May, he thought the looked-for opportunity to assume the offensive had come, and combined an attack by several columns upon a fraction of McClellan's army which had crossed the Chickahominy, then bankfull from a freshet and endangering McClellan's bridges. The bloody engagement of the day was indecisive, and near its close Johnston was wounded by a musket-ball and soon after unhorsed by a fragment of a shell which severely injured him. He was borne from the field when, as he tells us, he was about to give orders for his army to rest upon their arms and to renew the fight in the morning.

He was disabled for several months, and Lee succeeded to the command in which his great reputation was made. In the latter part of November Johnston, having recovered from his wounds, was assigned to command a military division in the west, including the departments of Bragg, Pemberton, and E. K. Smith. President Davis visited the west soon after, and endeavored by personal inspection to determine the lines of operation and the general policy which should control the four Confederate armies at that time in the Mississippi Valley. The antipathy of the men was such that no harmony was possible. Mr. Davis gave directions to such an extent as to make Gen. Johnston feel that his command was a merely nominal one, and rejected the plans which the General submitted. Johnston's health was also wretched, so that he looked back to that period with great disgust. The battle of Stone's River and the retreat to the Tennessee were conducted by Bragg as his subordinate in one department. The campaign and siege of Vicksburg, with the consequent stunning blow to the Confederate fortunes, were conducted by Pemberton in like relations to him. Pemberton overestimated the importance of preserving Vicksburg, and allowed himself to be shut up in that city when Johnston's orders were to break away while it was possible, and concentrate at Jackson, where Johnston himself was with a small army. The latter asserted that if his physical strength had been equal to it he would have joined Pemberton with an escort of cavalry, riding around the army of Grant. He would thus have assumed the immediate control of that campaign.

The winter of 1863-64 had destroyed the prestige of Gen. Bragg, and Johnston was ordered to supersede him in command of the Army of Tennessee. In this, as in later assignments to duty, the force of public opinion in the Confederacy constrained Mr. Davis, who acted unwillingly. Bragg, who retained Davis's friendship and confidence, became chief of staff to the Confederate President, and Johnston felt (rightly or wrongly) that the support given him was coldly perfunctory, and that his campaign would be watched at headquarters with unfriendly eyes. Mr. Davis strongly urged a dashing, aggressive policy. Johnston thought his force insufficient to adopt it with much chance of success. Persistence in his opinion was a marked trait of each of them; Johnston adhered to the policy of watchful defensive war, which he believed in by sincere conviction if he adopted it by natural temperament.

His campaign against Sherman is admitted to be a model of its kind. He was forced back mile by mile through half the length of Georgia, but each step in retreat was taken in perfect order, with no sacrifice of material, and with as little loss in men as was possible considering the incessant fighting which for three months had hardly a single day's intermission. There were no pitched battles in open field, for both Sherman and Johnston had developed the idea, now generally accepted by military men, that the increase of range and precision in modern firearms has necessitated a warfare of entrenched lines of field-works. The slow but steady retreat from Dalton to Atlanta gave to Mr. Davis the opportunity to insist upon his fixed idea of the dashing aggressive, and Johnston was removed. The practical destruction of the Confederate army under Hood is more conclusive than any theoretic argument as to the merit of the two systems in such circumstances, for Hood showed no mean ability in his campaign.

When Sherman had marched to the sea, and again, moving northward, was about to enter North Carolina, an overwhelming public sentiment demanded the reinstatement of Johnston. Mr. Davis was unable to sacrifice his personal pride and his rooted prejudice with a good grace, and the Confederate Congress in substance deposed him from the command-in-chief by giving this to Gen. Lee. Lee immediately assigned Johnston to the task of opposing the resistless march of Sherman. Though it was too late for great success, Johnston showed that he knew how to depart from his Fabian policy when occasion offered or necessity demanded. Directing Gen. Hardee with part of the forces hurriedly collected to delay the march of Sherman's column from the South, he sent Gen. Bragg with another portion to strike the forces which Schofield was leading from Newberne. This was to gain time to concentrate reinforcements at an intermediate point, and to precipitate his army by interior lines first upon Sherman and then upon Schofield. Neither Hardee's affair at Averasboro' nor Bragg's at Kinston was more than a check to the national armies, which continued their movements of concentration; but the strategy was none the less sound, and the execution was vigorous. It was met by a tenacity and readiness which prevented its success.

Quickly drawing together his detachments, he met Sherman again at Bentonville; but though he held his lines during a hard-fought day, he had to retreat by night when Sherman's columns were united and the superior force could be skilfully made to tell. Sherman met Schofield at Goldsboro' in exact accordance with his own plan, and Johnston's brilliant activity had accomplished little in material results. It had demonstrated, however, that no one could surpass him in a vigorous initiative when he chose to use it, and gave a conclusive answer to critics who insisted that his only rôle in war was the strict defence.

Still undaunted, he led his army to the west of Raleigh so that Sherman should not march into Virginia without offering his flank to attack. But the end had come. Lee surrendered, and though Mr. Davis, with characteristic stubbornness, thought that a new retreat by Johnston across the Carolinas and the Gulf States was feasible, and hoped that even in Texas a stand might be made, Johnston had the moral courage to insist that the war was over, and that mere brigandage or guerilla fighting without possible advantage would be the only consequence of what Davis proposed. A still more fearful scourge of the Southern States might have followed, but no result that

a statesman or a general could find satisfaction in.

Left to himself, Johnston negotiated an honorable surrender, and secured for his disbanded army not only personal safety, but the means of reaching their homes to resume peaceful industry. Like Lee, he put the war utterly behind him and used his great influence with the Southern people to renew the national allegiance in good faith, and to cultivate a new patriotism that should embrace the whole country. To that purpose he was true for a quarter of a century, and lived to have abundant proof that in the breasts of the most ardently loyal men of 1865 no sentiment towards him but respect and personal kindliness had survived.

As to his greatness as a military commander, the universal verdict declares that on the Confederate side only Lee could contest his preeminence. It would be, even now, a premature effort to seek to measure their relative capacity. The circumstances in which they acted were not the same, the national armies and generals against whom they were arrayed were unlike, the support they received from their own Government and the freedom of judgment and action given them were often in strong contrast. Each supported with consummate ability and with unfaltering constancy a cause which was at war with the progress of human liberty and true republicanism, and which was therefore predestined to defeat. Each met his reverses with a quiet dignity which made it easy for old antagonists to become their friends and admirers. Each so honestly helped to rebuild the new nationality on freedom and brotherhood that the whole nation has joined in rehabilitating them, and we bury them as honored fellow-citizens.

THE GEOGRAPHICAL EXHIBITION OF THE BROOKLYN INSTITUTE.

THE exhibition of geographical appliances brought together by the Department of Geography of the Brooklyn Institute, now open in the Arcade Building, Fulton Street, is decidedly the most successful of its kind ever held in this country; and it may be favorably compared with similar exhibitions in Europe. Its large series of maps, models, globes, atlases, and diagrams is most suggestive of the continually growing attention given to this fundamental department of our schooling. We are glad to learn that the exhibition has been well patronized, having had, as is estimated, an average attendance of a thousand persons a day since it opened at the beginning of the month, with overcrowding on Saturdays. It closes this week in Brooklyn, but we trust that the plan of the Institute to open it again in other cities, New York included, may be successfully carried out.

We are sure that the school board of any large city would find a very profitable occupation in coöperating with the Institute in this respect. The exhibition excites much interest among school-children by showing them new illustrations of subjects more or less familiar; it has the excellent effect of inspiring teachers to renewed efforts towards improving their materials and methods; it shows our publishers a grand series of European works, behind which ours fall so far; it offers to school superintendents the best possible opportunity of choosing new materials with which to replace what is old-fashioned or worn out; and, perhaps more important than anything yet mentioned, it presents to intending geographical writers a very good summary of what has been already accomplished. For all these reasons, the Geographic Department of the Institute will be well rewarded for its heavy labor and not slight expense.

The catalogue of the exhibition is divided into nine departments—maps, globes and telluriums, reliefs, models and apparatus, pictures, atlases, text-books, reference books, and miscellanies. These departments are again divided; for example, the first embraces maps of the World, America, Europe, Asia, Africa, and Australasia, and various detailed topographic surveys of small areas. The classification is in a few cases at fault; thus, the specimen sheets from the official Austrian Geographical Institute, No. 236 A, should have been placed under detailed topographic maps, rather than under maps in sheets; but we are inclined to believe that this slight confusion results from the great size to which the exhibition has grown and the moderate number of workers, all volunteers, on whom the labor of arrangement has fallen. With more time, the classification might have been carried further to advantage, so that, for instance, all political maps of Europe might have been separated from the physical maps; the geological maps of Bavaria, again, should have been placed with the special topographical maps under a joint heading. But as a whole there is little to criticise, and we make these few comments rather as suggestions for revision in case of exhibition in other cities than as reflections on the patient work of the Committee. It might be well to consider whether, in case of repeated exhibition, it would not be better to place all the publications of a single house together, as far as possible; purchasers could then judge much better of the effect produced than now, when the several maps of a series are scattered in different parts of the room. A set of maps as published seems to us a natural unit for exhibition. At the same time, the catalogue might remain divided according to subjects and countries, the numbers then remaining as cross references.

The exhibition is so large that it is impossible to mention more than a few of the most interesting of its parts. Of these, we may take first the wall maps of physical geography. Kiepert's series (Berlin: Reimer) is the most attractive from the well-chosen tints of brown and blue by which the relief of the land is indicated. These maps are clear and emphatic for class use; but, in their entire omission of names, they are sometimes embarrassing. In leaving the lowlands and all of the oceans but the shore-strip uncolored, this series is perhaps less satisfactory than others by Bamberg (Berlin: Chun), or than the Habenicht-Sydow series (Gotha: Perthes); but the last of these are too coarse except for the largest classes. One of the finest Mercator charts of the world in the collection is by Broichmann (Metz: Lang), a very artistic work. The world in hemispheres is best shown by Kiepert and Bamberg. It is noticeable that ocean currents are the most variable features on these physical maps, and that in nearly all they are too emphatic, too sharply defined.

Certain physical maps of single regions deserve special mention. Two of Great Britain and Ireland, published by Stanford of London, illustrate what we need for our own country; and now that a comparatively accurate contour map of the United States has been constructed under the direction of Mr. Henry Gannett of the Geological Survey, we hope our publishers may take advantage of it, and give us something comparable to what can be found for the European countries. One of the Stanford maps is called the Orographic, indicating successive altitudes by a series of green and brown tints; the other is the Stereographic, in imitation of a model, with the light coming from the northwest. The emphasis thus given to the relief is really rather too great; it reminds us of the exaggeration of models as commonly constructed. There are two maps of the Alpine region of central-southern Europe that call for high praise. One is by Von Haardt (Vienna, Hölzel), and is to be strongly commended for class use. The other is by Randegger (Zurich: Wurster), and embraces a somewhat larger area; it is of rather finer work and bears closer study, but both are excellent. There is also a hypsometrical map of France in ten tints on land and four on water by Hachette of Paris; and it should be added that this well-known firm has been most enterprising and generous in providing examples of its publications, in the form of maps, books, and atlases.

The detailed topographical maps are mostly of our own country. They are not for school service, but afford the very best basis for the advanced study of physical geography, in company with geological maps; they are also of the greatest value to publishers in the preparation of atlases and school maps of small scale. Our coast and geological surveys have done well in providing many examples of their work, which is but too little known by the people. It is to be regretted that the tinted relief-map of New Jersey is not exhibited apart from the series to which it belongs, in order to bring its existence more generally before the visitors. Various sheets of some of the older Government surveys are not exhibited for want of room; if the general chart of the Mississippi lowland by the Mississippi River Commission is among these, it should be brought to view, both for its excellence and its interest. Some of the special sheets of the same Commission ought to be placed beside the fine engravings of the Coast Survey. Of the countless political maps and charts we need only say that their bold colors are generally too bold, even for the needs of children.

Passing over the globes, which exhibit less variety and novelty than the other divisions, we come to the models. These are of varied excellence and badness. The best are by Locchi (Turin: Paravia), showing the regions about Rome and Naples in true vertical scale. The largest relief in the collection is sent by the same enterprising publisher; it is of Italy, by Cherubini, measuring nearly six by seven feet. Its vertical exaggeration is five-fold, and for this reason we wish that Paravia had sent the Pomba relief of Italy instead, because it is without vertical exaggeration, and especially because it is represented on a curved surface, thus giving not only true local relief, but also the true convexity of the earth, by which many interesting lessons can be taught. In this respect it is infinitely better than the vicious exaggerations of relief globes. We miss with regret the artistic models by Heim (Zurich: Wurster). Most of the other models are on too small a scale or of too rough workmanship to be considered seriously; those of this country are generally needlessly exaggerated. The mountain ranges on Frye's continents are so simplified as to be misleading even for elementary teaching. A certain audacious relief model "showing all the forms of land and water," by Hindshaw (London: Philip), is simply abominable in its absurdity. None of the continental models are as finely prepared as those made by the Mendeliefs for Butler's geographies, and these are unfortunately not on exhibition. King's useful models of Wisconsin are also wanting.

For want of space we can do no more than name a few of the pictures, books, and atlases. *Facile princeps* among the pictures are the "Geographische Characterbilder," published by Hölzel of Vienna. It is simply a matter of expense whether our high schools can get these works of art; there is nothing else nearly as good. They are all in colors, carefully prepared from the best originals that could be procured, and some are truly elegant in accuracy of expression and artistic finish. Our Shoshone waterfall, the hot springs of New Zealand, the glaciers of Switzerland, the plains of Hungary, Table Mountain behind Cape Town, and Kintchinjunga in the Himalaya, deserve particular mention. Several other series of illustrations are also exhibited, but none can approach these of Hölzel's. Of atlases, there are twelve or more of the best quality; one should examine them with care if he intends purchasing for a library, but the Institute has been over-generous in allowing these valuable books to be handled indiscriminately by all comers. In the subsequent exhibitions, the books should be railed off, and be accessible only to responsible persons who give their names and addresses. Text-books, readers, guides, and methods are in large number, forming a most satisfactory collection for examination by teachers.

It may be of service to mention that the officers on the Committee on the Exhibition are Mr. Cyrus C. Adams, Chairman, and Mr. W. S. T. B. Imlay, Secretary. Either of these gentlemen may be addressed, in care of the Brooklyn Institute, regarding the further exhibition of their collection.

LONDON ARCHIVES OF AMERICAN HISTORY.

LONDON, January 15, 1891.

THE student of American history who seeks in London for the sources of early Anglo-American annals is not content with the incomparable collection of books and manuscripts in the British Museum and in the Public Record Office, or in other repositories which the Historical Manuscripts Commission have made known, but he must seek to complement these with several other collections, hardly ever resorted to but by the eager student, and with little return sometimes then. These are the library of the Archiepiscopal Palace at Lambeth, the library of the Bishop of London at Fulham, that of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts in Delahay Street, and that of the old society now known as the New England Company.

It may interest your readers to know something of the distinctive qualities of each of these minor repositories. While the collection at Lambeth dates back to 1610, when it was first started by Archbishop Bancroft, its collection of about 30,000 volumes is not of peculiar interest to the American inquirer. There are some early books of the seventeenth century, relating to New England and Virginia, but none of them are such as the well-equipped American scholar is not familiar with. I took pains to look at some of them, including a large-paper copy of Capt. Smith's 'Virginia' and Lechford's 'Plain Dealing,' in the hopes that I might find some contemporary MS. notes in them, but I was disappointed. There was a loose copy, in very excellent condition, of Smith's 'Map of New England' (1616) in an early condition of the plate; but there was nothing written on it, except some ciphering, very likely to sum up some merchant's ventures in sending trinkets to the New England coast.

The manuscripts at Lambeth are of more importance, but pretty much everything, I think, has been gleaned from them by students of the early history of the American Church, like Dr. Hawkes and Bishop Perry. The chief consecutive interest of the papers consists in the correspondence of the Archbishop of Canterbury and of the Bishop of Oxford, in the eighteenth century, with leading Episcopalians in the Colonies, either in relation to the interests of the Church there, or to the establishing of colleges in the same interests in New York and Philadelphia. So we find numerous letters from the Rev. Samuel Johnson, who became the President of King's College, now Columbia College, in New York, and whose honorable career has been so well told in a recent life by Dr. Baird, who, no doubt, was able to avail himself of all the material here. I saw one letter from Sir Harry Frankland, of Agnes Surriage memory, who described the condition of feeling in Boston in those days when the revolutionary spirit was yet in embryo; and numerous letters from such men as Timothy Cutler, who, having distressed Yale College on the question of Episcopal influence, came to Boston, and was not any better liked by the adherents of Harvard College when he tried to secure a hand in its management. There were also letters of Caner, the rector of King's Chapel in Boston. Some of these men sent extracts from letters of their opponents, and in that way we read something from the pens of Cotton Mather and Thomas Prince. An interesting letter from Jonathan Edwards, describing his methods of dealing with Indian neophytes at Stockbridge, would have interested his latest and best biographer, Prof. Allen, if, indeed, it had not already been brought to his attention. A letter from a Philadelphia Quaker, Anthony Benezet, in 1762, is of interest as an earnest protest against the slave trade. The severance of the Colonies from all connection with the English Church is prefigured in a communication to the Archbishop from Cutler and others, enclosing a petition to George the Third, urging the sending of bishops to America, and in the endorsement on it, that, in the then existing state of public opinion in the Colonies, it was not deemed wise to force an issue on that question, and so the petition was withheld. This was in 1761, the period when the discussion on the writs of assistance was going to give a rallying cry to the incipient party of patriots.

Connected with this class of papers are a number of papers on the Andros side in the controversy which ended in the collapse of that governor's administration in New England; but I suspect that Mr. Whitmore has availed himself of all of them in his edition of the Andros Tracts.

Outside of this class of manuscripts, we find something relating to the voyages of Sir Francis Drake and Sir Walter Raleigh, and one or two interesting papers on early arctic exploration and on the northwest passage by John Guy and William Morgan. The most important is a statement of what happened in Jamestown, Virginia, after the departure of Newport in 1607—quite within the range of Mr. Alexander Brown's 'Genesis of the United States,' and doubtless not unknown to that assiduous student. The later voyage of Henry Fleet to the Virginia waters has, I suppose, been already illustrated in print from the original MSS. which I find here.

The visitor at Fulham and to the library of the Bishop of London turns first to that manuscript 'History of Plymouth Plantation,' by its second leader Gov. Bradford, which in some way, probably because of the headship which the Bishop of this metropolitan see sustained over the American churches, found its way to Fulham at a time not long after, it would seem, some British officer bore it away—if, indeed, Hutchinson himself was not the bearer—after the opening of the war of independence. There is no occasion to repeat here the story which follows the strange vicissitudes of that manuscript—the corner-stone as it is of our New England history—till it was fortuitously brought to light and was printed by the Massachusetts Historical Society under the editing of the late Dr. Charles Deane in 1856. When Mr. Motley left Boston to undertake his mission at the Court of St. James, he asked me one day what he could do in London to further the interests of American history. I replied, "Get the Bradford manuscript returned to us." He later wrote to me from London that, with the Beaconsfield Government in power, it was not at all sure that an attempt to secure the passage of a bill through Parliament would be promising enough for the effort which it would require. A few years later, being in London, I went to Fulham; but, missing the Bishop, he later opened a correspondence with me respecting the MS., in which he regretted that his own power in the premises was not sufficient to make the surrender. This was Dr. Jackson, the late Bishop, who promised to interpose no objection if ever a bill was introduced into Parliament. Here the matter has since rested, and I have never felt that it was desirable to press the question, deeming that the precious document was quite as well off where it is as to make it the subject of contention as to whom it should be given to. The fact is, that the book itself shows that it was only deposited in the Prince Library, and the heirs of Gov. Bradford never yielded their property in it. To return it to private custody in America does not seem to me desirable. The claim of the Prince Library, or the Boston Public Library, through their trusteeship of the Prince Library, which doubtless had possession of it at the time it was abstracted and sent to England, has no validity that Parliament could recognize; and any surrender on the part of Parliament would most likely be in favor of the Government of the United States, which would bring the treasure into the custody of the State Department or of the Library of Congress, in neither of which places, in the present arrangements at Washington, would an historical student like to see it. Therefore one looks upon it at Fulham as not altogether in a place unfitting for it, for its value is not unknown by those in charge of it.

There is in the muniment room at Fulham a large mass of papers relating to the times when the Episcopal Church in the American colonies was within the jurisdiction of the see of London. I saw them some years ago, covered with dust, tied up in packages, and stuffed away in large bins surrounding the room. They are now in the same condition, only with a dozen years' more accumulation of dust upon them. It is utterly impossible to give them any examination at present. They not unlikely go back to the time when it was attempted without success by Popham and Gorges to establish Episcopacy on the New England coast long before the Separatists of the *Mayflower* began a successful settlement, and I suppose that the papers came down to a period when the war of independence put an end to the oversight of the Bishop. That they may have been in some part used by Bishop Wilberforce and by Anderson, forty or fifty years ago, in their essays to write the history of the Ameri-

can Church, is quite possible, and some share of their present disarrangement may be due to the efforts of those writers to make researches among the papers. I am glad to learn that the present Bishop is sensible of their importance to American students of history, and is intending to have them arranged and bound. It is hoped that this may be accomplished in three or four years.

In the building in Delahay Street, close by the Government offices, there is every symptom of an active business agency, pertaining to the administration of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Beginning in 1701, the Anglo-American colonies held no small share of the attention of this body in their effort to convert the native red man of America; and their long series of printed reports, with the much more extended reports in manuscript which they preserve, together with the original correspondence of their missionaries, furnished in the first instance the materials for Humphrey's history of their missions to 1730, and for Canon Hawkins's continuation down to 1785, which was published in 1851. For Humphrey's book, Herman Moll, the leading English geographer of his day, made some maps which the student of American geography as it was understood in the early part of the last century finds useful; and he would particularly like to collate the maps, sent home by the missionaries, upon which that cartographer worked. That there was such a collection of drawn maps the records of the Society show; but I find that all trace of them has been lost. The manuscript records of the society and their accompanying original papers begin in 1702, though there are occasional papers of a much earlier date—I noticed, for instance, a copy of a record regarding Harvard College dated in 1642—kept on their files in attested copies of the eighteenth century. These original papers refer in large part to Massachusetts, to New England as a whole, and to New York; and numerous volumes stand on their shelves, of dates running from 1702 to 1784, at or before which last date the Society withdrew its missionaries as being no longer in British territory. American students, as I have said, like Dr. Hawkes, Bishop Perry, and, working in a more secular way, Dr. Edward Eggleston, have in the past found the officers of the Society quite ready to welcome them to these treasures. I am glad to say that the present librarian is now engaged on a digest of such of their early records as relate in particular to their American labors, and it will not be long before the student can profit by his results in print.

Another kindred society, but unfortunately without documentary annals of like value to the American historian, is one which now passes under the name of the New England Company. It originated in 1644, in the Long Parliament, under the title of "A Corporation for the Promoting and Propagating the Gospel of Jesus Christ in New England," and it was under its patronage and that of its successor that the labors of Eliot, the Indian apostle, were made conspicuous, and such publications as what are known as the Eliot tracts and the Indian Bible and other versions of religious books were in part made possible. The Restoration in 1660 of course put an end to all ministrations which the Puritan Parliament had instituted; but the desirableness of the work which the society had done was not questioned, and it took a new lease of life two years later, by virtue of an act of Charles's first Parliament, and went on with its work under the style of "The Company for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England and in Parts Adjacent in America." The successful outcome of the Declaration of Independence debarred their action within the new republic; and, after remaining at rest for some years, their agencies again moved, and the province of New Brunswick was made their field, as being still "in parts adjacent to New England." The dying out of the Indians in that region drove them to more remote fields, and they are now expending about £3,500 a year on missions in Ontario and British Columbia.

There are efforts now making at Guildhall in the "City" which will be of interest to the American genealogist and student of English municipalities. This latter subject has not escaped the attention of American students, and the English workers in the same field recognize the importance of Dr. Gross's recent book on the English guilds. I find this new book on the counter at Bain's—perhaps on the whole the book-shop in London most resorted to by the reading class of the higher stamp; I see it on the ledges at the Athenæum Club, and it was lying on the table in the Committee-room of the Guildhall Library when I was there yesterday. The movement to which I refer is the gathering in the Guildhall Library of the records—not in immediate use—of the parishes and wards of the "City." It will take some time, doubtless, to bring the efforts to a conclusion, and to reconcile the present guardians of these records to the transfer; but a sort of Public Record Office for the "City," somewhat equivalent to that of the Government offices, is certainly desirable. There were a great many Londoners among the early settlers of New England, and one finds local names in our villages that tell how these Londoners had the art of comparing small things with great. In two contiguous villages on the Massachusetts Coast, there is a brook called to this day Hound's Ditch, and a neighborhood called Wapping. JUSTIN WINSOR.

Correspondence.

INTERNATIONAL COPYRIGHT.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I trust that you will allow me a small space to comment on the article "Law and Theft" which appeared in your paper of February 12. Reference is there made to a short article of mine which I was asked to write, and which I believe has appeared in more than one American newspaper. The writer of "Law and Theft" has altogether misunderstood what I said in that article.

The writer of "Law and Theft" seems very fond of saying that I have confounded things. I have "confounded the question of right with the question of security"; I have "confounded plagiarism and piracy." Now, I have not confounded anything; I have only distinguished things that the writer confounds.

His whole argument against me goes on a misconception of what I have said. He begins by saying that I hold that "all property, and especially literary property, is the creation of law." This is his first confusion. I have said nothing about "literary property"; I have avoided the words, because they are likely to lead to the confusion into which the writer of "Law and Theft" has fallen. Because I hold that a certain privilege, which may, in a certain secondary sense, be called "literary property," is the artificial creation of law, he thinks that I hold that all property is the creation of law. He attributes this doctrine to me more than once. But I have said nothing of the kind, either in the paper to which he objects or anywhere else. I have not gone into the origin of property, which is much too hard a question for me. I have simply said that copyright is not what one may call natural property, like a man's goods and clothes, but that it is, what it certainly is, an artificial privilege granted by law. One main object of government is the protection of what one may call natural property. One might even say, though it would be rather dangerous to say it, that governments were called into being in order to protect such property. But one certainly cannot say that governments were called into being in order to protect copyright. Copyright is not likely to be thought of till governments have been in being for ages; it is a privilege which, in certain advanced states of society, it is just and expedient that governments should grant to their subjects or citizens; but it is an artificial privilege all the same. The difference between the natural right and the artificial privilege is obvious. A man is held justifiable, in all times and places, in using physical force to hinder another man from taking his purse out of his pocket. In no time or place could he be held justifiable in going into a "pirate's" printing-office and hindering him by physical force from printing a book of his writing. For the privilege infringed by the pirate is the creation of law, and the sufferer must go to the law for his remedy. The right infringed by the highwayman is a right older than law; the wronged man has, therefore, if law is not ready to help him at the moment, to make use of a remedy older than law.

The writer of "Law and Theft" seems not to see this distinction. He therefore charges me with "confounding right and security," and puts into my mouth the proposition which I have nowhere maintained, that all property is the "creation of law." He goes on to put into my mouth another proposition, which also I have never maintained, namely, that "it is highly indecent to speak of persons who publish other men's works without paying for them as 'thieves and pirates.'" What I did say was, that it was neither becoming nor truthful to apply such names as "thieves" and "robbers"—I said nothing about "pirates"—to the House of Representatives of the United States, or to any other legislative body in any country, on account of any measures which it may pass or refuse to pass on the subject of copyright. It did not come into my thoughts that the House of Representatives could be held to come under the head of "persons who publish other men's works without paying for them."

The writer of "Law and Theft" further says that I "confound plagiarism and piracy." I do no such thing. "Plagiarism" and "piracy" are both of them words which imply an odd metaphor; but I will take both of them as they are commonly used. By a "plagiarist" I understand a man who publishes another man's writings under his own name. By a "pirate" I understand a man who publishes another man's writings with the real author's name, but who gives the real author no share of the money which he makes by publishing them. The "plagiarist" lessens the real author's reputation; he makes a false reputation for himself at the cost of another man. The "pirate," if his edition be accurate, spreads the reputation of the author; he simply omits to give him money. Now, as I hold reputation to be higher than money, my worst complaint against pirates is that their editions are not accurate. An American publisher once reprinted my little book, 'General Sketch of European History.' I forget whether he paid

me any money or not—that is, I forget whether he was a "pirate" or not; but in either case he did me a much worse wrong than any mere omission to pay me money. For he changed the title of the book into 'Outlines of History.' That is, he did me a wrong by changing my title at all; he did me a worse wrong by changing a title which described the objects of the book into a title which did not describe them. Does not the author of "Law and Theft" see that, if the pirate printed my book as I wrote it, he only omitted to give me something? And, in the case of an American citizen, the obligation to give me anything could arise only out of the law of the United States. But the obligation to print my book as I wrote it, if he printed it at all, was an obligation older than the law of the United States, older than the law of Solon or Moses. By changing my correct title into an incorrect one, he did take something from me: he did a damage to my reputation; he represented me as describing my book in a way that was not truthful; he represented me as promising All History and giving only European History. And by changing either the title or any other word in the book, even supposing every change was an improvement, he was guilty of falsehood by representing me as saying something which I had not said.

There is really no practical difference of opinion on the subject of copyright between me and the writer of the article "Law and Theft." If I rightly understand him, he holds, exactly as I hold, that it is just and expedient that all governments should grant the privilege of copyright both to their own citizens and to strangers. I set forth that position as strongly and clearly as I knew how in the little article to which he objects. He and I have got to the same conclusion by different roads; that is all, only I think my road is the best, because it is the path of fact. While he thinks that I have confounded this and that, I think that he has confounded several things which I have distinguished. Both the propositions which he puts into my mouth are propositions which I have never made. The practical conclusion that I proposed was, that Great Britain and the United States should each grant to the subjects or citizens of the other Power such privileges in the matter of copyright as are, by its own law for the time being, enjoyed by its own subjects or citizens. Does not that satisfy the author of "Law and Theft"? It is hard to see what more can be asked for on either side. Only with that proposal I joined, and I still must join, the comment that, if the Legislature of either country should refuse to grant such privileges, that Legislature is not therefore to be spoken of as a "House of Thieves."

—I am, sir, your obedient servant,

EDWARD A. FREEMAN.

OXFORD, February 27, 1891.

[If Mr. Freeman does not think all property the creation of law, what does this passage from his original letter to the Philadelphia *Press* mean ?

"Now, it is very hard to say what natural right is. Philosophers have often disputed over that point. But roughly and practically, a man may be fairly said to have a natural right to his life, and to his property lawfully gained—always remembering that what is a lawful way of gaining property in one country may not be so in another. Every one expects, both in his own country and in any other, that the supreme power of the State will hinder anybody but itself from taking his life or property, and that it will not itself take them except by legal process.

"Can it be that what is called 'copyright' is a natural right in anything like this sense? Copyright means that when a man has published any writing, all other people are to be hindered from publishing that writing without his consent. Now this surely is not a natural right, but a very artificial privilege, one which could only have been thought of in a very artificial state of things. It cannot be said to be a natural right in the same sense as the safety of a man's life or of his house. It cannot be said that the supreme power, either of my own country or of any other, is as obviously bound to hinder people from reprinting the 'History of the Norman Conquest' against my will as it is obviously bound to hinder me from being knocked on the head, or robbed on the highway, as long as I am under its jurisdiction. One would say, that if there is any natural right at all in so very artificial a matter, every one has a *prima facie* right to publish what he chooses. That right the law of any country may wisely and justly restrain. But surely the mere natural right is on that side rather than on the other."

We see here that although "natural right" is something difficult to define, we nevertheless need not hesitate to say that a man's natural right to his property can only cover property "lawfully gained," that is, gained in the way prescribed as lawful in the particular country in which he gains it. There is a statute of William III. which authorized any Protestant meeting a Catholic in Ireland riding a horse worth more than five pounds, to take the horse from him and become its owner, on tendering five pounds. In this case the law simply withdrew its protection from the Catholic's property in the horse when the five pounds were tendered; but did "the natural right" to the horse pass over, *ipso facto*, to the Protestant? In like manner, in this country, before emancipation, negroes were hired out as servants in great numbers to other people by their owners, and the owners pocketed the wages. Who had the natural right to the wages in these cases, the slave or the owner? The State withheld its protection from the negro's wages; did not the negro thereby lose also his natural right to them ?

In admitting that the State has the right to say in what manner a man must become possessed of a thing in order to make it legal property, Mr. Freeman really concedes what we contend for. He really holds that all property has a legal origin. We hold, on the contrary, that property has a moral origin, and that the fruits of a man's labor and self-restraint are property whether the State protects them or not, or whether there exists a State to protect them or not. They are his property in the desert or in mid-ocean, in London or in Timbuctoo, provided that in acquiring them he has "lived uprightly, hurt nobody, and given every man his due."

As to the argument that copyright is not a natural right, but "a very artificial privilege" which "could only have been thought of in a very artificial state of things," we answer that this argument would also cover bills of exchange. That bills of exchange are property, and that forging the payee's name on the back of one of them is a crime, and a very serious crime, are propositions which only a high state of civilization could produce. They would be rejected as absurd by barbarians. The advance of civilization is constantly producing new forms of property, but the title by which the owner holds them is always the same. It is not in the smallest degree shaken by the refusal or neglect of the State to provide protection for them. Life, Mr. Freeman says, is "a natural right." But the law in ancient Rome allowed, as in modern China, a father to decide whether he would rear his children or allow them to perish. Did the child lose its "natural right" to existence because the father could murder it with legal impunity?

The law is as obviously bound in the forum of morals to hinder people from reprinting and selling Mr. Freeman's 'History of the Norman Conquest' as it is obviously bound to hinder him from being knocked on the head or robbed on the highway, as long as he is under its jurisdiction. Mr. Freeman's use of the term "bound" shows that he is conscious that in matters of this sort the law, too, acts under the rule of duty, or, in other words, that it is constrained by a higher power; that in providing or refusing protection it is subject to other considerations than mere prejudice or convenience.

Mr. Freeman's notion, expressed in another part of his letter, that an argument against a man's natural right to his books is to be found in the fact that no author thinks of defending himself by force against "piracy," as he would defend himself against attempts to murder or rob him, is a striking illustration of the confusion wrought in this discussion by the novelty of literary property. The reason why authors do not resist piracy, club or pistol in hand, as they would resist burglary or murder, is simply that they are an exceedingly small body, and are generally men of sedentary habits and peaceable disposition—not that they are insensible to the wrong done them by the sale, for other men's profit, of the product of their industry. As authors worth pirating they are in every country a class containing a few hundred individuals, while as owners of other kinds of property they belong to a class which comprises the whole population, except paupers and thieves. To ask authors, therefore, why, if they think their books are property like other property, they do not defend it *vi et armis*, as they would, in the absence of police, defend their watches and money, is to ask why the customs of a community are settled by ninety-nine-hundredths of its members and not by the remaining one-hundredth.

How large a part the ambiguous and deceptive use of words plays in this discussion is also illustrated by Mr. Freeman's observation, in the above quotation, that "one would say if there is any natural right at all in so very artificial a matter, every one has a primâ-facie right to publish what he chooses." Now, the snare in this sentence lies in the word "publish." The term, as used by authors and literary men, means simply to make known certain facts or ideas to the world through a printed book or pamphlet. This is undoubtedly the sense in which Mr. Freeman uses it here, for in another part of his letter he says: "Primâ facie, a man who reprints an author's book is doing him a service; he is increasing the circulation of the book and its means of doing good." In this sense, too, the Pirates use it when they

deny the existence of "property in ideas," and maintain that the conceptions of an author's brain are or ought to be the common property of his fellow-men, open to appropriation by all for the general improvement of the species. It was in this sense that Dr. Crosby used it when he came to the defence of the Rev. Dr. Funk, then engaged in "publishing" a stolen edition of the 'Encyclopædia Britannica.' But when used in the discussion of the question of copyright, it means the sale of an author's work at a price which will cover the cost of mechanical production and yield a profit to the vendor.

When a Pirate is contemplating the theft of a book, he does not say, "Shall I by reprinting this work add to the author's fame, and contribute to the higher happiness of my fellow-men, and assist poor boys in getting their education more cheaply?" He says simply, "How much money would there be in this venture for me? Let me see"—and he takes his pencil and figures on cost of production and probable sales, and discusses with his partners the chance of some other Pirate getting into the market before him. So that what we mean when we deny the right of Pirates to "publish" other men's books is that we deny their right to sell the fruits of another man's industry in open market without his consent, *and in competition with him.* Piracy does not mean spreading abroad a man's ideas or his fame, or using him in any sense for the good of humanity. It means treating as vendible property in the Pirate's hands a thing which the Pirate has taken from the author on the plea that it could not be vendible property in his hands, and answering his remonstrances by showing him that for this particular wrong there is no legal remedy. That authors have listened to this defence so long without a single resort to violence proves to us, not that they are conscious of possessing no moral right to what their brain has coined or their industry collected, but that they are a small, pacific, long-suffering, physically delicate, and singularly non-gregarious body of men.—Ed. Nation.]

THE EFFECT OF THE COPYRIGHT ACT.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Referring to your remarks on the working of the Copyright Act, will you permit me to show why some of your views seem to me incorrect? In the first place, the *Nation*, in common with all other American literary journals, greatly exaggerates the importance of the bill, considered otherwise than as an expression of moral obligation. The only effect of the bill for ten years, at least, will be to increase, in a small degree, the profits of a few novelists like Mrs. Maxwell and Mr. Haggard, and of a few writers in the magazines whose articles are read chiefly on account of their authors' celebrity in other fields. The increase in the novelists' profits will be small, first because they already (especially since the rise of the syndicate system) receive considerable sums for serial rights, and secondly because the sale will be greatly decreased. People who, twenty years ago, never bought novels, but borrowed them from circulating libraries, have, since such works became everywhere accessible in convenient shape and at a low price, bought them almost to as large an extent as they formerly borrowed them. Such works, now sold to dealers at seven cents (with almost no expense for freight) and retailed at twenty-five cents at railway stands and at seventeen cents in large shops, will hereafter cost (say) fifty cents, while, owing to the absence of competition, the discount (and incidentally the ability to keep on sale a considerable stock, including the better as well as the worse class of books) will be lessened. The novel-reading public, meanwhile, will be driven either to lending-libraries or to reading other than *new* books by well-known authors.

It is, however, the position of authors who are not well known which I wish to consider. You say that "the foreign author will be in exactly the same position towards the American publisher as that now occupied by the American author." Is this true? A native author offers his book to a publisher who refuses it; he then offers it to a second, a third, or a tenth publisher, and finally it is accepted. Obviously the publishing interests at home of a foreign author will not allow the delay necessary for negotiations occupying, as these would, several months. Moreover, a work may have eventual pecuniary value, but not be immediately available; in such a case the native author merely postpones publication, while with the foreigner it is now or never.

I think the supply of cheap reprints will be as large as now, though the average merit will be less. He who wishes to read William Black or Mrs. Oliphant will have to inconvenience himself somewhat, but a new 'Robert Elsmere' would be as cheap as under the present system, because no publisher will take risks on an author without a reputation when he can reprint nineteen books out of twenty without payment. Out of the ten novels published weekly in Great Britain, it is improbable that an effort even will be made to place more than one in this country, so there is no fear that a plentiful supply of cheap fiction—such as it is—will be lacking.

The chances for unknown authors of works of scholarship are, of course, even less favorable, because the costs of production are greater, and facilities for distribution smaller. As to this class of authors, you remark that "the alternative of publishing the book at his expense is, it is true, open to him, but it will also be open to the unknown foreign author." From the casual way in which you mention the matter, one would suppose that publishing at the author's expense was an unusual proceeding, whereas I believe it to be, with works of scholarship, very common; and the historian or man of science who might be able to afford one set of plates (and that, probably, for the professional rather than the pecuniary rewards which are possible) would find the cost of a second set out of the question.

W: M. G.

THE RAIMONDI COLLECTIONS.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: The Peruvian Government has decided to sell the large and valuable collections and accompanying manuscripts of the late Prof. Antonio Raimondi. Raimondi was enthusiastically devoted to the interests of science and of his adopted country—so much so that he left his family in straitened circumstances. His great ambition was to publish a complete treatise on the geography, geology, and natural history of Peru. He spent nineteen years in the interior of the country, enduring hardships and perils which would have appalled a less enthusiastic man, and accumulated a vast amount of material for his work. He then spent many more years of constant labor, arranging his collections and preparing for the publication of his researches.

The Peruvian Government made a contract with him to this end, but the war with Chili rendered it impossible to carry out this and other contracts. Only the three preliminary volumes of 'Peru' have been printed, but some separate publications have appeared, such as the description of the Department of Ancachs, which Henry Meiggs paid for. The map of Peru, on the scale of twenty-two centimetres to the degree, will consist of thirty-four sheets, of which eleven are published, two more are in the hands of the engravers, and the rest are all drawn.

Raimondi sold his collections to the Government for 50,000 soles (Peruvian dollars), on condition that they should belong to the School of Medicine. A museum was to be erected for these collections and named the "Museo Raimondi." The designs of the building have been approved, and the ground has been bought, but only the laboratory has been built. The School is now without sufficient funds to replace the fine library and anatomical collections which were destroyed by the Chilians, and hence is compelled to part with Raimondi's collections in order to provide for its more direct needs. These collections are now offered for the price at which Raimondi sold them.

Mr. Ernest Malinowski, the distinguished engineer of Peru, writes me that for these collections some years ago parties in the United States made offers which amounted to $100,000, besides agreeing to pay the expenses of publishing Raimondi's works. On account of a sentiment of exaggerated delicacy and of extreme modesty, Raimondi was reluctant to speak of these offers. For this reason, and as the papers of the deceased are now under seal, Mr. Malinowski does not know what parties made the offers. Prof. Louis Agassiz strongly urged Raimondi to come to the United States, and during the war with Chili the Italian Government invited him to go to Italy (his native land), and offered to take charge of the publication of the rest of his work. But Raimondi would not abandon Peru.

Concerning the collections, of which Raimondi left an inventory, Mr. Malinowski writes:

"I understand that the herbarium is classified and arranged in a series of books expressly ordered from France. The collection of 652 mineral specimens sent to the Paris Exposition of 1868 was returned, and is described [in *Los Minerales del Peru*, Lima, 1878]. There is also a large collection of minerals in boxes, each specimen properly labelled, and with the collection are given more than 4,000 analyses. Under the direction of Mr. [Louis] Agassiz, the fossils were classified by Mr. Gabb. The birds and some of the animals have been classified by Prof. [?], late Director of the Museum at Warsaw; the classification has been published."

I have asked Mr. Malinowski to send me a general description of the collections. Meantime I wish to call attention to the fact that these collections are for sale at what appears to be a very low price, and also that an opportunity is offered to make a valuable contribution to scientific knowledge. Should any parties wish to investigate the matter, it might be possible to obtain a report on the collections from the members of the Harvard Astronomical Expedition now in Peru.

A. D. Hodges, Jr.

Boston, March 19, 1891.

"THE CANADIAN ELECTIONS."

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: As a Canadian subscriber to the *Nation*, I think it proper to point out to you, and through you to the readers of that journal, that the statements contained in the editorial item on the above subject, published in your issue of the 12th instant, are in great part, if not wholly, erroneous and misleading. In the first place, it is stated "that the elections have resulted in a practical defeat of Sir John Macdonald and the Conservative party." Now, so far from this being true, Sir John Macdonald's Government and the Conservative party have been sustained in their recent appeal to the people by a majority of 33 or 35, which is about as large as that they received at the last previous election in 1887. In the Provinces of British Columbia and Manitoba and the Northwest Territories, no change whatever has taken place in the comparative strength of the two political parties in the House of Commons, as the result of the recent election. In the Provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island, the Conservative party has at the recent general election made a net gain of eight seats; while, as against this, it has in the other two Provinces of Ontario and Quebec made a net loss of not more than ten seats. These are the results of the election of 1891, as compared with those of the appeal to the people in 1887. Where, then, I would ask, is the practical defeat; and what, taking the Dominion as a whole, are the serious losses the Conservative party has sustained?

The other statements in the editorial in question as to the result of the elections showing the unpopularity of the Conservative protective policy; also, that the cry of "annexation" was raised by Sir John Macdonald to save this protective policy, and that the people of Canada had rebuked the Government party for contending that if unrestricted reciprocity were adopted, Canada would lose control of her tariff legislation—are of an equally mistaken and misleading character. I do not desire now to take up time and space by entering in detail into the discussion suggested by these statements, but merely to say, as to the "national policy," as our protective policy is called, that it was not condemned by the people of Canada, as shown by the result of the recent elections. The few counties which the Opposition gained in Ontario and Quebec on their policy of "unrestricted reciprocity" with the United States were frontier counties, and were so gained by reason of the immediate prejudicial effect upon the farmers in these constituencies, as they believed, of the high duties imposed under the McKinley tariff on such natural products as horses, hay, barley, eggs, etc., in which they were largely interested; and from the fact that the farmers were led to believe by the Opposition party that Sir John Macdonald was in some way responsible for the imposition of these high duties, and that only by getting unrestricted reciprocity, which the Opposition alone could obtain for the country, would it be possible to get rid of these objectionable duties.

As to the statement that "the cry of annexation" was raised by Sir John Macdonald to save the "national policy," such was not the case; but annexation to the United States was pointed out by him as the inevitable result, in his opinion, of a policy that would transfer the control of our customs tariff to the United States, and take away half of our annual revenue necessary to meet our annual expenditure. Whether the writer of the item in question believes so or not, there can be but little doubt in the mind of any one who has studied the question that the adoption by Canada of unrestricted reciprocity with the United States, as proposed by the Opposition party in Canada, must result in the first place in Canada losing control of her customs tariff, and in no long time thereafter in the absorption of Canada politically by the United States. Against these results Sir John Macdonald warned the people of Canada, and, acting upon his advice, instead of "rebuking" him, the electors by a large majority "rebuked" the Opposition leaders for embracing the unpatriotic policy of unrestricted reciprocity.

Considering that Sir John Macdonald's Government had already been in power continuously for over twelve years, and had been three times during these twelve years sustained on appeal to the people, and that they had against them, actively fighting them in this election, the whole force of the Provincial Governments of Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia, and Manitoba, and that such a plausible appeal was made to the farming community by the Opposition, the majority obtained by Sir John's Government is the strongest evidence possible of the soundness of his policy, and of the loyalty of the people of Canada to their own country, their Constitution, and their Queen.

A. Ferguson.

Ottawa, Canada, March 16, 1891.

A WOMAN IN OFFICE.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: It will surely interest your readers outside of the State of Missouri to learn that here, in Jasper County, Mo., we have made a new departure in the distribution of county offices. While we have not as yet adopted woman suffrage pure and simple, we have established the eligibility of women for public office, by electing a lady to the important office of County Clerk at the election held last November. The distinguished example of our political tolerance is Mrs. Annie Baxter, who was nominated on the Democratic ticket for the office which she had previously managed as Deputy. It was a clear case of civil-service reform, advancing a worthy Deputy to the first place.

The nomination of a lady, owing to the novelty of the case, took a great many voters by surprise. The matter was privately and openly warmly discussed; there was no precedent. As to Mrs. Baxter's qualification, there was no dissenting voice, since she had acquired ample experience during several years' service as Deputy Clerk. Likewise all acknowledged her tact and the accommodating ways by which she had won numerous friends independent of party feelings. But was it opportune to jeopardize the chances of electing a Democrat to the office by paying a compliment to a lady Democrat? And could she hold office if elected? The latter question was decided in the affirmative by a carefully drawn opinion of leading lawyers, as had been done before when Mrs. Baxter was first appointed Deputy. At the election she was successful by a large majority; the Governor in due time signed her commission, and the defeated male candidate on the Republican ticket served notice of a contest, which will be decided in court next March.

The impending contest aroused the enthusiasm of the lady's supporters; the press of the State took up the case and decided the contest in advance of the court, bestowed the title of colonel on Mrs. Baxter, and heaped ridicule and scorn on the unfortunate Republican contesting candidate. The Democratic Mayor of a little town, in his enthusiasm, even registered one of his brood sows under the lady's name, erecting in this way to the liberal nominating convention a monument "ære perennius."

Curiously enough, the reason why the election of a woman for that office was deemed at least not opportune, was that in case bonds should be voted for the building of a court-house, the bonds countersigned by a lady Clerk might be looked upon as doubtful, and their placing on the market made difficult. Jasper County has had no court-house since the war, and all attempts so far to raise money for the building of one have failed because the farmers fight shy of bonds—for good reasons, with which I will not detain you.

A.

CONNECTION OF THE ENGLISH WASHINGTONS.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: I notice, in Mr. Conway's letter on the early Washingtons in Virginia, the statement that the families of the name in Yorkshire and those in Northamptonshire existed in England for centuries separate and distinct, without any known link of kinship. I do not wish to dispute Mr. Conway's assertion; but, nevertheless, I think it well to remark that a connection between the two families is shown by the pedigrees given in Plantagenete-Harrison's 'History of Yorkshire'—how correctly I am unable to say.

The links are as follows: From Bonde, lord of Washington, in co. York *tempore* King Stephen, descended Robert Washington of co. Westmoreland, who had a descendant Robert Washington of co. Lancaster, whose descendant, Robert, founded the Northampton Washingtons from whom came our President, though not by Mr. Harrison's line, but by that discovered by Mr. Waters and corroborated by Mr. Conway.

C.

March 21, 1891.

THE GREENES OF GREEN'S NORTON, ENGLAND.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: In your issue of October 11, 1888, you published a "Simple Tale" from the pen of the late Dr. Beal, Rector of the parish of Green's Norton, telling of the fearful state of the monument and brasses belonging to the Greene family, and asking if any of the descendants who might be in America would be willing to help to put them in decent order; to which various members responded. I crave your kind permission to state that the restoration of the entire church is now commenced, for which the large sum of £2,600 is required, and to which the Queen has given £50. In the present state of our funds, we do not feel justified (much as we should wish it) in restoring the monument and brasses in such a manner as we should desire, unless we receive special donations for the purpose. The sum of £50 would do what is required, and I earnestly ask for that sum from those most interested in preserving their history and records of the past. I may add that already, in removing some plaster from the walls, various coats of arms of the Greene family have been found painted on the stonework as also on portions of the tomb.

Thanking you, in anticipation, for the insertion of this letter, in aid of a much needed work, and hoping that, through the wide cir-

culation of your paper, it may reach the eye of those it most concerns,

I am, sir, yours faithfully,

R. A. KENNAWAY, Rector.

GREEN'S NORTON, TOWCESTER, ENGLAND, March 16, 1891.

TALLEYRAND AND THERAMENES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Your correspondent last week, writing from Paris on the lately published memoirs of Talleyrand, recalled the words, in the declaration added to his will, that in all his political life he had abandoned none of the governments which he had served before it had abandoned itself. The newly discovered treatise on the 'Athenian State' affords a striking parallel in the judgment which Aristotle passes upon Theramenes. The ancient and the modern statesman each held office under three fundamentally different forms of government, and the modern was never more cordially hated by his opponents than the ancient, whose political nickname was the "Buskin"—the shoe that fits either foot. Talleyrand has spoken in his own behalf. Of Theramenes Aristotle (chap. xxviii) says:

"Men of more than superficial judgment do not believe that he was a professional destroyer of all governments, as his detractors say, but rather that he supported all as long as they did not outrage the law; for he was a man who could live under any form of government—and this is behaving like a good citizen—but who was the foe, not the tool, of governments that went beyond the laws."

M. H. M.

CAMBRIDGE, March 20, 1891.

Notes.

READERS of the *Atlantic* have already enjoyed a sample of the autobiography incorporated in the Life of James Freeman Clarke soon to be published by Houghton, Mifflin & Co. In this work the Rev. Samuel May, the Rev. Edward Everett Hale, and Mr. T. W. Higginson have been colaborers. The same firm announces 'Noto: An Unexplored Corner of Japan,' by Percival Lowell; and 'Whist in Diagrams,' by G. W. P.

D. Lothrop Co., Boston, have in press 'Christ Himself,' by the Rev. Alexander McKenzie; and 'Stories of the Land of Evangeline,' by Grace Dean McLeod.

Zola's new novel, 'Money,' is set down for issue this week in an English version by Benjamin R. Tucker, Boston.

G. P. Putnam's Sons have in preparation a translation of the 'Universal History of Literature' by Prof. Gustav Karpeles of the University of Prague, richly illustrated, in six parts, each complete in itself; and a 'Story of the Civil War,' 1860-1865,' by that eminent authority Mr. John Codman Ropes, in two duodecimo volumes, with maps and plans.

The spring list of Dodd, Mead & Co. includes 'Political and Social Letters of a Lady of the Eighteenth Century,' edited by Emily F. D. Osborn; 'Under the Trees and Elsewhere,' by Hamilton Wright Mabie; 'Francis Higginson (1587-1630),' by Thomas Wentworth Higginson, and 'Samuel Houston (1793-1862),' by Henry Bruce, in the "Makers of America" series; Landor's 'Citation of William Shakspere,' and Sainte-Beuve's 'Journal of Maurice de Guérin,' translated by Jessie P. Frothingham, in the "Giunta" series; 'Health without Medicine,' by Theodore H. Mead; and 'Sermons upon Faith, Hope, and Love,' by Prof. J. M. Hoppin of Yale.

Two volumes of short stories are nearly ready to be brought out by Charles Scribner's Sons, viz.: 'Zadoc Pine, and Other Stories,' by H. C. Bunner, and 'Gallegher, and Other Stories,' by Richard Harding Davis. This house will put on the American market Mr. Henry B. Wheatley's 'London, Past and Present,' in three volumes, whose arrangement is alphabetical.

Mr. C. G. Crump has edited for Macmillan Landor's 'Imaginary Conversations' in six volumes, whose appearance will begin in April. The text followed is that of 1876, with close comparison with that of earlier editions.

A 'History of the Press' has been undertaken by Mr. Henry Norman, and will bear the imprint of T. Fisher Unwin. The London *Times* will have a volume to itself, and the American press will have another among the several proposed.

The Knickerbocker Nuggets Series of the Messrs. Putnam is decidedly enriched by the two little volumes of 'Representative Irish Tales' compiled with an introduction and notes by W. B. Yeats. Here we have selections, many of them classic, from Miss Edgeworth, the Banims, Carleton, Lover, Maginn, Croker, Griffin, Lever, Kickham, and Miss Mulholland. Mr. Yeats's sententious introduction is a feeling characterization and criticism of the authors he passes in review. Ireland's poems and stories, he says, "came into existence to please nobody but the people of Ireland. Government did not make them on the one hand, nor bad seasons on the other. They are Ireland talking to herself." The Irish gentry "have never had a poet. Poetry needs a God, a cause, or a country." "It seems to be a pretty absolute law that the rich like reading about the poor, the poor about the rich. In Ireland, at any rate, they have liked doing so."

A late issue of "The Great Artists" series (Scribner & Welford) is devoted to 'The Landscape and Pastoral Painters of Holland,' to wit, Ruysdael, Hobbema, Cuyp, and Potter. It may fairly be recommended as giving in a handy form pretty much all the available information about these somewhat uninspiring artists, together with a sufficiently large selection of contradictory criticisms from various sources. The author, Mr. Frank Cundall, expresses few opinions of his own except the tolerably safe one that "a century hence Rousseau, at his best, will possibly be held a greater landscape-painter than Ruysdael; Troyon will be justly placed above Potter, and the pictures of Corot and Daubigny will be more highly thought of than those of Hobbema and Wijnants." If this is not true, it certainly ought to be.

We have received a new edition of the 'Histories' of Tacitus, by the Rev. W. A. Spooner of Oxford (Macmillan & Co.). The text is based upon that of Orelli and Meiser. The commentary is full, and of that excellent sort which makes suggestions to the student instead of loading him with lore or providing him with ready-made translations. Although it owes much to the labors of German scholars, yet it is the first English edition that has any just claim to originality. It is preceded by a long introduction on the state of the Empire and its history during the period of which the text treats. On the whole, we have here a most useful working edition.

Prof. Sonnenschein's critical and explanatory edition of the 'Rudens' of Plautus (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Macmillan & Co.) is not only the first English edition of that play, but is the first Plautine work in preparing which the editor has had the advantage of using Studemund's *Apographon* of the Ambrosian MS. The text is conservative, the apparatus full, and the notes, while being thoroughly scholarly, are well fitted to serve as an introduction to the peculiarities of the idiom of Plautus. The volume is beautifully printed, being, in fact, quite the handsomest edition of a Plautine comedy that we have ever seen.

After ten years, Mr. Brander Matthews has brought out a new edition of his 'French Dramatists of the Nineteenth Century' (Charles Scribner's Sons), and has very properly added a chapter reviewing the state and tendencies of the French drama during the decade. The Romanticists have given way to the Naturalists, but whereas "the theatre was almost the first stronghold of the enemy captured by the Romanticists, strive as diligently as it can Naturalism has not yet found its dramatic formula." The dramatizations of Zola's, Daudet's, and Goncourt's novels have, for intrinsic reasons, as Mr. Matthews thinks, been comparative failures. In the period in question no first-rate dramatic talent has come to light, but fumbling and the unrewarded endeavor of a transition state have marked the years 1880-90. The Théâtre Libre is the one invention which seems to have some significance.

We have received a number of historical monographs for which the titles sufficiently speak to all who may be interested in them. The first is Mr. George M. Whipple's 'History of the Salem [Mass.] Light Infantry from 1805 to 1890,' published by the Essex Institute at Salem. In reprinting the original Articles, a facsimile of the title-page is given, and we remark on it a very ornamental rendering of the State arms, which deserves to find a new lease of life in some printing-office. From the author, whose address is No. 147 Benefit Street, Providence, R. I., we have a pamphlet, 'Ancestry of Calvin Guild, Margaret Taft, James Humphreys, and Rebecca Covell Martin, 1620-1890,' by Howard Redwood Guild, who prints but a limited edition. He has attempted to do justice to both the male and female lines, and gives references to his authorities. More than 100 surnames are involved, and there are two charts and an index. The field being Rhode Island, one may infer how many families are affected by these data, comprised within forty pages. Another pamphlet is an 'Account of the Reunion of the Descendants of Rev. Thomas Hooker, First Minister of Hartford, Conn.,' held at Hartford last May (Salem Press Publishing and Printing Co.). To it is appended an address by the Rev. Joseph H. Twichell, delivered in 1889 at the celebration of the 250th anniversary of the adoption of Connecticut's first Constitution—an instrument not at this moment so venerable as it appeared two years ago. Finally, we mention a reprint of the late Dr. Philip Slaughter's 'History of St. George's Parish in the County of Spotsylvania and Diocese of Virginia,' edited, with a biography and continuation, by Mr. R. A. Brock (Richmond: J. W. Randolph & English). This interesting work was published in 1847. A photograph of Dr. Slaughter's handsome and genial face serves as a frontispiece to the new edition.

We welcome the third volume of *Garden and Forest* for the past year (New York: *Garden and Forest* Publishing Co.), which, under Prof. Sargent's enlightened guidance, continues on its high level—its highest level, for it has no peer. It appeals, as mere literature, to every cultivated person, and it is full of information for the lover and grower of flowers and the amateur landscape-gardener. Its pictorial return alone to the subscriber is generous, embracing the novelties and the wonders of the vegetable kingdom.

The *Harvard Law Review* for March prints the prize essay of Mr. Charles E. Shattuck of the Boston bar, on the meaning of the term "liberty" in the clause of the Fourteenth Amendment (and elsewhere) relating to "life, liberty, and property." This is a valuable paper, and may be commended to our lawyers and judges as laying down sound principles for the interpretation of this important phrase. Some have forgotten that it has a history.

A new periodical has been added to those already published at the University of Michigan, called the *Inlander*. In the first number Prof. Henry C. Adams gives a review of the progress of political economy in the United States during the last ten years, showing the increased attention bestowed upon this subject in college courses, and referring to the numerous economic periodicals that have appeared of late years. It seems that the journals published at Harvard and Columbia have both become self-supporting, which is a conclusive proof of the public interest in the topics with which they deal. In the view taken by Mr. Adams, a considerable advance has been made by American economists in the direction of socialism, and he might have added that our legislators are beginning to understand the possibilities opened before them by this new political economy.

We lately had something to say of the new Oxford *Economic Review*. Macmillan & Co. now announce that they shall publish the *Economic Journal*, a quarterly magazine to be issued under the auspices of the British Economic Association, which has a considerable American membership.

Still another new venture in this line is the *Social Economist*, edited by Prof. George Gunton and Starr Hoyt Nichols, and published by the Institute of Social Economics at No. 126 East Twenty-third Street, New York. In the first number, for the current month, President Low of Columbia has a paper on "The University and the Workingman."

The March Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society opens with a paper on the meteorological results of the *Challenger* expedition, by Mr. Alexander Buchan. These show among other things the greater velocity of the wind over the open sea than upon the land, "the mean difference being from four to five miles an hour." This difference is accounted for by the greater friction of the land, while other facts show, further, that "the heating of the surface of the land by the sun is in some way counteractive of friction." At sea, rain fell more frequently at night than during the day, and, of forty-five thunderstorms recorded, twenty-six occurred over the open sea, and all but four at night or in the early morning. Mr. Buchan believes the observations to prove that the surface currents of the ocean are in a very great degree determined by the direction and force of the prevailing winds. The paper is illustrated by four maps of the globe showing the isothermal and isobaric lines for January and July respectively, and two barometric maps of Scandinavia. Mr. G. F. Scott Elliot gives a discouraging report of the soil and vegetation of Madagascar, and Mr. W. B. Harris describes a trip from Fez to Wazan in North Morocco. He passed through one district which was uncultivated because "the place swarms with wild boar and sparrows, one of which uproots the grain, while the second destroy the ripening ear and leave not a particle."

Dr. Carl Peters's account of his expedition for the relief of Emin Pasha, published in the *Scottish Geographical Magazine* for March, is not pleasant reading. He started from the East Coast in July, 1889, with insufficient means to buy food or pay the regular caravan tribute to the natives, and accordingly was obliged to fight his way up the Tana River to the Victoria Nyanza. At one place, for the attempted theft of his mule and the plunder of one of his carriers, he had 600 head of their cattle driven from their pastures into his camp. At another place, on his refusal to pay tribute, the natives took from him "two tons of goods and had also thrown their spears." In retaliation he robbed them of 2,000 head of cattle, and, in the battle which ensued, killed nearly 150 men. It is difficult to see what he accomplished except to leave behind him a hatred for the white man which will long render abortive any efforts to civilize the natives. Mr. J. G. Bartholomew contributes the third of his singularly valuable papers on the "Mapping of the World." In this he gives a list of 700 maps of Asia, by far the greater part having been published within the past ten years. Out of a total area of 17,250,000 square miles, more than 3,000,000 have been topographically surveyed, while only 750,000 remain "unexplored country." This lies mostly in Tibet and Mongolia, though there is a large tract in Arabia and smaller ones in Persia, Siberia, and the East Indies. The accompanying map shows that the Russians have made a topographical survey of the whole route of the projected Siberian railway.

"W." writes to us from Johns Hopkins: "In a recent number of a Southern denominational organ, I saw an English grammar advertised as a Methodist text-book. Is not this an attempt at sectarian learning in line with the proposed denominational university at Washington?"

"B." writes to us from Cleveland: "Your correspondent who writes on the use of the word 'lad' in New England has evidently had little or no dealings with his Irish fellow-citizens. 'Lad' is the ordinary Irish-American term for 'boy' or 'fellow,' and is used generally by the Irish in Connecticut. To me there is no word which more definitely belongs to the Irish-American dialect, or more certainly marks it. The correspondent's boy friends have evidently come to use it by association with Irish boys. The word is Celtic, and the new 'Webster' gives the Irish cognate 'lath,' so its use among the Irish is natural enough. I speak of Connecticut as the part of New England I am most familiar with. I feel quite sure I have heard 'lad' used by the Irish in Boston, in Vermont, in Cleveland, and in fact wherever I have heard them talk."

—Prof. Freeman writes once more in the March *Macmillan's* on the side of the study of Greek. He is a practised controversialist, and puts life into his assault; he will not admit he is on the defensive, but makes a sort of brilliant sally into the ranks of the enemy. Keen in speech and never respectful of persons, he cannot be tedious to those he attacks, and he gives pleasure, which has perhaps a touch of malice in it, to those who would fain see the "ambitious pedagogue" (*i. e.*, head-masters) get his deserts. The grammar schools, Mr. Freeman says, exist for the universities, and not the universities for the grammar schools; and the study of Greek is to be considered from the university point of view—which is as much as to say that it is to be considered with respect to the question what is good for men, not what is good for boys. Greek, he thinks, is essential to culture, and by far the most useful of studies merely educationally and without regard to the place it may hold in after-reading. He writes mainly of the real place of both Greek and Latin in the history of the world—to lose them is to lose a large part of the past; and he asks whether Englishmen really wish to find Greek at Oxford on a plane with Arabic. It is a strong plea: to those who accept Mr. Freeman's axioms it is unanswerable; but, so far as can be judged, Greek is a losing cause, and is not likely to be saved by argument, however sound. The contest is really beyond argument, because it is a battle of different ideals; there is a lack of any common ground and standard to which appeal can be made with any certainty of the opponents understanding each other. And so in this case, too, it will happen that Mr. Freeman's weightiest words will fail of effect because "the ambitious pedagogue" and the *novus homo* of the sciences place no value on those elements of education which he thinks of most consequence, and have a very vague idea of what he is talking about. Such conflicts are not reasoned out, but fought out. It is in vain that literary men come up one by one and give their testimony that Greek is the one thing most needful, so far as their experience tests the matter. They are, after all, a small band, and their influence at the universities is inconsiderable. We find Mr. George Saintsbury, in the next article, contrasting English and French literature in his usual execrable style, but with thought and point enough; and he interrupts his praise of these two literatures as completing each other and making a whole in education, to say that he would not accept French in lieu of Greek and Latin, and again that he would not give up reading Greek and Latin on any consideration. The ranks of literature are very close in favor of the old culture, admitting only the need of more intelligent methods of teaching; but every year the universities yield more and more, and men of letters bred under the old régime have nothing to do with it except to make futile protests. Mr. Saintsbury's article, let us add, is well worth looking up by any one who would read an excellent broad-featured parallel of French and English genius.

—Many people every year, no doubt, read with surprise in their 'Robinson Crusoe' the account of the attack which wolves made upon his party as they were coming down the Pyrenees into France, and wonder a little that those wild beasts had not been exterminated at so late a date as a couple of hundred years ago. Such readers will find cause for still greater astonishment in an article which appeared in the *Revue Rose* of February 7, and which gives a good deal of curious information about the existence of wolves in France at the present day. No less than 315 of these animals were killed in the battues of the year 1889, the Exposition year. In several parts of the country they are a serious nuisance, killing sheep, destroying the little game that still exists, and even attacking human beings. General battues have been held twice a year, in March and in December, for two hundred years and more, under the direction of the lieutenants of *louveterie*. These officers are appointed by the chief of the State upon nomination by the Minister of Forestry, and, apart from their official character, seem to be much like English masters of the hounds. They are taken from the class of wealthy land-owners, keep up at their own cost an *équipage de chasse*, and serve without pay. In return they had, up to 1832, the right to hunt stags, boars, and hares twice a month in the State forests. This privilege is now restricted to the chase of wild boars only. Within the last ten years attempts have been

made to exterminate the wolves altogether. In 1882 rewards were offered of 200 francs for every wolf, male or female, known to have attacked a human being; 150 francs for each *louve pleine;* 100 francs for each *louve non pleine*, and 40 francs for each whelp. These rewards were paid in 1889 for 86 animals killed in Dordogne only, and 79 in Charente. In 1888 the numbers were: 100 in Dordogne, 56 in Charente, 53 in Haute-Vienne, 29 in Meuse, and 26 in the Vosges. The north of France, the centre, Normandy, and the basins of Paris and of the Rhone appear to be the only regions that are quite free from them. According to the writer in the *Revue Rose*, the last wolves were killed in Scotland in 1680 and in Ireland in 1710.

—The Year Book of the Holland Society of New York for 1888–'89 comes to us in a sumptuous octavo volume of two hundred and sixty-eight pages, bound in orange and decorated with the two red-white-and-blue flags of the Dutch and American republics. Printed at the De Vinne Press, and furnished with abundant tokens both of the printer's and illustrator's art, as well as of the loving care of the Secretary of the Holland Society, Mr. George W. Van Siclen, who is its editor, it is worthy of a place in the library as well as on the table. The first and major portion of the book is taken up with an account of a trip made by about fifty persons, members of the Society and their friends, to Holland during the summer of 1888. Besides a general description of the tour, there are bound up in the volume the maps, programmes, small guide-books, and catalogues of exhibitions specially prepared for their American guests by their hosts in Holland. The American pilgrims, returning to visit the homes of their ancestors, were everywhere received with unusual demonstrations of welcome. At Leyden the librarians and curators of that well-preserved city prepared an exhibition of documents, books, pictures, and relics from public and private collections relating to the Pilgrim Fathers and to the Dutch settlements in North America. These Dutch scholars of Leyden, though unable, despite their wide reading, to understand why the credit of settling America and of founding the nation is given chiefly to the Scrooby Separatists, nevertheless did their best to illustrate this part of the connection between Dutch and American history. There is an interesting paper on Jesse de Forest, the founder of New Amsterdam, which will interest New Yorkers. The papers of the historian, Rev. J. H. Suydam, especially that one relating to the finding of a portrait of Washington, are also of more than passing interest. In the latter portion of the book are given the speeches and proceedings of the dinner of the Holland Society in New York on January 8, 1889, and in Albany February 14 of the same year. Enriched with portraits and other illustrative matter, in addition to the winnowed text, the volume serves as a pleasing remembrancer of the ties between our country and the republic of northern Europe in which not only the Pilgrim Fathers, but nearly all the English Puritan leaders who settled in New England before 1640 A. D., received their political education. It serves, also, to refresh the memory of those who forget the great debt which the American owes to the Dutch republic, which, both to the colonists of the seventeenth century, the revolutionists of the eighteenth, and to the makers of the Constitution in 1787, was a living reality. The spirit of Bradford's words to the New Netherlands authorities in 1627 —"acknowledging ourselves tied in a strict obligation unto your country and State, for the good entertainment and free liberty which we had, and our brethren and countrymen yet there have and do enjoy, under your most honourable Lords and States"—was continued in Benjamin Franklin when, to the first Congress under the Constitution, he declared that "in the love of liberty, and bravery in the defence of it, she [Holland] has been our great example." We may add, by the way, that, after the adjournment of the International Congregational Council in London, July 12–21, the coming summer, a large number of Americans will proceed to Leyden to witness the unveiling of a tablet to the memory of John Robinson and his congregation.

—We have received a proof of the latest in the remarkable series of portraits on wood by G. Kruell from time to time commended in these columns—Abraham Lincoln. It is issued by F. Keppel, 20 East Sixteenth Street, who will also fill orders for the limited editions of the Darwins, Garrison, Phillips, Asa Gray, and Godkin, by the same engraver. The block is somewhat larger than its predecessors, measuring 8.5x10.5 inches, and reaches a limit of size which it can hardly be worth while to exceed for portraiture. This extraordinary print of Lincoln is, we do not hesitate to say, destined to be the historic likeness of the first President of our free republic. It is based upon the same photograph which Rajon etched in an unsatisfactory way a little before his death, and which St. Gaudens used in modelling the bust of the sculptured Lincoln—that at Chicago. But Mr. Kruell has also wrought into it the contemporary life-mask, and has invested the whole with that interpretation of character which distinguishes his portraits from those of any other artist. It is easy to say of the result that it will efface any portrait of Lincoln in black and white, hitherto produced, that may be placed beside it; but it is hard to describe in words the refinement and breadth of treatment, sureness of aim, harmony of modelling and of chiaroscuro, realism in the essential traits of physiognomy and legendary ideality of expression and sentiment, which nothing has yet approached. The quality of the portrait as a whole is not only masterly, but old-masterly; and as for the technique, it is a surprising advance even on the incomparable series enumerated above. It is a definitive challenge, by the head of the new school of American wood-engraving, to all other modes and schools of engraving to show cause why, in the estimation of connoisseurs and in commercial value, the most popular medium of pictorial art should not also be the most precious and the most sought after in its highest achievements.

VON SYBEL'S FOUNDING OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE.

The Founding of the German Empire by William I. By Heinrich von Sybel. Translated by M. L. Perrin, Ph.D. (Gött.), of Boston University, assisted by Gamaliel Bradford, jr. Vols. I., II. Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. 1891.

No more important historical work has appeared in the last decade than Von Sybel's 'Begründung des deutschen Reichs.' The movement which he describes ranks with the consolidation of the American Union and the establishment of Italian unity as one of the three greatest political achievements of our time; and his book is the first history of the German unity movement that is based throughout upon original material. The author received from Prince Bismarck, in 1881, permission to use the Prussian state papers for the purpose of writing this history, and since Droysen's death he has been the custodian of the Prussian archives. The Prussian collection includes the archives of Hanover, Electoral Hesse, and Nassau, seized in 1866, and these have enabled the historian to follow the movements of anti-Prussian diplomacy down to that date.

It is, of course, the Prussian side of the story that is here presented, and the narrative will eventually be supplemented, and perhaps in some degree corrected, by histories based upon the archives of Austria, France, and other European States. But the Prussian side will always be the most important, and it is not likely that Von Sybel's work will need to be done over again. When it was known that he was engaged upon this great task, there was but one feeling in Germany—that of satisfaction. Von Sybel won a cosmopolitan reputation in 1853, with the first volume of his 'Revolutionszeit,' and since the death of Ranke, as Kluckhohn said recently in the *Rundschau*, he has "incontestably occupied the place of honor" among German historians. The five volumes which have appeared, and which carry the narrative down to the close of the year 1866, have not disappointed expectation. From both the scientific and the literary point of view they rank among the best products of German historical genius.

The historian has striven to be just to Prussia's antagonists. "Nowhere in the book," he says in his preface, "have I attempted to deny my Prussian and National-Liberal convictions. I hope, however, for recognition of my endeavor to confess, without palliation, the faults committed and the mistakes made in our own camp; to judge justly and fairly the conduct of our adversaries; in other words, not to derive the motives of their action from folly or wickedness, but to comprehend them as the result of the historic premises of their entire position." (The translation is ours.) The practice of the author accords with this declaration of purpose. Frederick William IV. is not defended; Schwarzenberg, Rechberg, Napoleon III. are not assailed; the effort of the author is to discover the springs of their action, to comprehend them himself, and to explain them to the reader.

The period to be covered by the entire history is from 1848 to 1870 inclusive. The two volumes of the American translation which form the subject of the present notice, extend to 1863.

The author rightly judges that the triumphs of 1866 and 1870 cannot be understood without examining the failures of 1849 and 1850. To these again an historic introduction is necessary. Nearly a third of the first volume (book i.) is accordingly devoted to a sketch of the political development of Germany from the earliest times down to 1848. These chapters are written in the manner which Ranke has used so often and so effectively. The more remote history is given in the broadest outlines; the less remote with more detail; until, as the author approaches the period which he has undertaken to describe, the narrative becomes so full and complete that the reader passes almost insensibly from the preface to the body of the history. The keynote of the preface—and of the whole history, in fact—is struck at the end of the second chapter, where it is pointed out that the political situation of Germany, at the close of the eighteenth century, was dominated by the "dualism" between Austria and Prussia, while the political psychology of the German people exhibited a singular mixture of cosmo-

politan ideas and narrow State-rights sentiments. The next four chapters describe the Napoleonic supremacy and the War of Liberation; the unsatisfactory organization of the German Confederation in 1815; the attempt of Metternich to strengthen the Federal Diet in order more effectively to crush out revolutionary tendencies—an attempt which for the moment made the Liberals themselves State-rights men; the development of the Prussian Customs Union, which gave all Germany, outside of Austria, an economic unity; the rapid growth, in the forties, of a national sentiment; and, finally, a keen and striking analysis of the character and ideas of Frederick William IV. —next to Frederick the Great the most brilliant and, without exception, the most ineffective of Prussian Kings; a man who had every talent except the political, and was in sympathy with every age save that in which he lived.

Books ii. and iii. describe the attempt of the Liberals, whom the Revolution of 1848 had made, for the moment, masters of Germany, to establish a permanent national organization. The National Assembly was forced at length, by the logic of the situation, to vote the exclusion of Austria, and the consolidation of the "narrower Germany" into a democratic empire with a Prussian emperor; a result which a compact minority, headed by Von Gagern, had contemplated from the outset. Frederick William IV. refused the imperial crown, and the popular movement came to a speedy end. No previous writer has shown so clearly the cross-play, in the Frankfort Assembly, of national and particularistic sentiments, of conservative, liberal, and democratic ideas, of visionary enthusiasm and practical politics; but what is really new in this history is the exact statement of Frederick William's attitude towards the unity movement and of the considerations (or emotions) which determined his negative decision. It is in the midst of this period that we gain the first glimpse of the young Bismarck, encouraging the King (with a frankness of speech which shocked the Queen) to pluck up heart and resist the Revolution (vol i., page 286, translation). We learn also, for the first time, we think, that Bismarck was instrumental in securing the appointment of Count Brandenburg as Premier of a Conservative Ministry.

The contents of books iv. and v., in which the action centres at Berlin, may be said to be wholly new. These books describe the attempt of Prussia to establish the "narrower union" in concert with the princes of Germany; the collapse of this policy; the submission of Prussia to Austria at Olmütz, and the reëstablishment of the old Confederation. We have had, until now, only the external frame of these events; Von Sybel gives us the inside view. We follow every move in the diplomatic game; we sit in council with the Prussian King and his ministers; for the first time we understand Olmütz. One episode of this period was treated by Von Sybel some three years ago in an article entitled "Graf Brandenburg in Warschau," published in the *Historische Zeitschrift;* but all the rest of the story is new.

Book vi. covers the years from 1851 to 1857—years of comparative quiet in Germany, although Europe was agitated by the reëstablishment of the Napoleonic empire and the reopening of the Oriental question. Bismarck now begins to assume prominence in the narrative. His courage had impressed the irresolute Frederick William, his devotion to the royal prerogative had won the King's confidence; and when the Confederate Diet was reestablished at Frankfort, Bismarck soon became the Prussian representative in that body. During the Crimean War, all the chief threads of European intrigue ran through Frankfort, and Bismarck began to exercise a marked influence upon Prussia's general policy. His Frankfort despatches are therefore most valuable material for this period; but these despatches we have had for several years. They were published in 1882-84, with admirable introductions, which, we now learn, were written by Von Sybel himself.

Book vii. deals mainly with the period of the regency of Prince William, 1858–60 inclusive, and closes with his coronation in 1861. As Regent, William deemed it improper to break completely with his brother's policy, but his stronger character made itself felt at once, and Prussia's action became more decided and more consistent. The first steps were taken towards the reorganization of the army, in the face of growing opposition on the part of the Diet. As King, William pursued his aims with increased energy. The semi-Liberal Hohenzollern ministry, unwilling to face the conflict, resigned. In book viii. the historian describes the first year of Bismarck's premiership, 1862–63. The policy of "blood and iron" was announced, the "open place" in the Constitution was discovered, and the reserve powers of the Crown were brought into action. In the Polish insurrection, Bismarck sided resolutely with Russia against Austria and the western Powers. To Sir Andrew Buchanan, the English ambassador, Bismarck announced that, if the Russians were expelled from Poland, Prussia would herself occupy the kingdom. "Europe will never suffer that," said Sir Andrew. "Who is Europe?" inquired Bismarck. His attitude was dictated by the clear interests of Prussia. Russia had been on bad terms with Austria since the Crimean war, and the tension between these Powers was increased by Austria's hostile attitude in 1863. Prussia's support was doubly valuable at a time when Russia stood alone; it won Russia's gratitude and friendship, and the Russian support was of immense value in Bismarck's subsequent ventures.

The whole Polish question is more fully treated than Von Sybel's main object requires, but Poland has always been a favorite subject with this historian. Every student will remember his discussion and defence of the partition of Poland in his 'Revolutionszeit.' Now as then he is no friend of Poland, and his treatment of the insurrection of 1863 is extremely unsympathetic.

The second volume closes with Austria's theatrical attempt to solve the German question in the Austrian interest by a Congress of princes. Against his own judgment and inclination, King William held aloof from the Congress. The result vindicated Bismarck's foresight: the Austrian attempt came to nothing. In this same year, 1863, the Schleswig-Holstein question arose again, and Bismarck found his opportunity to solve the German problem. The Schleswig-Holstein question, the Danish war, the conflict between Austria and Prussia, and the formation of the North-German Confederation—these matters form the subject of Von Sybel's third, fourth, and fifth volumes, which we shall notice later, when the translation of these volumes is completed.

The translation of the first two volumes is anything but satisfactory. It is fluent, indeed, but not always idiomatic, and it is full of errors. Many of these are obviously due to carelessness. On page 8 of vol. i. we read that the German colonists of the Slavic East were "invited and favored by the rulers, who were themselves foreigners." Von Sybel says, "invited and favored by the foreign rulers themselves." In chap. iii. the author says that the first Napoleon became "the over-lord of *half* Europe." The translators make him say, "the master of *all* Europe" (p. 28). A little further along, the author tells us that the first North-German conspiracies against Napoleon had no "central point of guidance," but that the Prussian Government soon furnished such a central point. The translators say that there was no "central idea" in the movement until Prussia assumed its guidance (pp. 31, 32). A "central idea" of course existed all along—the liberation of the Fatherland. In addition to positive errors of this sort, there is a constant effacement in the translation of precise shades of meaning. This is the more unfortunate because Von Sybel is one of the most exact of historical writers. Every word of his is carefully weighed; nothing more is conveyed than the facts warrant; an important qualification is often contained in a seemingly unimportant adjective. Much of this is lost in the translation—and quite needlessly, for in most cases a literal rendering would preserve the sense without violence to English idioms.

There are many other errors, and graver errors, which are obviously due, not to the translators' carelessness, but to their ignorance of German history and German public law. On page 17 they tell us that, "by the quarrels of the Emperor Joseph II. and his mother during their co-regency, the dignity and unity of the imperial power were lost." Every student of Germany history knows that Maria Theresa was never co-regent of the Empire. Her husband was Emperor, and so was her son Joseph II.; by virtue of her husband's dignity, she bore the title of Empress; but in her own right she was only Queen of Bohemia and Hungary, Archduchess of Austria, etc. Referring to the German, we find that it was "die Central-regierung" of Austria, not the imperial power, that lost poise and unity through the co-regency.

Technical terms of politics and law regularly bring the translators to grief. On page 10 of volume i. we are told that, in the reign of Maximilian, "a number of imperial institutions . . . were brought into existence in the States." The German text makes the opposite statement, viz., that a number of "ständische Einrichtungen," *i. e.*, institutions created and controlled by the Estates, were brought into existence in the Empire. Among these was a "ständisches Reichsregiment," *i. e.*, a system of imperial administration conducted by the Estates; the translators make a wild shot at the word "regiment," and render the phrase "a State contingent of the Imperial Army." On pages 35, 64, and elsewhere, when mention is made of the plan of convoking "Reichsstände," or Estates-General, in Prussia, and of publishing a "Reichsverfassung," or general Constitution, for Prussia ("Reich" indicating simply the whole kingdom as against the separate provinces), the translators speak of an "imperial" legislature and an "imperial" constitution. The result is to confuse, in the reader's mind, the Prussian and the German movements; for the German patriots did desire an imperial constitution and an imperial Parliament. This objection seems, after a time, to have occurred to the translators, for on page 71 "Reichsstände" is translated by the single word "Estates"—which obliterates the very important distinction between the local or provincial estates then in existence and the proposed general estates—and on pages 73, 74, and 75 the same word is rendered "royal estates," which is meaningless. In still other parts of the volume the troublesome word

"Stände" is rendered by "constituencies," which confounds the representatives with their electors. And on page 46, "ständische Verfassung" and "ständische Rechte" are translated "provincial constitution" and "provincial rights," although the constitution and the rights in question were those of entire States and their inhabitants.

Almost any sort of a political division, from the early German "Gau" down to the "Landschaft" (and even, as in the case just cited, a State itself) is a "province." "Rechtspflege," the administration of justice, becomes "jurisprudence" (vol. i, p. 6). "Strafbare Rechtswidrigkeit," which means any punishable violation of law, is translated "State crime" (p. 15). "Rechtssicherheit" signifies security of civil rights: it is translated "constitutional rights" (p. 30). "Staatsrechtliche Streitigkeiten," constitutional controversies within a State, is rendered "differences between the States" (p. 46). "Schutz gegen Justizverweigerung," protection (by appeal) against denial of justice, is turned into the "right of public trial" (ibid). "Tax reform" is narrowed into "tariff reform"; "Anleihe," a loan, is translated (or misprinted) "law" (p. 71), and "Binnenzölle," or internal customs duties levied upon goods passing from one part of a State to another part, are twisted into "internal excise duties" (p. 74).

Perhaps the most extraordinary, certainly the most bewildering, freak of this translation is the rendition of "Particularismus," "Sonderthum," and similar expressions. In one passage (page 27) "partikulare Gesinnung" is translated "personal ideas"—which does not mislead the reader because it means nothing—but the word usually employed is "individualism." If "particularism," a word which is fairly acclimated already, is not good enough English for the translators, why do they not say "State sovereignty" or "State rights"? These are the American equivalents of particularism. Particularism and individualism are so far from being the same thing that particularism is frequently the bitterest enemy of individualism. So it was in the Augsburg peace of 1555, when each secular prince of the German Empire obtained the right of imposing his creed upon all the inhabitants of his territory. Nothing was then left to individualism in religion but the right of emigration. But this peace of Augsburg (which Von Sybel declares to have brought profit only to the "partikulare Gewalten") the translators calmly proclaim to have been "exclusively favorable to individualism" (page 12). This is like saying that the eleventh amendment to the United States Constitution, which makes it impossible for an individual to sue a State, is a triumph of "individualism."

It will not escape the careful reader that all our instances of mistranslation are taken from the first eighty pages of the first volume. What harvest might be reaped from the following thousand pages we do not undertake to say. A hasty examination of the last chapter of the second volume, however, has convinced us that the translators have learned something in the progress of their work. The errors are not so gross nor the infelicities so numerous. But in some cases they avoid error by refusing to translate technical terms at all, simply omitting them, which does not conduce to clearness.

Von Sybel's German publisher has protested that this translation is unauthorized. He characterizes the act of the American translators and the American publisher as "another illustration of the views prevailing in the United States concerning the literary property of foreign nations." It is conceivably in the power of the American publisher to remove the grievance of his German colleague; an injury to the pocket can be made good. But how are the gentlemen who have laid unlicensed hands upon the work of a foreign scholar, and who have defaced it, to make good the wrong that they have done to his reputation?

POLLOCK'S INTRODUCTION TO THE SCIENCE OF POLITICS.

An Introduction to the History of the Science of Politics. By Sir Frederick Pollock, Bart., Corpus Christi Professor of Jurisprudence in the University of Oxford. Macmillan & Co.

WITHIN the compass of one hundred and twenty-six pages, Sir F. Pollock has undertaken to sketch the history of one of the largest topics with which philosophers or historians have ever had to deal, and regarding the very nature and meaning of which many controversies have raged. It is no small praise to say that in writing so briefly on so vast a theme he has been neither commonplace nor superficial, but has given his readers matter well digested and of solid worth, touching often lightly, sometimes slightly, but never weakly, on the more salient aspects and problems that belong to what is called political science. After discussing the question whether the study of the State and its powers and functions deserves to be reckoned a science at all, he plunges into the history of the subject by an account of the views of Aristotle, whom he regards as the father of all subsequent political thinkers; laying, as we think, too little stress on the services of Plato, whose speculations, however far removed from the facts of human society, have at more than one epoch exercised a profoundly stimulating and moulding influence upon the minds of men. So far, however, as politics is a science, Aristotle is no doubt the thinker who did most to give it scientific form; and in some respects his views were more just and conformable to history as we now know it than those of any of his successors down to our own days. From Aristotle Sir F. Pollock leaps almost at once to Macchiavelli, giving a few passing words to Dante, and then presents us with a careful and exact, though of course very condensed, account of the speculations of Bodin, Hobbes, Locke, and Rousseau regarding the origin of civil society and the nature of political authority. To this account he adds remarks upon Montesquieu and Burke, who by their methods and tendencies belong rather to the historical than to the *a-priori* school. The last part deals with Bentham and Austin, as representing the English analytic school who approach political science from the point of view of utilitarian ethics, reviving the doctrines of Hobbes regarding the nature of the State; and with the German writers on the so-called Law of Nature who develop juristic and political notions out of ethical and metaphysical conceptions.

This brief outline shows how much has been omitted. There is hardly anything about mediæval doctrines, though these have considerable importance in the history of the subject; hardly anything about the relations of political philosophy to the political conditions of the civilized world during the last twenty-two centuries; nothing regarding the discussions which have filled so many minds and books regarding the merits of various forms of government and their administrative machinery, the rights of the citizen, the relations of the State to the Church and of States to one another. For these omissions our author is not to be blamed. He has wisely chosen rather to do some things thoroughly than many things in a sketchy and inadequate way. Many parts of the book, as, for instance, his remarks on Montesquieu and Burke, his reflections on the contrast between the English and the Continental points of view of jurisprudence and its relation to politics and ethics, are quite admirable in their terseness, their clearness, their unprejudiced good sense. No living writer in England or America, or, for the matter of that, in Germany or France, could have put his points better. Compare him, for instance, with Mr. Herbert Spencer, whom he sometimes quotes. Mr. Spencer's contributions to political and historical science seem to us mere commonplaces, sometimes false, sometimes true, but in both cases trying to disguise their essential flatness and commonness in a garb of dogmatic formalism. So John Austin, who is frequently referred to by Sir F. Pollock (though usually to be refuted) is one of the most barren and least penetrating authors whom the praises of friends ever pushed up into some sort of reputation. But Sir F. Pollock, with far less formal pomp than Mr. Spencer, far less dogmatic self-assertion than John Austin, has more to say that is worth hearing and pondering over than either of these writers.

The parts of the book which have chiefly interested us are the statement and criticism of the progress of doctrines from Bodin to Rousseau regarding the origin of civil society, and the view of the form which the fundamental problems of jurisprudence have assumed in our own time. It is not easy for us moderns who have been thoroughly imbued with the methods and temper of history to understand why Bodin and Hobbes should have labored so hard to find a foundation for the authority of the State. To us the problem is in one sense perfectly simple, in another perfectly insoluble. It is simple in so far as we understand how, in point of fact, civil society has been formed. We have had opportunities of observing communities in all degrees of civilization. We perceive that everywhere, even among Fuegians and Australian savages, there exists some kind of organization, however rudimentary, and that organization implies authority, and that authority tends, as communities advance for a certain time, to become more stringent and more concentrated until some sort of State with a recognized government is constituted, the powers of such authority becoming more and more defined, first by custom and ultimately by law. We see no occasion for any such theory as that of the original compact, or *contrat social*, to explain the phenomena of the growth of States out of families and tribes, even if we could suppose that the formation of such covenants was the sort of thing primitive man was likely to do. As regards the nature and ground of the authority of the State over the individual, we should now say, in the first place, that something of the kind is to be expected, because, as Aristotle observed long ago, ἄνθρωπος φύσει πολιτικὸν ζῷον—man is by his own nature a being fitted for civil life. Every man is born into communities which he finds already subsisting, and he can neither ignore them nor be ignored by them. That their rules should bind him is a necessity of the case, which he can escape only by betaking himself to a desert island. All this seems now obvious. If the inquirer, however, is not satisfied with historical explanations, and insists on having some ground of abstract reason given why men should be required to obey other men, apart from the fact that the world has practically

proceeded on the hypothesis that they must so obey, it is not easy to find any such ground, for an appeal to physical force rather cuts than unties the knot. And if he goes on to ask what are the tests by which a just government may be distinguished from an unjust one, so that the citizen shall know when he ought to obey and when he may properly rebel, we shall answer that there exists no such general test, and that it depends on the circumstances of each particular case whether insurrection is a crime, or a right, or a duty. These, however, were the questions on which some of the most powerful intellects of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries were occupied, and which more than once passed from the study of the philosopher to become the theme of hot debate in assemblies, or the motive force of political parties.

Two reasons may, we think, be assigned for the importance attached to them. One is the fact that when the power of the Roman Church and of what may be called the religious theory of civil government—that which represented Pope, Emperor, and King as divinely commissioned authorities—fell and vanished, men felt the necessity of putting some other formal and imposing theory in its place, and were not content with the simple explanation or denial of any mystery in the matter which now satisfies us. The other is, that the difference between legal authority and moral authority, between that which the ruler has a legal title to do and that which he ought to or may in conscience do, had not been fully apprehended, and men sought for a doctrine which would explain and bring into accord phenomena which we regard as lying, so to speak, in different planes. Some such confusion seems to lurk in the systems both of Hobbes and of Rousseau. Locke and the English statesmen of the Revolution were on ground somewhat more stable and real; for though the commonwealth of England was not built upon any original compact of its members with one another, there might be said to be a sort of contract between the Crown and its subjects, the obedience of the latter being conditional on the observance by the former of his coronation oath and of the engagements entered into by his predecessors from the great charter downwards. It is to be hoped that this question of the nature of sovereignty, which has haunted politics like a gibbering and unsubstantial ghost for centuries, and still lingers in the belated treatises of Austin and the other followers of Bentham, has now at length been laid to rest and will trouble us no more.

The other topic which has specially interested us, as handled by Sir F. Pollock, is the modern German school of writers on what is called *Naturrecht*, including such men as Röder, Trendelenburg, Ahrens. He says just the right thing about it, viz.: that it is not so empty and vague as English lawyers, and even perhaps most English jurists, commonly assume, but that it has not a practical value for the purposes of legal study quite commensurate to its high pretensions and to the fulness with which German professors treat it. Its province is the borderland between ethics on the one hand and law or political science on the other. It examines the conceptions and relations which belong to this borderland with much acuteness, and in so far lays a foundation for legal study which is not to be despised. It is at least as much to the purpose as the lucubrations on the principle of utility to be found in Bentham or Austin, and has the advantage of presenting a somewhat wider view of the scope and organs of law than that of those who seem unable to imagine any form of legal rule other than an English Act of Parliament. But, it must be admitted, the method of these books on Natural Law is so very abstract, and the labor of reading them so disproportionate to the crop of ideas which one can raise from them, that few Englishmen or Americans are likely to spend, or can be advised to spend, time upon them. Sir F. Pollock, indeed, thinks that "the bent of American publicists is towards the Continental habit of thought. They believe in the Common Law, like English judges of the seventeenth century, and in the Law of Nature, like German philosophers." It is true that some eminent professors in our law schools refuse to teach the law of their own State merely, preferring to handle the law as common to the United States generally. But we do not believe that there is more tendency in this country than in England to the German way of regarding jurisprudence in general. It is almost the only point—and certainly not a grave one—in which we differ from our author, whose book is one of quite exceptional merit.

The Adventures of Thomas Pellow of Penryn. [Adventure Series.] London: T. Fisher Unwin; New York: Macmillan & Co.

THIS curious book was first published in 1740, two years after the author's return from his twenty-three years' captivity among the Moors. Dr. Robert Brown has written an interesting introduction and a number of notes elucidating the text, but otherwise the book is a reprint of the original edition, except that some passages stolen from other authors have been omitted. Until recently the value of Pellow's narrative as a contribution to the very slender stock of knowledge of Morocco has been overlooked, but investigation has confirmed its general accuracy both as regards topographical and historical statements. The country is little known to-day, and was less known in the last century, and it is therefore not surprising that some of the wonderful things here recorded should have led his readers to doubt Pellow's truthfulness.

The most plausible account of the origin of the Barbary pirates is that when the Moors were driven out of Spain, they took their revenge by preying on the commerce of the Christians; but there is good authority for the theory that they received their earliest lessons in seamanship from the privateers who had won both glory and profit in Queen Elizabeth's time, and found themselves out of work in the following reign. Certain it is that Capt. John Smith of Virginian fame was for a time in the service of the Sultan of Morocco, and that many of the Moorish leaders, both on land and sea, were European outcasts. In Pellow's time the Governor of Sallee was a Frenchman named Pillet, and as late as 1780 a Scotchman known as "Omar" commanded a piratical craft, and it is safe to assume that both these gentlemen had "left their country for their country's good." The Europeans who were captured in merchantmen and refused to adopt the Moorish religion and dress, were cruelly treated and kept at hard labor on buildings and other public works. The Emperor Muley Ismaïl, who reigned from 1672 to 1727, when remonstrated with for cruelty towards Christian captives, replied that he was like a man with a bag of rats, and must keep them stirring, or they would eat their way through! On the other hand, those who "turned Moor," as Pellow and others did, found pleasanter employment, and were sometimes raised to important commands in the army. Muley Ismaïl's executioner, who was remarkably skilful in cutting off heads with one blow of the sword, was an Exeter man, and owed his success in life to his early training as a butcher. Many of these apostates were presented with wives by the Emperor, and their fair-haired descendants are pointed out to the traveller in Fez and Mequinez to this day.

It was in 1715, when he was eleven years old, that Thomas Pellow, "being at the Latin School in Penryn, and by no means liking my so early rising, and (as I then thought) most severe discipline of the school," persuaded his uncle to take him along with him on the good ship *Francis* bound for Genoa. The *Francis* was captured off Cape Finisterre by two Sallee rovers, and the crew, together with captives from other vessels, were marched from Sallee to Mequinez, and there put to work and subjected to much cruel treatment. The Emperor, however, seems to have taken a fancy to Pellow, who was persuaded to "turn Moor," and, having done so, was better treated and set to learn Arabic. At the time of Commodore Stewart's embassy for the redemption of British captives in 1721 he seems to have acted as interpreter, and he says that he could tell many things of moment about this embassy; "but as I am informed there is a book of it already printed, I shall not go about in anywise to interfere with it." This scrupulous non-interference is no longer characteristic of African travellers. Again, in 1727, Capt. Russel went on a similar embassy, and mentions having met Pellow, "a young fellow of good family in Cornwall, but now turned Moor." These embassies resulted in the liberation of some of the English captives, but the cases of Pellow and the other renegades were not deemed worthy of their consideration.

As time went on, Pellow showed courage in the field and some military talent, and was appointed to the command of a considerable body of horse. The Emperor gave him a wife with whom he seems to have lived happily in the brief intervals between different campaigns; but the ardor of his affection was kept well in hand, for when, at a later period, he was informed of the sudden death of his wife and a little daughter, he says: "I thought them to have been far better off than they could have been in this troublesome world, and therefore it gave me very little uneasiness"! In the course of his endless marches about the country, he was often wounded, and still oftener in danger from lions and other wild beasts. He says that if a man meets a lion, he should stare him full in the face and loudly abuse him in the language of the country ("for fear he may not understand English"), and that if he is so treated, he will generally decamp. It is a singular proof of Pellow's truthfulness that these tactics are exactly those employed by the Moors of to-day, though lions are no longer as numerous as they used to be.

In spite of his military success, Pellow became weary of the continual civil war that followed the death of Muley Ismaïl. That venerable ruffian is said by one authority to have left 900 sons; and even if we prefer another historian who reduces the number to 520, there would still remain a substantial basis for these wars of succession. During all this period Pellow's thoughts were constantly bent on efforts to escape. Twice he was unsuccessful and came near losing his life in consequence. On one of these occasions he and a comrade, by deliberate perjury, turned the tables on a third Englishman, who at first shared and afterwards betrayed their plot; and he naïvely describes his embarrassment on meeting this unhappy Englishman's sister after his return to

England, but decides that he was justified by the facts. The story of his third and last attempt is crowded with the most thrilling and dramatic incidents. As one misfortune after another befalls him, it seems impossible that he should succeed; but pertinacity and nerve carry him through the slough of despond, and finally, in the year of grace 1738, "the so long lost sheep is again restored to his owners after his long straying and grievous hardships amongst those monsters and ravenous wolves of infidelity." With such pious phrases does the good man eke out his somewhat lean store of moral rectitude.

A. M. Mackay, Pioneer Missionary of the Church Missionary Society to Uganda. By his sister. With portrait and map. [Author's Edition.] A. C. Armstrong & Son. 1890. 8vo, pp. viii., 488.

"THE best missionary since Livingstone," is Mr. Stanley's estimate of the subject of this biography. This testimony, which all who knew Mackay and his work will heartily endorse, is significant as showing the qualities and training which insure the greatest success in savage Africa. He was in many respects a singularly interesting character. A skilful civil engineer, with a university education, but thoroughly imbued with the straitest Scotch theology, he burned with a zeal to convert the heathen, and at the same time held the steam-engine only second to the Bible as a civilizing agent. Road-making, boat-building, work at his forge, were for him inseparable adjuncts to the preaching of the Gospel. There was, from his point of view, no opposition in religion and science, but the one was essential to the other in Christianizing the black man. One secret of his success, it should be added, was the rare faculty that he had of attaching the natives to him. This is the more noteworthy, as he confesses to having had "an almost uncontrollable aversion" to black people. Not only did he fully overcome this, but one of his associates says of him that his love for his black converts was very touching. Perhaps none but Livingstone and Stanley have ever gained so great an influence over the African. "For many days before we reached his mission," says Mr. Jephson, "we heard from the natives of Mackay, nothing but Mackay—they seemed to care for and know of no one else." Gen. Gordon early recognized his peculiar ability and traits, and offered him a high position in his service, which the young man, intent only on missionary work, declined.

The story of his short life is quickly told. He was born in 1849 in a Scotch parsonage, studied at Edinburgh, and, after leaving the University, was employed for three years in Germany as a draughtsman of machinery. During a part of this time he spent his evenings in translating Lübsen's 'Differential and Integral Calculus,' and in "inventing an agricultural machine which obtained the first prize at the exhibition of steam machines held at Breslau." In 1874 he offered himself for missionary work in Madagascar, with the hope of establishing a college "to train the young men in religion and science together," and the expectation of executing public works, such as railways, mines, etc. The time, however, was not ripe for ambitious enterprises like these, and his offer was declined.

Notwithstanding this check, his purpose remained unchanged, and in 1876 he was accepted for service in the Uganda mission, being one of the eight pioneers sent out in response to King Mtesa's invitation given through Mr. Stanley. From various causes he was prevented from reaching this country for more than two years after landing at Zanzibar, the interval being mainly employed in building a road and forwarding caravans and supplies from the coast to the Victoria Nyanza. His work in Uganda extended over eight troubled years, his chief antagonists being the Arabs and the witch-doctors. Driven out by Mwanga during his frightful persecution of the Christians in 1887, he retired to the southern end of the lake, where he built a new station. Here for two years more he kept at his task of giving a Christian civilization to the negro, steadfastly refusing to heed the earnest entreaties from friends and employers to return home and recruit his exhausted strength. The end came suddenly through an attack of fever on February 8, 1890.

Mr. Stanley's description of the station, as seen by him a few months before Mackay's death, gives a good idea of the industrial side of his work. "There was a big, solid workshop in the yard, filled with machinery and tools, a launch's boiler was being prepared by the blacksmiths, a big canoe was outside repairing; there were saw-pits and large logs of hard timber," and many quiet laborers. In addition to occupations such as these, he was an indefatigable teacher, and not only reduced the vernacular of Uganda to writing, but also translated and printed portions of the Bible in this language from types of his own make.

It is difficult from his sister's account to get a true impression of what Mr. Mackay was and what he accomplished. She has evidently been hampered in two ways, by her desire to write a biography of the old-fashioned kind which should be edifying, and by her belief that the history of the Uganda Mission is generally known. Accordingly, a large part of the book is given up to long and, we are bound to say, often tedious extracts from her brother's diaries and letters, while important events are only briefly referred to or altogether omitted. References to the natives and their customs and to the country and its varied life are far too few for the interest of the biography. We regret this especially because Mr. Mackay's career contained more that would stimulate young men to self-sacrificing lives than that of any missionary of our day. He was the true type of man that Africa most needs.

Socialism, New and Old. By William Graham, M.A., Professor of Political Economy and Jurisprudence, Queen's College, Belfast. [International Scientific Series.] D. Appleton & Co. 1891.

THE plan of this book is praiseworthy. Prof. Graham first considers socialism historically, with a view to showing that in its essence it is no new thing, that it is always produced by like causes, and that in the form of communism it is obsolete. After a summary view of the earlier socialism, he examines at length the great modern systems, represented by Rousseau, St.-Simon, and Marx, pointing out in detail the strong as well as the weak features of each. His array of objections is formidable and apparently conclusive, but sincere Socialists, we apprehend, will not be crushed by them. Their strength is elsewhere than in their logic, and Prof. Graham might well recall the exclamation of Burke: "I am most afraid of the weakest reasonings, because they discover the strongest passions."

After having demolished the main positions of modern socialism, Prof. Graham tries his hand at a little constructive work in the socialistic line. He decides, without thinking it worth while to offer proof, that capitalists get larger profits than is fair, and laborers lower wages than is just. This is half the battle, and it is no more difficult to assume the remainder of his case, viz., that his expedients would result in more equitable division of material wealth than at present takes place. Co-operative production has failed hitherto; it has failed when aided by the State; but still we cannot be sure that it may not succeed better in the future than the past, and we ought to experiment further with State aid. Then all the professions, the best places in the public service and in business, are now monopolized by the educated classes, and this monopoly would be broken down by nationalizing existing public educational funds so that all may have an equal share in them. The money necessary for these reforms is to be supplied by taxing inheritances.

Prof. Graham further assumes that Government now works successfully, from the economical point of view, the postal and telegraph services. He would do well to read two of Jevons's essays, one written before, the other after, the acquisition of the telegraphs by the British Government. Prof. Graham again declares that the management of railways is work "not demanding from the general managers the complicated calculations and resources required in manufacturing industry, and for which work, however responsible or difficult, the Government could secure as capable managers as the companies." This proposition may be commended to the directors, say, of the Pennsylvania Railroad. It is certainly doubtful if such a body as the New York Legislature, or even the American Congress, would manage our railroad system with satisfactory results. But it might be otherwise in Prof. Graham's commonwealth, for he lays it down that "the officials under Socialism would be the most capable in the nation."

As to the wages-fund theory, Prof. Graham considers that it is entirely exploded. Singularly enough, when he undertakes to state what determines the rate of wages, he declares that it depends chiefly upon the ratio between the number of laborers and the demand, the "amount of need" for their services. Unless this is intended to express the absurdity of a ratio between a number and an abstraction, it must mean that the "amount of need" is measured in material quantity. As to the explosion of the wages-fund theory, which so many writers upon these subjects regard as unquestioned, it may be worth while to say that the essential element in that theory is simply the truth that wages paid for any piece of work are necessarily paid out of wealth produced before that work is done. In other words, the laborer's subsistence must be provided beforehand in order that he may work—a theory which will perhaps be exploded when the theory of gravity is abandoned.

As we should expect, Prof. Graham attributes the improvement in the condition of working-people in England to the Government inspectors. Had it not been for them,

"we should have a proletariat of servile workers, degraded in physique, in mind, in morals; mothers working in mines and factories, their sickly children dying without a mother's care, or surviving with enfeebled frames; other children ignorant and savage, worked to death or growing up savages; the whole laboring population turned into mere human plant and instruments to make the fortunes of masters constantly becoming more insolent and inhuman from impunity. We should have had the 'slave-gangs' of the Roman Republic repeated," etc.

We commend these views to the consideration of the protectionists who have been annoyed

by persistent assertions that the improved condition of the working-classes in England was due to free trade.

Obviously Prof. Graham is not a person to shrink from drawing an indictment against a whole nation. The rich as a class, whether intentionally or not, have injured the poor, and as a class they must disgorge some of their wealth. They must do it because it is just, of course, but they will have to do it, whether or no. If they are wise, they will submit to a moderate amercement at once, because the craving for "justice" among the poor may become so strong if it is not gratified in this way, that nothing less than general confiscation will satisfy their consciences. Like the children of Israel, they will feel that the despoiling of their masters shall be counted to them for righteousness by the Almighty. Perhaps a later comparison would be more fitting, for Prof. Graham soberly declares that a city where pauperism was stamped out would be "the true Holy City, and the Kingdom of Heaven will have come nigh unto it.' Clearly the Mohammedan paradise is before us, with material gratifications unthought of by the Prophet.

It is strange that writers of this stamp, whose name is legion, should so completely ignore the enormous extent to which laborers have become capitalists. Their savings constitute an important element in almost all modern enterprises, and schemes directed against "the capitalist" in the abstract inevitably recoil against the laborer in the concrete. We must, of course, credit the victims of the modern socialistic craze with sincerity in their plans for enriching the poor by impoverishing the rich, but their view is mysteriously limited. In the case of the present writer, while we are unable to put a high estimate upon his wisdom, we may at least say that his tone is comparatively moderate, and many of his observations judicious. His remarks upon the probable increase of selfishness in the modern world are especially suggestive.

Eclectic Card Catalog Rules, Author and Title Entries; based on Dziatzko's 'Instruction' compared with other authorities. By Klas August Linderfelt. Boston: Charles A. Cutter. 1890. Pp. viii, 104. 8vo.

While Prof. Carl Dziatzko, now of Göttingen, was Librarian of the University of Breslau, he caused to be made, as a complement to the classified-subject catalogue which the library already possessed, an alphabetical card catalogue of authors. During the process of cataloguing, more than 330,000 volumes, with the corresponding cards, passed for inspection through his hands, and on the wide experience thus gained he based his 'Instruction für die Ordnung der Titel im alphabetischen Zettelkatalog der Königlichen und Universitäts-Bibliothek zu Breslau' (Berlin: Asher, 1886). These rules Mr. Linderfelt justly describes as "a model of ingenious condensation, lucidity, and completeness. It would have been impossible to evolve out of mere theoretical reasoning such an array of minute directions as to the manner of proceeding in the innumerable variations and peculiarities of book-making, which are the result of the vagaries of authors, publishers, and printers of the last 450 years, and now contribute their share towards making the life of the conscientious cataloger a burden." Mr. Linderfelt's book, which is rather an adaptation than a translation of Dziatzko's, preserves the general spirit and intricate, but economical, schematism of the original, while it so modifies individual rules as to conform them to prevalent American methods of cataloguing. In addition, Mr. Linderfelt has examined the rules of the British Museum and the Bodleian Libraries, of the American and the British Library Associations, of Cutter, Dewey, Jewett, and Perkins, and has noted at each point which of these authorities do, and which do not, agree with the "eclectic" rules.

The title which Mr. Linderfelt has chosen is more attractive than Prof. Dziatzko's, but by no means so accurate. The 'Eclectic Card Catalog Rules' are not catalogue rules at all. From them the would-be cataloguer can infer, no doubt, that books of known authorship sometimes have titles, but whether or not the titles should form any part of his catalogue he cannot even infer. Place of publication, date of issue, size, number of pages, will not be mentioned in it—at least they are not mentioned in the rules. In short, the most intelligent use of these rules would not enable a person without previous knowledge of cataloguing to catalogue the simplest book. The 'Eclectic Rules' take for granted that a complete description of the book in question—title, edition, imprint, contents, and notes—is already at hand; they then point out how to choose from this material the heading or rubric ("entry word," Mr. Linderfelt well calls it) under which the description is to appear, how to alphabetize the rubrics chosen, how to make some cross-references. These three accomplishments are far from being all there is of book-cataloguing. Still, they are an important part of it, and Mr. Linderfelt's treatment of them is the most careful and rational that we have seen.

The 'Eclectic Rules,' of course, are in general similar to those of the 'Instruction,' but not always identical with them. Prof. Dziatzko, in common with other German bibliographers, chooses the first substantive not in a grammatically subordinate position as entry word for an anonymous book-title—he enters the *Saturday Review*, for example, under "Review." Moreover, he considers the publications of learned academies and societies anonymous: he enters the volumes published by the Chetham Society under "Remains historical and literary connected with the Palatine Counties." Mr. Linderfelt has so shaped his rules as to secure entry, in the cases mentioned, under "Saturday" and "Chetham." He was, consequently, obliged to attempt a solution of the vexed question, How shall societies and academies be entered? He adopted the fifth, and best, of the plans mentioned in Cutter's 'Rules for a Dictionary Catalogue,' making but one change, and no improvement, therein. According to the 'Eclectic Rules,' "when the legal name of an institution includes a full personal name, it is entered in the usual order of the name, as *Enoch* Pratt Free Library, with a cross-reference under Pratt." "The usual order of the name" has a plausible sound, but Mr. Linderfelt seems momentarily to have forgotten a fact which Mr. Cutter realizes, viz., that in a catalogue "the usual order of the name" is the inverted order. The cataloguer should write "Pratt (Enoch) Free Library."

One other alteration, this time of the German rules, does not seem to us fortunate. It advises that when a book is published under initials whose meaning remains unknown, the rubric be the last initial instead of the first word of the title. This suggestion, though supported by the practice of many good libraries, both in the United States and in England, is an extreme and unwarranted application of the author-entry idea. In fact, a chief weakness of American book-cataloguing has long been the tendency, now happily vanishing from the treatment of anonymous and pseudonymous books, to seize, at whatever inconvenience to the reader, upon an author-entry or anything that resembles an author-entry. Now, the sole object of cataloguing a book under its author, or under anything else, is to facilitate the finding of it. Mr. Linderfelt himself admits that Prof. Dziatzko is right in considering the initials "of very little use in finding a certain book," but gives another reason for entering under them. This plan, he says, "has the advantage of collecting all the books by one author in the same place when he persistently uses the same initials." What may be this "advantage of collecting all the books by the same author in one place" when you are not sure who he is, and consequently cannot be sure that he is the same author, we are puzzled to understand. However, a few blemishes like these cannot hide the real excellence of the book. In its first half, the part, that is, which explains the selection of the main entry word, almost every paragraph, with the exception of the rules above mentioned, is deserving of praise.

To the second half of the rules, the instructions for the alphabetical arrangement of the titles, almost no exception can be taken. They are minute and excellent. Substantially the system of transliteration advocated in these columns by the late Michael Heilprin and approved at the Lake George Conference of the Library Association, is adopted in the 'Eclectic Rules.' "For the purpose of producing transliterated forms more in harmony with those in ordinary use," Mr. Linderfelt has introduced a few modifications, most of which, unfortunately, look towards the forms that were familiar in the last decade, rather than towards those which bid fair to be familiar in the next. For ancient Greek names, on the other hand, he prefers the newly advocated "Greek forms" (Aischylos, Kimôn) instead of the familiar Latin forms, and similarly he writes names of foreign towns and sovereigns in their vernacular instead of their English forms. The rules are followed by an appendix containing a list of Oriental titles and occupations, with their usual and their correct transliterations, and their significations. This list, which contains more than 600 titles, will be very useful to cataloguers who are ignorant of Oriental languages and consequently apt to mistake such titles for parts of the author's name.

The 'Rules' are accurately printed, the examples are abundant and in general well chosen, and the index is much fuller than that of the German original. In a fairly close examination of the book we have discovered but one joke (§ 174): "It may be stated on the authority of R. B. Wheatley, that dissertation, disputatio, thesis, etc. [!], are generally used synonymously."

Kleinere Schriften, gedruckte und ungedruckte, von Joh. Jos. Ign. v. Döllinger. Gesammelt und herausgegeben von F. H. Reusch. Stuttgart: J. G. Cotta. 1890. Pp. vi., 608.

The contents of this stout octavo volume consist of addresses delivered and articles written from 1848 to 1853, and again from 1863 to 1878, and cover two important periods of the author's literary activity and intellectual development. The topics discussed in the papers belonging to the earlier period are such as then constituted the burning questions of the day, and refer chiefly to the relations of Church and State, which, Dr. Döllinger maintained, should be wholly independent of each other. As a mem-

ber of the Frankfort Parliament of 1848, he urged this view with eloquence and earnestness, and endeavored to embody it in national legislation. He heartily endorsed the article in the proposed German Constitution which secured to every citizen perfect freedom of religious opinion and worship, and placed all churches and confessions in a position of complete equality before the law; but he deemed the independence of Church and State absolutely essential to the full effectuation of this principle of liberty, and his pamphlet on this subject, published anonymously in August, 1848, forms the initial paper of the present volume. It is also interesting to note his opinions incidentally expressed in this connection concerning the office and power of the Pope within the hierarchy. Döllinger denied that the head of the Church was, in any proper sense of the term, sovereign, or that his authority had ever been regarded as absolute or infallible. He declared that in no State on earth, except perhaps in China, is the supreme ruler subject to so many strict limitations and legal conditions in the exercise of his functions as in the Catholic Church; indeed, so completely is he hemmed in on all sides by precedents, traditions, and the decrees of councils, and so little room is there left for the assertion of personal sentiments, that any one familiar with canon law and Catholic theology can predict with certainty, in forty-nine cases out of fifty, precisely what the Pope's decision will be. This was Döllinger's firm conviction, repeatedly uttered and emphasized, and shows how impossible it was for him to accept the Vatican dogma of 1870 and to preserve his self-consistency and self-respect as a man and a scholar.

The proclamation of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception in 1854, and the issue of the encyclical letter of 1864, with its notorious syllabus, ought to have opened his eyes to the direction in which the tide was setting and the ark of the Church was drifting. That he saw the danger is evident from the paper entitled "Die Speyerische Seminarfrage und der Syllabus," written in January, 1866, and now first printed from the original manuscript. Here he perceives and defines very clearly the aims of Ultramontanism, which were to make the Pope the supreme, infallible, and, therefore, sole authority in all that pertains, not only to religion and the Church, but also to the State, science, politics, morals, social conditions—in short, the whole intellectual life of individuals and nations—and to insist upon the recognition of these claims as the test of Catholicity. At that time, however, Döllinger could not bring himself to believe that such short-sighted and reckless pilots had really got control of the ship and would keep permanent possession of the rudder. All Ultramontanists, he says, are at heart foes to history and to historical research, for they know that the results of calm and profound investigations are fatal to their system. Occasionally they may portray the life of a single individual or depict an isolated event or epoch in a partisan and polemical spirit, but no Ultramontanist has ever written a connected and pragmatic history.

> "The only noteworthy attempt that has ever been made to treat a whole section of universal history in a Romanistic sense and in accordance with the wishes of the Ultramontane party is Damberger's 'Synchronistic History of the Middle Ages,' in which the author, following in the footsteps of his fellow-Jesuit Hardouin, sets aside as forged or false whatever is opposed to the Jesuitical system."

Besides the discussion of the Syllabus, just mentioned, two other contributions to the present volume, namely, the "Geschichtliche Uebersicht des Konzils von Trient" (written in 1866) and "Pius IX" (begun in 1878, but unfortunately never finished) are here published for the first time. The biography sketches the career of the late Pontiff till about the year 1854, and is in every respect an admirable study of character and a model of clear and condensed narration. Nowhere else is to be found such a faithful and vivid portraiture of the ninth Pius and the first of infallible popes as in this fragment of less than fifty pages. The liberal movement which he inaugurated, the weakness and vanity which rendered the reform a farce, the reaction which followed his return from Gaeta, where he had become a mere tool in the hard hands of Antonelli, and which Massimo d'Azeglio tersely and truly summed up as "priestly vengeance (*vendetta pretina*) in its ugliest form," are all described in a succinct and masterly manner.

According to Dr. Döllinger, Pius IX. had neither literary talent nor artistic taste, and his lack of juristic training, as well as of a judicial mind, prevented him from taking any initiatory or even intelligent part in public affairs. He seldom read anything except his breviary and the *Civiltà Cattolica*, and one had frequent occasion to remark that his opinion on any subject was that of the last person with whom he had chanced to speak. He was fond of cheerful conversation and felt the need of congenial companionship, which he found in a narrow circle of prelates whose ideas, interests, and aspirations all centred in schemes for the extension and consolidation of the hierarchy. His utterances were almost always trite and often trivial, and never revealed any depth of thought, but he combined with an easy fluency of speech the kaleidoscopic gift, so common to shallow and undisciplined minds, of presenting the same theme in endless variations. He was always ready with apt tropes, witty comparisons, and more or less pertinent passages from the Bible, with which he interlarded his already rather unctuous discourse; for his foes and those who had fallen out of favor he had a quiver full of epigrams, ironical retorts, derisive taunts, and sarcastic similes. He was a stately and handsome man, with a rich and melodious voice. His native affability and benignant look, and the blending of conscious dignity and kindly condescension in his manner, fascinated all whom he received. Women thronged to his audiences and were powerfully affected by his presence, which threw them into a sort of rapture, sometimes rising to ecstatic paroxysm. In speaking to priests and nuns he fell into a fatherly and confidential tone which was very becoming to him. But with all his good nature, he readily took offence, and was incalculably capricious; his favor and confidence could be won or lost by the slightest accidental circumstance, and no one was perfectly sure of them, except Antonelli and his Jesuit father confessor. In the latter he put implicit trust, and in most matters accepted the views of this crafty functionary as decisive.

No Pope was ever so fulsomely flattered as he, and his capacity of absorbing and assimilating adulation seemed practically unlimited. Indeed, only a character of rare strength and elevation could have resisted these influences and kept his faculties from being befogged and benumbed by the thick cloud of incense that constantly surrounded him. "Only by a miracle of divine grace can a Pope remain humble," remarks Maffei in his 'Vita di Pio V.'; "with the ninth Pius," adds Döllinger, "the miracle would have to have been ten times greater than with the fifth." He was told that he was "the adored darling of mankind"; that he was not merely a vicegerent of God, as other popes had been, but a divinely commissioned saviour and reformer of the world, whose salvation or destruction depended upon him; he was assured by Bishop Plantier of Nîmes that as king he stood high above all monarchs of his time; and Bishop Rodez fairly raved about the "entrancing and superhuman beauty of his countenance." The priest Alcyoni published an elaborate parallel between him and the Virgin Mary in thirty-one articles ('Le Rosier de Marie,' Paris, 1862); in Utrecht his portrait was worshipped as an altar-picture; and in 1867 it was reported from Paris that miracles had been wrought by tatters of one of his cast-off sacerdotal robes. When the floor of the Church of Sant' Agnese broke through and the Pope and his attendants were uninjured, he was told that angels had borne him up; and a storm which shattered some windows in the Vatican, but spared his private apartment, was represented as an assault of the prince of the power of the air, from which he had been shielded by direct divine interposition. This belief in his immunity rendered him also fearless in good works and in doing his duty: he visited the French hospital in Rome and comforted the cholera patients, firmly persuaded that the devil could do him no harm, even when incarnate in the insidious form of a microbe or comma-bacillus.

But our space forbids us to dwell upon the many fine features and striking points of psychological analysis pre ented in this biographical essay. Other articles of special interest are: "The Past and Present of Catholic Theology," "The Doctrine of Papal Infallibility since the Sixteenth Century," "The Vatican Dogma," two papers on the Inquisition, and a lengthy disquisition on mediæval and modern prophets and prophecies entitled, "Der Weissagungsglaube und das Prophetentum in der christlichen Zeit." The volume is carefully edited by Prof. Reusch, whose scholarly annotations greatly enhance its intrinsic value.

A History of Rome. [Ancient History for Colleges and High Schools. By P. V. N. Myers. Part II.] Boston: Ginn & Co. 1890. Pp. x, 230.

THIS manual history of Rome is a revision of a former work of the author, published with the 'History of Greece and the Eastern Nations.' The maps and most of the cuts which it contains are the same as those in the Roman History of the late lamented William F. Allen, and were furnished by his widow. The book appears to be a good and handy school history, telling what a teacher really should require his pupils to learn in one of the most perplexing subjects in a school course. Prof. Myers of course adopts the prevailing views as to the real character of early Roman history, but he does not on that account banish the legends of the regal period. These legends were what passed for Roman history with Virgil and Cæsar, and if boys are to read Virgil and Cæsar understandingly, they must know what those men supposed to be the origins of their history. After all, when the legends, with their absurdities and inconsistencies, are swept away, we have no real history to put in their place. What Mommsen or Ihne substitutes is an invention, or at best an inference, though it may be a reasonable and probable one. But to read some manuals of history written by devotees of the former, one would imagine that he had dug up from the ruins of Rome contemporary inscriptions giving the true account of the curiæ and the tribes. Mr. Myers has very judiciously given most of the celebrated legends of the regal period in a chapter

supplementary to that containing what he holds to be the most probable view of that period. In the later chapters, the story of the great republican wars, the contests for supremacy in its last century, and the whole of the Empire down to Odoacer is told with much conciseness and liveliness. While one is glad to see the absurd practice of terminating with Commodus, or still worse with Augustus, abandoned, it still seems that the period of the later Republic, and especially the time of the Gracchi, is condensed out of all proportion to the wars of Honorius and Alaric in the end of the book. The questions of antiquities, administration, private life, literature, etc., are transferred to a separate division after the events are concluded; this is a decided improvement for purposes of instruction.

The philosophy of the book appears to us very sound; the author has not allowed himself to have his judgment of great characters perverted by the Cæsarism of Mommsen, or what one might almost designate the profligate views of Prof. Beesly. We can hardly speak as favorably of his style. There is a tendency here and there to the florid, which may answer before enthusiastic pupils in the lecture-room but is only frigid on the printed page. The term "Acropolis of Italy" (p. 58) is a very uncouth transfer from Polybius; and a comparison to a modern writer which has been introduced in the account of Cicero (p. 203), is in the worst taste. Besides points of style we have found little to censure. A scholar writing a history of Rome should be ashamed of the modern corruption *rostrum*, and of saying, "so called because decorated with the beaks (*rostra*) of war galleys." Prof. Myers must know that the Romans themselves never called the stand or desk anything but *rostra*, whatever Americans may call a pulpit or platform. The same correct principle which admitted the regal legends as legends should have given the stories of Valerius Corvus, the Decii, and the Torquati. Pyrrhus's second victory should be named (p. 40). If Milton is to be quoted apropos of Moloch (p. 42), let him be quoted right. There seems no reason for adopting the Greek form Barcas (p. 50), certainly not Roman, and not probably Punic. The Consul Sempronius is Tiberius, not Lucius (p. 59). We should like to have a quotation from the ancient poet who called Corinth the "eye of Hellas" (p. 72). The use of awnings (p. 109) is mentioned by Lucretius long before Cæsar's exhibitions, contrary to the quotation from Gibbon. Surely the "Fulminata Legio" had received that name long before the supposed Christian miracle (p. 141). But serious mistakes are conspicuously absent.

Peintures de Vases Antiques recueillies par Millin (1808) et Millingen (1813). Publiées et commentées par Salomon Reinach. Paris: Firmin-Didot et Cie. 1891. Small 4to, pp. xv and 136, with 31 plates.

By this book M. Reinach has well earned the gratitude of students of Greek vases, first for having reduced into one compact volume all that is of permanent value in the three great folios of Millin and Millingen, thereby increasing their convenience in the same ratio that the cost has been diminished; and second, for having modernized both works by revising the interpretations of the illustrations in accordance with the methods and knowledge of the present day, and also noting all that he has been able to gather of the history of each specimen during the eighty years that have elapsed since the original publication. The amount of thankless drudgery involved in this part of his task only those who have undertaken similar labors can estimate or appreciate, and we congratulate him upon the result, for while it was inevitable that some of the vases published should have disappeared in this long interval, the number that have escaped M. Reinach's vigilance seems to us surprisingly small.

The reduction of the plates has been successfully accomplished, and it is safe to say that nothing but the luxury of the originals is lost to the student. Millingen's work, both in text and drawings, was much more accurate than Millin's. A careful draughtsman, he was thoroughly in sympathy with the kind of art he reproduced, and in the types of faces, as also in the least important details, he showed a scientific exactness which was in advance of his generation; whereas Clener, who made the drawings for Millin, was, as M. Reinach says, willingly inexact. His aim, like that of most draughtsmen of the time, was to make his work artistic at any cost, and to that end he was willing to improve upon his models when he thought it necessary, as, for example, "Par un singulier phénomène d'influence, beaucoup de têtes viriles ont pris un profil napoléonien." Yet, in spite of the looseness of the drawing and the mystical character of the interpretations, which, in the spirit of the archæological commentary at the beginning of this century, could see nothing commonplace in the most commonplace gestures and attitudes, and discovered gods and goddesses in the youths and maidens represented in their daily pursuits and pastimes—in spite of such shortcomings, we think M. Reinach quite right in insisting upon the importance of Millin's book, and the desirability of reproducing it with modern criticisms and corrections; and in his edition it will certainly be what he considers the original—"un ouvrage fondamental, indispensable pour l'étude de la céramique."

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

A Few Words on Robert Browning. Philadelphia: Arnold & Co.
An Unvested Sister: Recollections of Mary Wiltse. James Pott & Co.
Bacon, Alice. Japanese Girls and Women. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $1.25.
Bogardus, Capt. Field, Cover, and Trap Shooting. *Forest and Stream* Publishing Co. $2.
Brewer, Rev. E. C. The Historic Note-Book. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. $3.50.
Briggs, L. B. R. Original Charades. Charles Scribner's Sons. $1.
Burr, E. F. Aleph, the Chaldean. Wilbur B. Ketcham. $1.75.
Butler, Agnata F. Herodotus VII. Macmillan & Co. 50 cents.
Chaffee, F. Songs of Spring. Illustrated. New York: Geo. M. Allen & Co. $2.
Comegys, B. B. A Primer of Ethics. Boston: Ginn & Co. 50 cents.
Daniels, Cora. Sardia. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 50 cents.
Dawson, W. German Socialism and Ferdinand Lassalle. 2d ed. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co.
Delitzsch, F. Behold the Man. Thomas Whittaker. 50 cents.
Delpit, A. Such is Life. Chicago: Laird & Lee.
Dickinson, Mary L. The Living Christ. Fleming H. Revell Co.
Dietz, W. The Soldier's First Handbook. John Wiley & Sons.
Diniz, Julio. The Fidalgos of Casa Mourisca. Boston: D. Lothrop Co. $1.50.
Dowsett, C. F. Striking Events in Irish History. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. $1.
Drummond, H. Tropical Africa. 4th ed. Scribner & Welford. $1.
Dunbar, C. Chapters on the Theory and History of Banking. G. P. Putnam's Sons.
Duncan, Sara. An American Girl in London. D. Appleton & Co. $1.50.
Eggleston, G., and Dolores Marbourg. Juggernaut. Fords, Howard and Hulbert. $1.25.
Falconer, L. Mademoiselle Ixe. Cassell Publishing Co. 50 cents.
Fenn, G. M. A Double Knot. United States Book Co. 50 cents.
Fenn, G. M. A Mint of Money. United States Book Co. 50 cents.
Fraser, A. Selections from Berkeley. 4th ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Macmillan. $2.10.
Gage, A. P. Physical Laboratory Manual and Note Book. Boston: Ginn & Co. 45 cents.
Garden and Forest. Vol. III. New York: Garden and Forest Publishing Co.
Gentlemen. Brentanos. $1.50.
Genung, J. The Epic of the Inner Life. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $1.25.
Gordon, A. J. The First Thing in the World. Fleming H. Revell Co. 20 cents.
Grandgent, C. H. Materials for French Composition. Part I. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co.
Habberton, J. Mrs. Mayburn's Twins. Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson & Bros. 25 cents.
Harrison, Elizabeth. A Study of Child-Nature. Chicago: The Chicago Kindergarten Training School.
Harte, B. A Sappho of Green Springs, and Other Stories. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $1.25.
Hastings, G. Philip Hensen. Edward Brandus & Co. 50 cents.
History of St. Georges's Parish. Richmond, Va.: J. W. Randolph & English.
Holland, Rev. F. M. Frederick Douglass, the Colored Orator. Funk & Wagnalls.
Houdard, A. Premiers Principes de l'Economique. Paris: Guillaumin & Cie.
Hutchinson, Rev. H. N. The Autobiography of the Earth. D. Appleton & Co. $1.50.
Japp, A. H. De Quincey Memorials. 2 vols. U. S. Book Co.
Johnston, R. The Primes and Their Neighbors. D. Appleton & Co. $1.25.
Jones-Foster, A. Day Dreams. Imperial Publishing Co.
Keltie, J. S. The Statesman's Year-Book. Macmillan & Co.
Kenyon, F. G. Aristotle on the Constitution of Athens. Longmans, Green & Co.
Kluge, F. An Etymological Dictionary of the German Language. London: G. Bell & Sons; New York: Macmillan & Co.
Lamb, Charles & Mary. Tales from Shakespeare's Tragedies. Edited with notes by W. J. Rolfe. Harper & Bros.
Lang, A. Essays in Little. Charles Scribner's Sons. $1.
Larcom, Lucy. As It Is In Heaven. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $1.
Leland, C. A Manual of Wood-Carving. Charles Scribner's Sons. $1.75.
Lock, Rev. J. B. Arithmetic for Schools. Macmillan & Co. 70 cents.
Lord, J. K. Livy, Books XXI. and XXII., with introduction and maps. Leach, Shewell & Sanborn.
Lucas, F. W. Appendiculæ Historicæ; or, Shreds of History Hung on a Horn. London: Henry Stevens & Son.
Lumby, Rev. J. R. The First Book of Kings, with Map, Introduction and Notes. Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan.
Magnusson, E., and Others. National Life and Thought. The Frederick A. Stokes Co. $3.
Marlitt, E. A Brave Woman. Worthington Co.
Mathers, Helen. The Mystery of No. 13. United States Book Co. 25 cents.
Matthews, B. French Dramatists of the 19th Century. 2d ed. Charles Scribner's Sons. $1.50.
May, Ansley. So Runs the World Away. G. W. Dillingham.
May, J. W. The Law of Life Insurance. 3d ed. 2 vols. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. $11.
McCarthy, J. Sir Robert Peel. Harper & Bros.
McGuinness. Rhode Island Manual. Providence: E. L. Freeman & Son.
Merivale, H., and F. T. Marzials. Life of W. M. Thackeray. London: Walter Scott; New York: A. Lovell & Co. 40 cents.
Morgan, C. L. Animal Life and Intelligence. Boston: Ginn & Co. $4.
Moore, A. L. Some Aspects of Sin. London: Percival & Co.
Morrison, W. Crime and Its Causes. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co.
Munro, Kirk. Campmates. Harper & Bros.
Oman, C. Warwick. Macmillan & Co. 60 cents.
O'Reilly, P. J. At Ober-Ammergau in 1890. London: The Catholic Truth Society; New York: Benziger Brothers.
Overton, J. John Wesley. London: Methuen & Co.
Pater, W. Marius the Epicurean. 5th thousand. Macmillan & Co. $2.25.
Peabody, Rev. A. King's Chapel Sermons. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $1.50.
Perry, T. S. Marie Louise and the Invasion of 1814. Charles Scribner's Sons. $1.25.
Peterson's National Cook Book. Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson & Bros. 25 cents.
Plummer, Rev. A. St. James and St. Jude. [The Expositor's Bible.] A. C. Armstrong & Son. $1.50.
Pole, Dr. W. The Handbook of Games. 2 vols. Scribner & Welford. $1.40.
Porter, Rose. Cathedral Echoes. Fleming H. Revell Co.
Porter, Rose. Easter Interpreted: Citations from Robert Browning. Fleming H. Revell Co. 20 cents.
Robinson, A. Mary. Lyrics (Selected). Frederick A. Stokes Co. $1.50.
Roche, J. J. Life of John Boyle O'Reilly. Cassell Publishing Co. $3.
Ryan, Marah E. Told in the Hills. Chicago: Rand, McNally & Co. 50 cents.
Salmon, D. Primary School Grammar. Longmans, Green & Co. 35 cents.
Schiller, J. C. F. von. Der Geisterseher. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co.
Schreiner, Olive. Dreams. Chicago: Chas. H. Sergel & Co.
Schubin, O. Boris Lensky. Worthington Co.
Sergeant, Lewis. The Government Handbook. The Frederick A. Stokes Co. $2.50.
Seton-Karr, W. S. The Marquess Cornwallis. Macmillan & Co. 60 cents.
Sheldon, Grace. As We Saw It in '90. Buffalo: The Woman's Exchange.
Sherman, P. A Tariff Primer. G. P. Putnam's Sons.
Shoup, F. Mechanism and Personality. Boston: Ginn & Co. $1.30.
Sloane, T. O'C. Rubber Hand Stamps. Norman W. Henley & Co. $1.
Sonnenschein, E. A. Macci Plavti Rvdens. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Macmillan. $2.25.
Speight, T. Hoodwinked. Chicago: Rand, McNally & Co.
Spooner, Rev. W. A. The Histories of Tacitus, with introduction, notes, and an index. Macmillan & Co. $3.50.
Stevens's Facsimiles of MSS. in European Archives relating to America, 1773-83. Vol. VII. London: B. F. Stevens.
Stevens, F. G. A Memoir of George Cruikshank. Scribner & Welford. $1.25.
Storm, T. Immensee. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co.
Strauss, H. W. Ring-Riding. D. Appleton & Co.
Taylor, Belle. The Sardonyx Seal. G. P. Putnam's Sons.
Teall, F. H. The Compounding of English Words. John Ireland. $1.25.
Teuffel's History of Roman Literature. Vol. I. The Republican Period. London: Geo. Bell & Sons. $5.
The Club Cook Book. Newton, Mass.: The Young Ladies' McAll Club.
Yeats, W. B. Representative Irish Tales. 2 vols. G. P. Putnam's Sons. $2.

The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, APRIL 2, 1891.

The Week.

MAINE has secured a ballot-reform law after all, both houses of the Legislature having passed it, and the Governor being committed in his annual message to give it his approval. The victory is complete in every way, for the new law applies to every city, town, and village in the State. The history of the two months' struggle for it in the Legislature constitutes an instructive argument against compromises in reform movements. The bill, as finally passed, was first presented in the lower house. It was supported by the united Democratic membership, by the united Democratic press of the State, and by nearly the united Republican press of the State. Its leading opponent was Capt. Boutelle of the Bangor *Whig*, who argued that Republicans should defeat it because it would work to the disadvantage of their party were it to be made a law. In deference to Republican wishes, the bill was amended in Committee of the House so as to apply only to cities and towns of more than 2,000 inhabitants, and so as to have the names of candidates arranged in party groups on the ballots. It was said that these changes would strengthen the bill with the Republican majority. Yet, when it came before the House in amended form, the Republican majority defeated it by a vote of 74 to 71, more than two thirds of their members voting against it. The bill was then taken up by the Senate and passed in nearly its original form. It went back to the House from the Senate, and was passed by a vote of 76 to 60, ten Republicans changing their position after the former adverse vote.

The law, while closely modelled upon the Massachusetts law, contains one provision radically different from the corresponding provision in the latter statute. In Massachusetts the names of all candidates are arranged in alphabetical order under each office, with their politics indicated after each name, and the voter is required to check the name of every candidate for whom he wishes to vote. Under the Maine law the names of candidates are arranged in party groups, with the party name at the top, and the voter can, if he choose, vote for an entire group by placing a cross opposite this party name. This is the method provided in the Indiana and Maryland laws, and is, of course, in the interest of straight party voting. It is, however, superior in every way to our New York system of innumerable separate ballots and "pasters," and while it helps the party voter, it also helps the independent voter, for with the names of all candidates of all parties spread on one ballot, he can easily select those of his choice.

Illinois is likely to be the next State, the twenty-third, to adopt a ballot-reform law. An excellent measure, following closely the lines of the Massachusetts Law, prepared by the Committee of Elections of the lower house of the Legislature, was introduced in that body on Tuesday week. It is the outcome of long and careful study by the Committee, and has been agreed upon unanimously by its members without regard to politics. There were between fifteen and twenty bills on the subject referred to the Committee, the large number bearing unmistakable evidence of the popular demand for the reform. There is said to be little doubt of its passage through both houses, as the leaders of all parties are in its favor; and an emergency clause will be added in order that the bill may go into effect immediately, and thus apply to the judicial elections which occur in June. In order to pass it with such a clause a two-thirds vote in both houses will be necessary; but so popular is the measure that little fear is expressed about getting this strong support.

The Republicans of the Pennsylvania Legislature are so lukewarm upon the subject of ballot reform that the Philadelphia *Press* is exhorting its readers to bombard their Senators and Representatives with letters and petitions in favor of a bill which is pending, but which finds little earnest support. The Republican party leaders are also occupying a questionable attitude towards the reform. It is claimed by the friends of the movement that, in order to be successful, the adoption of the Australian method ought to be accompanied by the adoption of a personal-registration law, and in this they are occupying impregnable ground. Personal registration has been recognized in every State as an absolutely necessary foundation upon which to base the reform. Yet the Republican leaders in Pennsylvania say that personal registration disfranchises thousands of intelligent voters, and is, therefore, not only unnecessary, but harmful. Mr. Thomas V. Cooper, ex-Chairman of the Republican State Committee, leads this opposition, and in a recent interview made this remarkable statement: "I am opposed to it. It would disfranchise 20 per cent. of the voters in both parties. You would find under a personal-registration law that the better class of citizens would not take the trouble to register, and would therefore lose their vote. In New York city, where they have a personal registration, I believe that at least 30 per cent. of the Republican vote is disfranchised, and it is the better element of the community." Mr. Cooper takes a view of the working of personal registration in this city which is new in this region. The difficulty generally recognized here is not in getting the better element to register, but in getting it to take the trouble to vote afterwards. Thirty thousand or more who registered last fall stayed away from the polls on election day, and there is always a falling off of at least 10 per cent. The object of personal registration is to stop repeating, and this is what it has accomplished perfectly in every city in which it has been tried, and there is no room to doubt that it would stop it in the great Republican city of Philadelphia if Mr. Cooper and his fellow Republican leaders would consent to have it tried.

One would suppose that if there were one book only in the English language that an American Pirate would respect, it would be Bryce's 'American Commonwealth.' There is no American of any party who knows anything of it who does not feel himself under obligations to Mr. Bryce for writing it, and it was generally believed when it first appeared that even the Pirate, hardened as he is, would be willing that Mr. Bryce should get whatever pecuniary reward for his labor might be forthcoming from the sale of the book in this country. To rob him seemed too base a thing even for the lowest grade of Pirate, even for the one who put in the Algerine demurrer, alleging that anybody who mingled American matter with foreign matter in a book so that it could not be stolen with impunity, was guilty of a wrong on American Christians meriting reprobation by the courts. But apparently the basest and meanest Pirate has not until now come to light, for a Chicago Pirate is going to steal Mr. Bryce's book by the aid of the photographic process which has already made possible the Wanamaker, Funk, Ehrich, and other thefts. This bold attempt is doubtless precipitated by the passage of the Copyright Bill, and we are likely to hear of others before next July—indeed, Funk & Wagnalls have, since we began writing, come out in competition with Sergel & Co. "Now or never" is probably the cry in many a Pirate's cave. In three months more they will have to pay for all the goods they deal in, and the prospect is naturally bitter, and as much hay as possible must be made while the sun shines.

The fraudulent reprint of Mr. Bryce's book cannot be issued in complete form on account of the copyrighted chapters, but the danger is that a careless public may not take this into account, and may buy the piratical edition, thinking it to be as accurate and complete as Dr. Funk says his "Allen reprint" is. A cheap author's edition is now in process of production, and will be issued in a very few days, and we trust that all Americans who, besides being honorable men and women themselves, are concerned for the honor of their country, and have still to provide themselves with a copy of Mr. Bryce's book, will see to it that they get an honest as well as a complete copy. Mr. Freeman must not imagine that the Chicago Pirate's aim in getting out his edition is to spread Mr. Bryce's fame, or to increase the circulation of the book

in order to aid in the cultivation of the American people. Some Pirates call all this "metaphysics," and others "poppycock." What they seek is a handsome pecuniary profit on each copy sold, and they would just as soon photograph and sell the 'Newgate Calendar' as the 'American Commonwealth,' if they could make as much money out of it. Moralists who are trying to put down theft in any form must be as careful to free themselves from illusions as thieves always are.

The Boston *Journal of Commerce* learns that Judge Lawrence, the Chief of the Ohio Wool-Growers' Association, has begun to worry the carpet-manufacturers again by demanding that the wool-sorting clause of the McKinley tariff shall be applied to wools of the third class. This clause provides that if any wool has been sorted or increased in value by rejecting any part of the original fleece, the rate of duty shall be twice what it otherwise would be. This provision requires that somebody, presumably the United States Consul at the foreign port, shall penetrate into the interior of the country where the wool is produced, and ascertain whether the shepherds, in making up their packages, reject "any part of the original fleece." If they do, then the duty is to be "twice the duty to which it would be *otherwise* subject." "Otherwise," the *Journal of Commerce* contends, means the duty on unsorted wool. But if there is no unsorted wool brought to market, how is its value to be determined? Wools of the third class are subject to ad-valorem, not specific duties. Shall the Consul guess at the value of an article that is not sold in the market at all? It is a very interesting state of things indeed, and it is made more so by another push that we understand Judge Lawrence is making, namely, to have all wool classed as clothing wool that *can be* used for the manufacture of clothing. If the Judge perseveres, he will, no doubt, make it a penal offence to import any wool into this country for any purpose whatever and at any rate of duty whatever. Protection is justified of her children.

Gov. Davis of Rhode Island, who is a Democratic official of the ordinary kind, that is to say, is holding only one public office at a time, is not able to agree with Gov. Hill upon the question of deciding the rights of the Governors of other States to the office whose duties they are exercising. He has, therefore, consented to receive and honor a requisition from Gov. Bulkeley of Connecticut for the surrender of a fugitive from justice, and in doing so says: "As Bulkeley is in possession of the official seals, Bulkeley is Governor *de facto*, and I do not feel that I can properly decline to recognize him as the Executive." Personally, Gov. Davis says, he thinks Judge Morris is the lawful Governor, but, as he is not in possession of the office and its seals, he cannot send requisitions. "I have heard all the arguments about Gov. Hill," adds Gov. Davis, "but my conduct is not to be regulated by the conduct of any other man. At Albany these points may appear different from the way we look at them in Providence." That is the secret of the difference in the conduct of the two men—it lies in the point of view. Gov. Hill is under the impression that he is a Presidential candidate, and his point of view is that he can acquire capital for himself in that capacity by making New York State a safe harbor of refuge for criminals.

Valuable testimony to the progress of the Georgia negroes is furnished by the Atlanta *Constitution*. It says that there is a growing tendency on their part to "take care of themselves"—to be independent and "hoe their own row." As an illustration of this tendency it notes the fact that the negroes in a number of Georgia cities have for some time past been making strenuous efforts to secure the location of a proposed negro college; and that, while generally, when they have schemes of that character in hand—or schemes of any kind, for that matter—they appeal to the whites for aid, in this instance (and notably in Americus) they evinced a disposition to be more independent, and in Americus refused offers of aid from the white people and made up the money among themselves. This is certainly a most hopeful sign, and it is only one of many which are to be seen in various parts of the South. Hitherto this disposition to rely upon themselves has been checked by the feeling, which Republican politicians have so sedulously cultivated, that the negroes were still "wards of the nation," who could not take care of themselves; but with the general recognition that they must hereafter be regarded merely as citizens, this demoralizing influence will be removed, and their progress will be more rapid than ever before.

That was a shameful scene at Pittsburgh on Sunday when a number of Chinamen, while engaged in burying a fellow-countryman according to the rites of their religion, were attacked by a great mob of hoodlums, who snatched the burning joss sticks, perfumed paper, and printed prayers placed beside the grave, and jeered and howled at the mourners. But, after all, it was not so discreditable a performance as the sending by the United States Government as Minister to China of a man who, as a member of the Senate, has expressed supreme contempt for the whole race of Chinese. The Pittsburgh mob was composed of ruffians whose acts are condemned by the decent people of the city; but the insult of Mr. Blair's appointment as Minister to China cannot be thus easily explained away. It was the deliberate act of the Government of the nation, and its grossness can only be comprehended when we put ourselves in the place of the Chinese, and think how we should feel if that empire should send as Minister to the United States a Chinaman who had abused the people of this country, and declared their migration to China comparable to an outbreak of yellow fever.

It would be difficult to express in language that would not seem extravagant, our sense of the loss which this city has sustained in Dr. Crosby's death. He was not simply a good man. He was a good man who was willing to spend himself without limit in the public service. He journeyed, wrote, talked, persuaded, inveighed, explained, and defended in the service of every movement which seemed likely to make New York a purer, more wholesome, and more comfortable dwelling-place for rich and poor. In all his work, too, his judgment was in the main sound—something which cannot always be said for the zealous and energetic. He seldom made mistakes, and when he did make them, he never had any hesitation in confessing them. He was a scholar from his youth, and, what is still more, kept up his scholarship to the end in spite of the thousand distractions of his pastorship and of a very steady attention to public affairs. In spite, too, of the innumerable antagonisms into which any man who tries to "make reason and the will of God prevail" in a city like this, we feel sure he made no enemies except among criminals. He was, in short, one of the most valuable citizens we had, and he has been taken away at a time when his influence was most sorely needed.

We find a great many little ten-line paragraphs in our Republican contemporaries chuckling over Mr. Phelps's article and announcing that he is "conclusive." But we look, and have looked in vain for months, for any discussion of the subject by these publicists themselves, with any knowledge or sign of knowledge. They all cry "Ditto" to Mr. Blaine, and "Ditto" to Mr. Phelps, but they apparently have no better reason for saying "Ditto" in each case than children would have in a primary school for agreeing with the teacher about the virtues of ass's milk in consumption. It is sad to see so many counsellors of the public in this helpless condition. Neither Mr. Blaine nor Mr. Phelps can feel flattered by such adhesions. The concurrence of one man who knows or professes to know something about the matter in hand is worth more to a Sage or Philosopher than the huzzas of 10,000 ignoramuses. Has any such man come forward to back them up about the "bonos mores," and the *mare clausum*, and the ocean game laws? None that we know of.

One of the legal authorities of repute who will have to be rewritten if the Blaine-Phelps doctrine about the ownership of animals *feræ naturæ* is accepted, is Blackstone. As Mr. Phelps lays down the law in regard to Bering Sea seals: "This colony of seals, making their home on American soil, and unable to exist without a home on some soil, belong to the owners of the soil, and are part of their property, and do not lose this quality by passing from one part of the territory to another in a regular and periodical migration necessary to their life, even though in making it they pass temporarily through water

that is more than three miles from land." Blackstone has a good deal to say about the ownership of wild animals, beginning with the proposition that they are common property unless under certain restraints and conditions. Noting the individual ownership of wild animals that have been tamed, he says:

"In all these creatures, reclaimed from the wildness of their nature, the property is not absolute but defeasible—a property that may be destroyed if they resume their ancient wildness and are found at large. For if the pheasants escape from the mew, or the fishes from the trunk, *and are seen wandering at large, in their proper element, they become feræ naturæ again, and are free and open to the first occupant that hath ability to seize them.*"

Again, in treating of the individual right to the young of such wild animals as make their nests or breeding-holes on one's land, he says: "I have a qualified property in those young ones *till such time as they can fly or run away, and then my property expires.*" This covers the case of young seals exactly. Once more. In discussing the ownership of game on one's property, Blackstone says that the game animals belong to the owner of the soil "so long as they continue within his liberty; *but the instant they depart into another liberty this qualified property ceases.*" What is wanted now by believers in the soundness of Blackstone is some legal citation to show that national rights to animals *feræ naturæ* differ from individual rights. We have been unable to find any. We presume Yale College still gets some of its common law from Blackstone.

The arrangements for the settlement by arbitration of the difficulty between France and England over the French lobster fishery in Newfoundland have all been completed, and the three arbitrators have been chosen. These are M. de Martens, Professor of the Law of Nations in the University of St. Petersburg; M. Rivier, Swiss Consul-General at Brussels, and President of the Institute of International Law; and M. Gram, ex-judge of the Supreme Court of Norway. In addition to these there are to be two delegates from each of the parties to the controversy, who will form the medium of communication between the Governments and the arbitrators, but they are to sit and vote with the arbitrators, and every question is to be decided without appeal by a majority of the seven. In the negotiations which preceded this arrangement, Lord Salisbury pleaded hard either for the surrender of the "French Shore" altogether to the colony by France, in consideration of free bait for the French fishermen and the payment of a pecuniary indemnity, or for the reference to the arbitrators of the whole question of the reasonableness and expediency of French claims in Newfoundland, and of the best mode of extinguishing them. M. Ribot, however, positively refused to submit anything but the question whether lobster fisheries, as well as cod, were covered by the Treaties of Utrecht (1743), of Paris (1763), and of Versailles (1783). This settlement by no means gets the British Ministry out of hot water. The Newfoundlanders are indignant over the restriction of the arbitration to lobsters. They demand complete release from French occupation of their soil, conceded over a century ago, when, as Lord Salisbury says, "the coast in question was almost uninhabited, and the two contracting parties considered Newfoundland simply a fishing ground." They maintain—and Lord Salisbury argued the case for them very well — that the circumstances have changed so completely since the treaty was made, and the advantages France obtains under it are so small, that it is monstrous to insist on its maintenance. Doubtless M. Ribot sees all this as well as they do, but public opinion in France would not permit his surrendering French rights for a money compensation from Newfoundland. The French confidently expect to use the affair to get something more valuable than money from England.

The question of rescinding the decree which excludes American pork from Germany is still under consideration by the Imperial Government. When Caprivi succeeded Bismarck as Chancellor, this was one of the first subjects to engage the attention of the new Ministry. They were not committed, as Bismarck had been, to any particular policy. They were as free to make a change here as in any other branch of public affairs, and they were favorably disposed towards the United States. Of course such a step could not be taken instantly. It must be preceded, for appearance sake, by a certain amount of bureaucratic investigation and red tape, but the intention to rescind nevertheless existed. While things were in this favorable trim along came the McKinley bills, both of them—one putting new and exasperating obstacles in the way of German exports, the other increasing duties to a monstrous degree. These measures barred the way for the new Chancellor. They raised up new enemies to his intended policy, and armed the opponents of it, the landed proprietors, with new weapons. Bismarck himself was not slow to see the opportunity that McKinley had thrown in his way to embarrass his successor. We have the best authority for saying that this is the real reason why the decree against American pork has not been rescinded.

During the past month there have been numerous press despatches from Madrid implying that negotiations were going on between our special envoy, Mr. Foster, and the Spanish Government touching a treaty for reciprocity between the United States and Cuba. The word treaty is hardly applicable in this case, because all treaties between the United States and foreign countries have to be ratified by the Senate. The present negotiation will not require ratification, any more than the Brazil arrangement did. It is a one-sided affair altogether, based upon the McKinley Bill. Under that measure the President has the power to reimpose the duties on raw sugar coming from any country which, in his estimation, is not trading fairly with us. Now, Spain is a protectionist country. Cuba is a part of the kingdom for all fiscal purposes as much as California is a part of the United States. The Spanish millers have an advantage over our millers in trading with Cuba, just as our cotton-manufacturers have an advantage over the English in trading with California. The Spanish millers are stoutly opposing the thing called reciprocity that Mr. Foster offers them. Very likely their opposition will be effectual. Then the question will arise in the Cabinet council at Washington whether the duty on raw sugar from Cuba shall be reimposed or not. If it is reimposed, that will be equivalent to a denial of free sugar, about which we have heard so much boasting from the McKinleyites. This will be the effect, because Cuba and Porto Rico supply the larger part of our raw sugar. In 1889 our total imports of cane sugar were $69,000,000 worth, of which Cuba supplied $36,000,000 and Porto Rico $2,700,000. The Philippine Islands sent us $4,000,000 worth. Our total importations of beet sugar amounted to $7,000,000. It is plain, therefore, that a reënactment of the duties on sugar from Cuba would be equivalent to a denial of free sugar to American consumers. It would be more than that: it would be equivalent to a large donation to other sugar-producing countries; it would operate towards those countries exactly as the admission of Hawaiian sugar free of duty operated towards the Hawaiian Islands. Perhaps the Spanish statesmen are able to see Mr. Harrison's dilemma as well as other people.

In all the large towns of Ireland Parnell seems to have a small and enterprising mob at his disposal who make it lively for his opponents, who in turn contribute to the disorder. That this state of things does not depress the English Home-Rulers more is probably due to the consideration that this is the first real political contest that has taken place in Ireland since the Union. All previous Irish elections have been sham battles which were not to have any more effect on Irish legislation than on that of Holland. The Irish voters are now, for the first time in their history, exerting a real influence on the fortunes of their own country, and it is almost unreasonable to expect, considering the bellicose habits of the population, that they should pass through an experience so novel without a little cudgel play. Dalton's pummelling Healy in order (probably) to prevent his appearing on the stump in Sligo, shows the meeting of the two régimes—the old and the new. Healy was pummelled partly under the influence of the old Irish tradition that a political opponent ought to have his head broken; but the incident also contained an admission that persuasion had become a great force in the land, and that Healy was a powerful persuader. It is not so very long since it would, even in England, have been considered "good politics" to keep an opponent away from the hustings by engaging him in a standing fight under the rules of the ring as they existed for the time being.

MORALITY IN DIPLOMACY.

MOST of the points in Mr. Phelps's late article in *Harper's Monthly*, in so far as they are points of international law, will be before long disposed of by the Supreme Court or by the arbitrators, so that there is little use in arguing them further in the columns of a newspaper. But there is one passage in the article which has an abiding interest, especially for that younger generation which is now trying to rid American politics of corruption under the various forms of bribery, lying, and cheating. It is this:

"In this, as in all other international controversies, one remark holds good: a nation divided against itself can never achieve a diplomatic success. A government that is not backed up by the unanimous sentiment of its people, but is opposed in its dealings with foreign nations by a large share of the best intelligence of its own country, if not in the ends it seeks, at least in all the means it takes to obtain them, will never be a formidable figure in diplomacy, especially when its force is found to expend itself in argument rather than in action. To peruse the discussions of most questions of this sort in the American press would lead the unlearned reader to conclude that one proposition in international law, at least, can be regarded as settled; that is, that whatever is asserted by our own Government is necessarily wrong. This point is readily conceded by our adversaries, but tends more to simplify disputes than to conduct them to results favorable to our own side. If our Government is demanding what is wrong, the demand should at once be abandoned. If it is claiming what is right, and what is worth claiming, it should receive the support of all parties, whether all the points taken, and all the arguments by which it endeavors to support its case, prove universally convincing or not. The task of refuting them may be well enough left to the other side. In the course of this controversy, very little has appeared in print in the United States which tends to support our Government, or to indicate that American public sentiment sustains it. But much ability and learning have been devoted to answering the arguments and disproving the facts upon which the Government has relied. The authors can have the satisfaction of knowing that all these contributions to the British side of the discussion are promptly put on file in her Majesty's Foreign Office, and will not fail of their effect. Great Britain affords us no corresponding advantage. Not a word has been uttered or printed in that country, so far as is known, against the Canadian contention, or in support of that of the United States."

At first sight, Mr. Phelps's contention here seems to be that a good citizen should in all cases "back up" his own Government in a controversy with a foreign Government; and the only way in which a good citizen can "back up" his Government in such a controversy is by maintaining against all comers that all propositions of law or fact produced by his own Minister of Foreign Affairs are absolutely correct, and that the object aimed at is just and laudable. But on looking at the passage a little more closely, we see that he does not ask anything so monstrous of the good citizen. He does not say that a good man must, whenever his country gets into a controversy with a foreign nation, place his conscience and intelligence absolutely at the disposal of the person who happens at the time being to have charge of the State Department, for he does not maintain that in all such controversies our Government is sure to be in the right. He says, "If our Government is demanding what is wrong, the demand should at once be abandoned"; that is, he admits that governments—our own included—do sometimes make demands on foreigners which are "wrong." By wrong we presume he means demands which are not justified by the rules of international law, or are not justified by the evidence of facts in the case, or are in some way opposed to the rules of Christian morality under which all civilized nations now live. We see thus that there are three distinct varieties of wrong, any one of which may taint a demand on a foreign State, and make necessary, according to Mr. Phelps, an immediate abandonment of the demand.

But here comes a very curious hiatus in the argument. He does not tell us how the quality of the demand made by our Government is to be ascertained, or how, if wrong, its abandonment is to be brought about, for he absolutely forbids public discussion of it by the citizen through either press or platform, or through any channel which will carry a knowledge of the discussion to the foreigner. Salisbury must not be allowed to hear that some Americans think that Blaine is mistaken, and Blaine must not be allowed to hear that all Englishmen do not agree with Salisbury. By "discussion" we mean, of course, the public presentation of the pros and cons of the dispute; not simply laudation of the despatches written on our side, but a public examination of the law and the facts by competent lookers-on. You must not say things which will throw discredit on your own man. You must back him up, no matter how much you may think him mistaken. You must talk as if your Government were engaged in actual war and the national existence were at stake. How, then, is the Government to find out that it is demanding something wrong; and on what compulsion, the discovery made, is it to confess its error and apologize to its antagonist? Mr. Phelps is too shrewd a man to believe that human nature has made arrangements for the performance of these acts of contrition by Secretaries of State themselves on the promptings of their own conscience, in the midst of exciting disputes.

Perhaps the oddest thing in Mr. Phelps's position is that not only does he not provide us with the means of judging whether the diplomatic demands of a Government are right or wrong, but he has apparently provided none for himself. He intimates that we ought all to have supported Mr. Blaine in the present dispute, but does not tell us how we could have known whether Mr. Blaine's position was sound or not. It is possible, surely, that Blaine has not been "claiming what is right," and yet there must be some portion of the community competent to find it out. Mr. Blaine has not been transformed since he took the Secretaryship of State. Therefore let us ask how it happens that the fact "that in the course of this controversy very little has appeared in print in the United States to support our Government, or to indicate that American public sentiment sustains it," while "much ability and learning have been devoted to answering the arguments and disproving the facts upon which the Government has relied" has not made more impression on Mr. Phelps. Is it not possible that "American public sentiment does not sustain" Mr. Blaine? Is it not also possible that the reason why no "ability and learning have been devoted" to backing him up is, that the Americans who have ability and learning at command for such service think his position untenable? Is there not in this very situation as Mr. Phelps describes it enough and more than enough to put a prudent man on his guard against Mr. Blaine's diplomacy? Has not Mr. Phelps been taking on himself a tremendous responsibility in advising Mr. Blaine to risk war in support of a case which he acknowledges has received no sign of support from that portion of the American community which best understands it?

Mr. Phelps knows one very important fact in the history of diplomacy. We may not in our time agree by any means with that biting epigram, that "ambassadors were men sent to lie abroad for their country." Things have improved since that was uttered. But he knows perfectly well that ministers of foreign affairs are not chosen in our own country, or in any other either, for their high character, or their great learning, or their keen sense of right and wrong, or their special fitness for the place. In popular governments like ours and that of England and of France, the ministers of foreign affairs are men who have succeeded by hook or by crook in domestic politics in acquiring a title to a high place of some kind in the government when their party comes into power. Their accession to that particular office does not elevate or purify them. Mr. Blaine is not noted for his truthfulness or scrupulousness. Neither is Lord Salisbury. Neither of them is suspected of having the slightest hesitation in using the foreign policy of his country to help his party or himself in home politics. Lord Salisbury has done it; so has Mr. Blaine.

What Mr. Phelps proposes to his fellow-citizens, and to the youths whom he is instructing, is, that when two men of this description, who happen to have got hold of the foreign offices of their respective countries, start a dispute of any sort about land or water, fish, flesh, or fowl, the duty of the taxpayers who pay the expenses of the quarrel, and may be called on to sacrifice their lives in it, is simply to "back up" their arguments—that is, to profess to believe all their assertions, whether they believe them or not; to accept all their law whether they think it bad or not; to swallow their interpretations whether they think them erroneous or not, if they speak out at all; or else to keep silent, while a man whom they may consider a charlatan, without either patriotism or convictions or knowledge, is carrying their country straight to a bloody war. Under what code of morality is this justifiable?

There was a time when this view was generally accepted, but it was the time when war was considered the chief business of a government, when the Ingalls view of political morality controlled international intercourse, and when all international disputes—even the loss of Capt. Jenkins's ears—were considered sufficient cause for a re-

sort to arms. But it was a good while ago. Mr. Phelps is fully a century behind the age. With the appearance of the United States on the scene as a state without hated neighbors, without warlike traditions, without a governing class, with the utmost publicity thrown over the whole administrative machinery, and with every act and resolution and even impulse created or directed by the freest discussion—secret, lying, perverting, equivocating diplomacy received a serious blow. It did not vanish from the earth, it is true, because diplomatists have still to be men, but it placed over them a watchful, moral, religious, and intelligent public, to pronounce on the reasonableness and lawfulness of their acts, and to follow every step of their discussion with the criticisms and suggestions of that best class of citizens—honest men—who will neither do wrong themselves, nor knowingly allow it to be done in their name by others.

There are two fine lines of Lowell's, in his "Epistle to George William Curtis," which, as they contain an immortal truth, are worth recalling every day in the week:

"For never land long lease of empire won
Whose sons sate silent when base deeds were done."

We feel sure that if Mr. Phelps had considered the matter historically, he would never have asked his countrymen to surrender their political conscience to Mr. Blaine's keeping. He would have remembered that he could not enter a portrait gallery in France or England, or in his own country, in which some great man who had stood out against wicked diplomacy would not look down on him with dissent. He would see Burke and Chatham, who opposed the attempt to subjugate the colonies, and Fox and Mackintosh, who opposed the attempt to subjugate France. He would see Cobden and Bright, who opposed the Crimean war. He would see Gladstone and Morley and Argyll and Goschen, who opposed the Afghan war. He would see Thiers and Gambetta, who opposed the German war. In our own country he would see Adams and Hale and Giddings and many others, who opposed the Mexican war. All these men wished their country, as Mr. Phelps does, to make "a formidable figure in diplomacy," but a figure formidable because "its armor was its honest thought and simple truth its highest skill."

THE NEW BERING-SEA POLICY OF 1886.

An inquiry by the *Evening Post*, begun to ascertain the date when the interpretation of the laws of 1868 and 1870, relating to fur seals, and the method of executing those laws, were changed by the President or the Secretary of the Treasury, has thrown the partisans of Mr. Blaine into a paroxysm of rage.

The law of 1868 commanded the Secretary of the Treasury "to prevent the killing of any fur seal" within the limits of Alaska Territory "or in the waters thereof." The law of 1869 made our Pribyloff islands "a special reservation for Government purposes," and forbade any one to land or remain thereon excepting by authority of the Treasury. The law of 1870 authorized a lease of the islands to "The Alaska Commercial Company," and made it unlawful to kill any fur seal thereon, or "in the waters adjacent to the said islands," unless during certain months and under regulations provided for in the law. On August 3, 1870, a lease of the islands to the company was signed, in behalf of the Treasury, by Assistant Secretary Richardson. Secretary Boutwell was opposed to the monopoly, and conveniently absented himself from Washington when the lease was to be executed.

The law of 1870 and the lease permitted the killing of fur seals. The law of 1868 had peremptorily forbidden it anywhere and everywhere in Alaska. The law of 1870 and the lease necessarily, therefore, required modification of the interpretation of the law of 1868 left standing, and of its execution.

So far as we can discover, President Grant, who was responsible for the faithful execution by the Treasury of the laws of 1868 and 1870, decided that the revenue cutters were only to defend the islands and "adjacent" waters from fur-seal killing by any persons excepting the lessees. Boutwell's letter of 1872, doubtless written under the supervision of Secretary Fish, conforms to that decision. When the three Canadian vessels had been seized, in August, 1886, Admiral Seymour cabled the Admiralty that those vessels had, for three years, without interference, and "*in company with Corwin,*" the seizor, killed fur seals in Bering Sea. Up to that time only two vessels, one German and one American, had been seized, and in both cases for killing *on land* done by the crews, and not for killing on the water. Up to 1886, the efforts of revenue cutters and Treasury agents had been limited to those persons attempting "to poach upon the Federal preserve," as defined in the law of 1869. The first three Canadian vessels seized on August 1, 1886, were charged with killing seals a great distance from any land; Lord Iddesleigh complained to Mr. Bayard early in the next October, but, on January 12, 1887, the latter replied that the "circumstances attendant on their seizure" were then unknown to him, although five months had elapsed.

In a report to Washington, in 1886, by the Governor of Alaska is a significant allusion to the seizing of the three vessels by the "zealous and meritorious commander" of the *Corwin*, and to the necessity of protecting the seals "on their way to and from their breeding-places." In that report is the first suggestion and development of the theories and the interpretation of the statutes of 1868 and 1870, which are now used to uphold seizures outside of the marine league or in waters not adjacent to our islands. On March 2, 1887, an American firm in San Francisco (Handy & Co.) remonstrated by letter with President Cleveland for the seizure of their vessels for killing seals in the open waters of Bering Sea, and declared that, under the decision of United States Judge Deady (4 Sawyer's Reports, 105), of Secretary Boutwell, 1872, and the permission implied by the knowledge of the cruising revenue cutters and their abstinence from interference till 1886, "every citizen had a right to fish for fur seals in the waters of Bering Sea when distant a full marine league from the shore." That letter was printed in the New York *Herald* of March 17, 1887.

The evidence is overwhelming that, during the Administration of Grant — in whose time the laws were enacted, the lease made, and the due execution of the laws provided for—and presumably under the watchful eye of Secretary Hamilton Fish, there was no thought of seizing outside of three miles from land for killing done outside of that limit. Boutwell's letter of 1872 fits that theory perfectly. Neither President Hayes, nor Garfield, nor Arthur changed the policy. Nor did Secretaries of State Evarts, Blaine, or Frelinghuysen, or Secretaries of the Treasury Richardson, Bristow, Morrill, Sherman, Windom, Folger, Gresham. But suddenly, in 1886, came a change of policy and a new interpretation of the statutes of 1868 and 1870. Of the nineteen vessels seized up to June 30, 1887, ten were American. No seizures were made in 1888. All the evidence shows that in 1886 subordinate officials on the Pacific Coast invented a policy of their own, seized and condemned, without an iota of new authority from President Cleveland, Secretary Bayard, or Secretary Manning. Indeed, those high officers seem to have been in profound ignorance of seizures contemplated or made till told by the British Government. During 1886–'87 there was, in fact, a sort of paralysis of Treasury initiative and control in Bering Sea. The Alaska Commercial Company really usurped executive power in the affair, using Government revenue cutters and Alaska courts for company purposes.

FRUITS OF DEMAGOGISM.

One of the acts by which the Fiftieth Congress distinguished itself was that throwing steam presses out of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing. At a general assembly of the Knights of Labor in Minneapolis in October, 1887, resolutions were adopted demanding "that the Government securities, notes, bonds, checks, and stamps shall be printed in the highest style of the art of plate-printing from hand-roller presses so as to secure the Government against loss by wear and counterfeiting." This solicitude for the protection of the Government had no other basis than opposition to a valuable labor-saving device; and the deference paid by Congress to the demand of Labor has had the precise effect that we anticipated at the time. The cost of printing the Government securities has been greatly increased; and the inability of the Bureau to meet the demands made on it, resulting from the compulsory use of clumsy and antiquated machinery, has brought about a serious arrearage of work.

The steam press is as much superior to the hand-roller press as a locomotive is to a stage-coach. In spite of the heavy royalties that the Government had to pay for

its use, it effected an important saving, the return being $5 for every $1 expended, or an economy of $5,000 a year for each press. Before the commands of Labor were obeyed by Congress, steam presses were used on internal-revenue work and on the backs of United States notes and silver certificates; for some inscrutable reason, they were not thought to be quite fit to print the faces of these securities; this part of the work of the Bureau was reserved for the hand presses. The cost of the steam-press work was four dollars per thousand sheets; that of the hand presses, fourteen dollars per thousand. The aggregate number of sheets printed in the Bureau now reaches forty-seven millions per annum; and of these, thirty-two millions are revenue stamps. Were the revenue stamps printed on the steam presses, the saving would be $320,000. Were the backs of United States notes and silver certificates printed on these presses, the saving would be still greater. The statement that we made two years ago, that the proposed surrender to the demands of Labor would cost the people of this country more than $300,000, is no longer open to dispute.

But this is not the only price paid for this piece of demagogism. Ever since the steam presses were stopped, work in the Bureau has been more or less in a state of congestion. Capt. Meredith, the new Chief of that division of the Treasury Department, was obliged to purchase forty-seven new hand presses at a cost of $150 each; later he had to make an addition of forty-three; and now he finds that he must make another increase of one hundred and twenty-five—a total of two hundred and fifteen. This of course involves the employment of two hundred and fifteen plate printers, who work by the piece and earn an average wage of thirty dollars a week, and the same number of women assistants, who receive a little more than a dollar a day. This more than warrants our statement made two years ago that the substitution of hand presses for steam presses would necessitate the addition of one hundred and fifty plate printers.

At the time that Labor achieved its triumph over invention, every available foot of space in the bureau appeared to be occupied, and either an addition to the building or the displacement of some of the hand presses by the more efficient steam presses was required. In the room occupied by the hand presses enough steam presses could have been set up to supply all the public need. But the prospect of the displacement of a few plate-printers filled Labor with alarm, and in one of its petitions to the statesmen in the Capitol it declared: "Unless Congress interferes, the attempt to force the steam presses upon the Government will succeed, and every kind of obligation will be printed on them, rapid cheap work being substituted for good but more costly work." Demagogism listened to this frantic appeal, and as a consequence the Fifty-first Congress was compelled to make an appropriation of $80,000 for the increased room necessary for the new hand presses.

By unexampled crowding, space has been found for the ninety new presses introduced since the steam presses were thrown out; but it will not be until the addition is completed in July that enough hand presses can be put in operation to do the work of the Bureau under normal conditions. For some time past, the plate printers have been working two and a half hours overtime without arousing the sympathies of Labor; and at the beginning of last week, the Government was inconsiderate enough to add another hour. By this means, it is hoped that the arrearage of work may be reduced, and the inconvenience to which the United States Treasurer and the Internal Revenue Commissioner have been subjected will be removed. This latter official has been put to his wits' end to provide the stamps demanded by the revenue collectors throughout the country. In defiance of the law which provides that a three months' stock of stamps shall always be kept on hand, he has been obliged to issue them green and uncured. United States notes and silver certificates have also been issued in the same condition, and, as a consequence, they have been soon returned to the Treasury as unfit for use.

It is said that the situation has made the President and Secretary of the Treasury very anxious; they fear that in case a breakdown should occur in the Bureau, the supply of notes, stamps, certificates, and other securities would be cut off. Such a catastrophe might not be undesirable in the least, if it should only call public attention to the absurdity and costliness of using a machine that is as much out of date as a wooden plough or a flint hatchet, and lead to the exposure of the silly claims of Labor. Any one with a pair of good eyes and with a silver certificate printed two years ago, can determine for himself whether the work of a steam press is inferior to a hand press, and whether the one facilitates counterfeiting more than the other. The back of that certificate was printed on a steam press; if it be compared with the back of a certificate printed since the steam presses were thrown out, no difference of the least consequence will be detected. Even the experts that Labor placed on the stand two years ago, when the Senate Committee on Finance was investigating the question, could not tell the difference, although the petition already mentioned declared that "no expert with any regard for his reputation will hesitate to pronounce the work done by such presses as inferior." It was shown before the Committee that all the silver certificates that had been counterfeited previous to September, 1888, were printed on hand presses; and that hand-presses have not thwarted the counterfeiters' skill is demonstrated by the discovery, announced in Sunday's despatches from Washington, of a most dangerous counterfeit two-dollar silver certificate.

BOYCOTTING FOR BLACKMAIL.

THE unusual course which the State Board of Arbitration has taken in making a special report to the Legislature of their recent investigation of the clothing-cutters' lockout in Rochester is fully justified by the facts brought out in the inquiry. The sixty printed pages of testimony which accompany the report furnish remarkably interesting reading, giving as they do a succinct and complete narrative of one of the most brazen schemes for levying blackmail to be found in the history of boycotting as it has been developed in Mr. Powderly's noble and holy order of the Knights of Labor.

The manufacturing of clothing is one of the largest industries of many that are carried on in the city of Rochester. According to the report of the Board of Arbitration, the annual output of ready-made clothing reaches $10,000,000 in value, the annual aggregate of wages is $3,000,000, and the employees, men, women, and children, including about 5,000 families, number about 20,000, or about one-seventh of the entire population of the city. Early in the month of March this great industry came to a standstill through the combined action of twenty-one manufacturing firms in dismissing the cutters in their employ, about 350 in all. All the dismissed men were members of a local assembly of Knights of Labor, and the reason which their employers gave for their course was that they were unable to continue their business because of the insistence, on the part of the national organization of the Knights, on the right to dictate to the employers the terms upon which the local Knights should be employed. The sudden arrest of so great an industry produced the results inevitable in such cases. There was destitution and suffering in thousands of families, and the industrial and commercial life of the city received a violent shock. The State Board of Arbitration put in an appearance and made unavailing efforts to harmonize the differences between the manufacturers and employees. It then began an investigation into the causes of the trouble, sitting for three days and going into the subject with great thoroughness. We shall give as briefly as possible the main facts brought out.

The first signs of trouble appeared in the fall of 1889, when various manufacturers began to receive calls from John G. Thein, Vice-President of the Garment-Cutters' and Trimmers' National Trades Assembly 231 of the Order of Knights of Labor, and Frederick Archer, Master Workman of the same organization. One firm would be told that they were employing one more apprentice than the rules of the order permitted; another would be told that they were giving an apprentice a kind of work which the rules of the order forbade; another would be told that they were paying men for extra work which the rules of the order forbade, or were inducing them to work on half-holidays, which was also forbidden. In each case, when Thein or Archer was informed that the firm insisted upon managing their affairs in their own way, the insolent rejoinder was that they (the firm) would soon discover that they would not be allowed to do that, and that they would be very glad to change their minds before very long.

Soon after these visits, there came to the resisting firm a letter from James Hughes,

at first stationed in Omaha, and subsequently in Chicago. Hughes wrote all his communications on paper with the pompous heading, "Office of National Trade Assembly 231, Garment-Cutters and Trimmers of North America, Order of Knights of Labor," and began invariably with the formula: "Gentlemen: In my official capacity as Chairman of the Garment-Cutters and Trimmers of North America, I am called upon by our organization, located at your city, to try and straighten out trouble with our organization and your firm." He then went on to say that the Executive Board of the local assembly had "waited on" the firm and had stated its demands, which had not been granted, and that he had been called in to assist in the matter. From this point on Hughes generally wrote like a bully and a blackguard who was too dull to comprehend the illegal character of his threats and requirements. We append a specimen of his usual letter at this stage of the controversy:

"I wrote your firm in March about this trouble, and you *apparently* met our organization's wishes for a few weeks, but it was only temporarily, as you have since my letter treated Executive Board of Local Assembly 1727, K. of L., very ungentlemanly and the wishes of our organization with utter contempt. Now we come to the conclusion it is a waste of time to write a firm or express our wishes, who have treated us as you have my letter and the wishes of our organization. So we have proceeded to protect ourselves by bringing the wishes of our organization in a more forcible way to your office than by letter or sending our Local Executive Board. We have notified all our friends at [here follow the names of forty-two cities in various parts of the country] and very many other important points left unnamed, and we know only too well your firm will be willing to meet the just wishes of our organization before three months. We have spent the money of our organization for results and will get them."

In nearly every instance in which this letter was received the threatened firm was weak enough to yield, through fear of the boycott held over its goods in case of refusal. In frequent cases the names of customers in various cities were put into the threat in order to show what power the national organization possessed. It appeared in the testimony that these names had been procured by compelling members of the local assembly of Knights, who were clerks of the firms, to get possession of them in one way or another. Of course, the immediate effect of yielding was to make matters worse than ever. In fact, Hughes did not appear in full glory until he had won his first concession. He immediately put in a bill of expenses for the trouble caused to his organization by the first refusal, and also for the cost he should be put to to stop the boycott which had been got under way. In this manner he made one firm pay $1,600, another firm $1,087, another $1,000, and so on. Sometimes there was a long correspondence with the great Hughes over his bills, resulting in reductions, though only after violent protestation on his part.

Of course there was only one result of a controversy with a man of this character. Every demand that was granted was followed by others more insolent, until all possibility of conducting their business at all was removed from the manufacturers, and they decided to stop. It should be borne in mind that the employees themselves had never complained of their treatment by their employers; they did not object to the apprentices, and they were eager to do the extra work offered them. The employers had abundant work on hand, more orders, indeed, than they could fill, and they were willing to pay union wages for all the extra work the men could do. Furthermore, none of the Knights who made the trouble were ever in the manufacturers' employ. Only one of them, Thein, was even a resident of Rochester. Hughes lived in Chicago, Westbrook in New York, Wright in Philadelphia. There is no evidence to show even that any of them were really members of the craft which they were "managing" into discontent and idleness. It is no wonder that when the investigation was concluded, Hughes, Westbrook, Wright, and Thein were indicted for conspiracy and extortion, placed under arrest, and taken to Rochester for trial. Neither is it surprising that the Board of Arbitration, in presenting the evidence to the Legislature, should say that the "Boycott, as its workings are developed in this case, does not conduce to harmony between the parties, and is not calculated to improve their present or any other system of production. On the contrary, it would seem that, sooner or later, the consequence must be disruption of relations and destruction of industries. Like causes produce like effects, and the spectacle presented in Rochester to-day may be witnessed in the other industrial centres of the State to-morrow."

But Hughes is still unsubdued. He issued on Friday a proclamation to all Knights in the land, calling upon them to boycott the manufacturers everywhere by warning local retail clothing-dealers not to handle their goods. The reason for this step is that the manufacturers are about to resume business in their own way, and are even thinking of doing so with new men, refusing to reemploy some of the old ones whose extreme Knightly conduct aggravated their past difficulties. In his proclamation Hughes speaks of himself and indicted associates as being temporarily in the "hands of the paid emissary of this unjust combine, the Rochester District Attorney." His proclamation is very cheap bravado, amounting to the familiar Powderly performance of declaring, at the moment when the failure of a strike is assured, that the "strike is still on."

TWO IMPORTANT ART EXHIBITIONS.

LONDON, March 16, 1891.

MR. HAMERTON, in one of his essays, speaks of the influence of fashion on the arts of drawing and book-illustration. But I do not think that he has pointed out in this connection the curious fact that while illustration never has been quite as popular as it is nowadays, there is nothing to which the public is apparently so indifferent as the original work, which they know and prize in the reproduction. Black-and-white exhibitions languish; the black-and-white room at the Royal Academy is always all but deserted. The drawing of a master has but small chance by the side of the real oil-painting of the veriest tyro. But, fortunately for the few who do care and know, two very important shows of drawings, some mere notes and memoranda for the artist's own use, others made for reproduction and publication, have just been opened in London. These are, the exhibition of drawings illustrative of European art acquired within the last five or six years by the British Museum authorities, and now hung in the new White building, and the collection of Charles Keene's work brought together in the Fine Art Society's galleries. While the latter will remain open but for a few weeks, the former will in all probability continue for a couple of years, and Americans coming to London during that time should on no account miss it.

It is to be regretted that the rare series of Japanese and Chinese work has had to be put away to make room for the examples of European art at the British Museum. But still these occasional changes in the permanent exhibition, the only means by which many of the Museum treasures could be shown to the public, have their value. The present selection is of such unusual interest that it certainly should not have been allowed to remain carefully hidden out of sight, though it is scarcely as representative as it aims at being. Divided into three sections—Early and Renaissance Schools, Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Schools, and Modern Schools—it is really in the third of these divisions, by far the most important for the draughtsman of to-day, devoted all but wholly to British drawings, which, however, include but few examples of the period when English draughtsmanship was at its greatest. Delightful and valuable as are the drawings of the old Italian masters, the delicate pen-work of Mantegna, the vigorous studies of Signorelli and Michael Angelo, the refined designs of Gozzoli and Peruzzi, these, of course, are but the merest notes and sketches for pictures, of no small interest in themselves, but without technical value for the modern draughtsman who works for reproduction; and besides, one sees the same studies in all the large Continental galleries, in many to far better advantage. Indeed, in this first section there is nothing of very marked distinction—that is, nothing that calls for special comment—except a pen drawing by Albert Dürer. This deserves careful examination, for it throws some light on a much disputed point in regard to his work. It is evidently a drawing prepared for the woodcutter; looked at closely, you can see that it has been traced, probably on to the block; the word "Apolo" on it is written backward, in order, without doubt, that it may be properly reversed in the printing; but the most noteworthy feature is the extreme delicacy and refinement of the pen line—far more like Dürer's etched line than the line in his woodcuts. It is instructive to contrast this original design with some of the printed blocks from his work down stairs in the King's library. A draughtsman with such a style and such methods would (despite William Morris and Walter Crane and the latter-day worshippers of primitive engraving) have greatly preferred to be reproduced by process, which would have retained much of his delicacy, than by wood-engraving, which cut it almost all away. That he was not his own woodcutter, as the faithful would have us believe, this drawing proves most unquestionably.

Noteworthy, too, in the same section, is the work of Cerceau, the French architectural draughtsman, which shows that in his time architectural drawings were set up exactly as they are nowadays, while it is seldom that one sees such beautiful studies of decorative detail.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth-century schools Rembrandt stands supreme. There

are here fine pencil studies for portraits by Rubens; delightful impressions of landscape by Vandyke; charming little heads and graceful figures by Watteau and Boucher; the marvellously elaborate drawings made by Dunker and Freudenberger for the steel engravings illustrating Margaret of Navarre's 'Heptameron'; pencil sketches by Lely which have far more character and power than his finished portraits in oils; good strong notes by Reynolds and Gainsborough; two fairly typical Blakes. But there is nothing equal in artistic importance to a little drawing in soft pencil of an elephant by Rembrandt. This is really the gem of the whole collection. It is done with the utmost simplicity, there is hardly any work in it at all, and yet it is all there; you can feel the quality of the elephant's tough hide and see its heavy folds. The drawing is a masterpiece. Wonderful, too, are three others in sepia—two small landscapes with the distance as exquisitely suggested as in his etchings of similar subjects, and a rich Good Samaritan at the door of the inn.

It is, as I have said, in the third section, covering our century, a period which there are not so many opportunities to study, that the exhibition is least satisfactory. The British Museum authorities have been complimented because they have realized that there are draughtsmen outside of Great Britain. But this realization has not carried them very far. A couple of charcoal studies by Millet, several examples of Ingres and pencil sketches of architecture by Méryon, very nice but not very marvellous in themselves, though interesting as coming from him, and two Maori heads by the same artist, which are Méryon rather than Maorian, complete the foreign selection. There is nothing of Menzel, nothing of Meissonier, nothing of Fortuny. The great masters who made the drawing of to-day what it is, might as well never have worked, for all the representation they find here. I understand that the appropriation made to the Print Department is not large, and Mr. Colvin, the keeper, is somewhat limited by his purse. But a little more discrimination in the selection of work would have gone far towards counterbalancing this difficulty. Instead of endless and indifferent examples of greatly overrated Englishmen, instead of wearisome series of hopelessly dull and commonplace English water-colors, one or two typical drawings by the true modern masters of draughtsmanship might profitably have been substituted.

Conspicuous among the good things that one would most certainly retain, are beautiful sketches by Constable, some in color, others in black-and-white; big, expressive architectural studies in pencil by Prout—these, with the sketches of William Leighton Leitch, showing how much more carefully men did this sort of work before the introduction of photography; and Alfred Stevens's designs. But if the leading foreign draughtsmen are unrepresented, so, too, are the most notable English artists in black-and-white. There are plenty of Hablot Brownes, Cruikshanks, and Caldecotts, men of greater popularity with the public than with their fellow-artists. But of Keene, Sandys, Pinwell, the little group who made the *Graphic* and English illustration of some thirty years ago, there are absolutely no examples, and yet it is to them the modern British school of drawing owes whatever prominence it may have. Their absence is in a measure due to the fact that the work of living artists is not included in the collection; and of these men few are dead, though, perhaps because they are living in neglect and poverty, like Sandys, or have long since ceased to do good work, like Millais, they are not known to the present generation as draughtsmen. But there is no excuse now for not giving the drawings of Charles Keene the space which they so largely deserve.

It is a happy chance which at this juncture has led the Fine Arts Society to open the show of Keene's work. In their gallery the study begun at the Museum can with profit be continued. Keene is unquestionably the greatest English draughtsman who ever lived, though it was only by a very small saving remnant that his greatness was appreciated. A man of over sixty when he died, the Royal Academy had ever been closed against him; he had never enjoyed the notoriety of other *Punch* men; he was never seen in the galleries, except of late years in one or two shows of the New English Art Club, of which he was an honorary member. It was to the Continent he had to turn for whatever honors his work brought him. His death may be said to have attracted public attention to him for the first time, and fortunately the exhibition of his drawings is being held before he is again forgotten. The greater number of these drawings are, of course, his contributions to *Punch*, well known in a way, and yet not known at all, so much have they lost in the woodcutting. In the gallery there is a portfolio containing some of his earliest pen-and-ink work which it is interesting to compare with his later productions, for he seems in the beginning to have drawn with a delicacy and refinement of line only equalled by Whistler in his etchings. There are delightful studies of figures, of interiors, of landscape, of boats, which no etching could surpass, and which show what we might have had from him had he worked for process. Working for woodcutting, he soon realized that one thing it could not do was to render the extreme refinement of his line, and he somewhat altered his methods, though he never subordinated himself to his woodcutter. Later on, as if he saw how hopeless it was to expect exact reproduction, he used greater freedom again, drawing in any colored ink and on any kind of paper; some of the drawings are made on the backs of advertisements. The cuts in *Punch* but faintly reflect the originals; indeed, often there is not even an attempt to follow his lines.

All his drawings, however made, show the same careful study, the same originality in conception and execution, the same style—in a word, the same indefinable artistic quality which always distinguishes the work of the master. No one knew better than he how to suggest all the character of the landscape in the fewest possible lines; no one understood more thoroughly what are the essential features of a London street or a shop interior. His figures are masterpieces of modelling, and even the poorest reproductions cannot altogether destroy the simply expressed but strong individuality of his Robert, his cabmen, his delightful drunken gentleman, his fat lady, his street urchin. It has been made a reproach to him that he never sought to render beautiful or merely pretty types. As well might Rembrandt or Velasquez be taken to task for painting many of the portraits which are the triumph of their, and indeed of all, art. Charles Keene drew the life he saw and knew best; and therein lies the secret of his greatness. It is to his lasting credit that in these days, when art is upon the town, as Whittier puts it, he never sacrificed artistic achievement to popular taste for the sake of the all-powerful initials R. A. after his name, or of a palace in Kensington or St. John's Wood.

The Keene exhibition has made a great stir among artists, who have been the chief buyers of his drawings; but I doubt if it prove popular with the outside public. As for the new show at the British Museum, it is pitiful to see the mere handful of people who attend it in the evenings, despite the electric light, which gives artists and artisans, busy during the day, a chance to enjoy it after dark. But this is only additional proof of the prevailing indifference to the art of drawing, save in its reproductive forms. Perhaps if people were not so ignorant of the methods of reproduction, this indifference might not be so great. But it is astonishing to find how little the average mortal knows, and how much less he cares to understand, the processes which give him, in his periodicals and books, the artist's work. A curious instance of this, just now brought notoriously before the public, is to be had in Prof. Herkomer's "Idyl," very recently published. "Illustrated by Sixteen Etched Plates," by the Professor, is announced in the circulars and by the publishers, and yet it has been seriously questioned in the *National Observer* (and other papers are following its lead) whether these illustrations are etchings or photogravures. To any one who examines them carefully, there cannot be much doubt. Now, if people were more intelligently interested in the illustrated books which they buy, a deception—to call it by a polite name—of this kind would not be possible. Unfortunately, however, the poor ignorant public is not here entirely to blame. Part of the responsibility rests with Mr. Hamerton, who for the last few years has been telling us but too often that a photogravure is an etching. Publishers have not been slow to take the hint. In the Temple Library, photogravures have been advertised and sold and criticised as etchings with the greatest success. But when it comes to the least doubt being thrown upon the artistic and commercial veracity of a man of Mr. Herkomer's position, it is time indeed to protest. If such exhibitions as the two I have described would but draw attention to original work, one might hope that in the course of time people would begin to interest themselves in the methods by which this work is given to them in its printed result. N. N.

TALLEYRAND'S MEMOIRS.*—II.

PARIS, March 9, 1891.

TALLEYRAND is not mistaken when he attaches great importance to a decision taken by Marshal de Ségur. At a moment when the doctrine of equality was making daily progress, the Marshal decided that commissions in the army should be reserved exclusively for noblemen. Fabert, Chevert, Catinat having been plebeians, the petty officers of the army were outraged by this measure; they furnished afterwards the generals of the Revolution and the marshals of the Empire. The spirit of caste was the true agent of destruction of the old régime, and a philosophic observer would trace its influence throughout the history of France, even to the present period. Nobility no longer confers any material privileges, but it creates what the philosophers call an *état d'âme* absolutely hostile to the democratic ideal. For a hundred years there have been, so to speak, two nations in the nation, and the final reconciliation has not yet taken place.

The Comte d'Artois gave the signal for the emigration. Talleyrand says of him, "I loved him. I needed all the force of my reason not to follow him." He refused, however, to join the Count in Turin. He did not blame the *émigrés*, he blamed the emigration. Talleyrand took a not unimportant part in the dis-

* 'Memoirs of the Prince de Talleyrand.' Vols. I. and II. G. P. Putnam's Sons.

cussions of the famous Constituent Assembly. When the Assembly made a constitution for the clergy without any previous understanding with the Papacy, almost all the bishops refused to take the oath of adherence to what was called the "civil constitution of the clergy." The new bishops were anxious to have the episcopal consecration; Talleyrand consented to consecrate one of them, who afterwards consecrated the others. He himself resigned the bishopric of Autun and abandoned the Church for ever.

I follow in the memoirs of Talleyrand the thread of the events in which he was concerned, leaving aside many considerations or questions which have now lost their interest. This thread of events is often interrupted. Talleyrand did not make a diary; he depicted only certain periods of his existence. He says hardly anything about the mission intrusted to him in 1792. He went to England with the Duc de Biron on the 12th of January, and returned to Paris on the 9th of March. After the famous 10th of August, 1792, he felt that he was no longer safe in France, notwithstanding the services he had rendered to the Revolution. He asked to be sent on a mission to England, on the futile pretext of studying the weights and measures (a question which had occupied him in the Constituent Assembly); he really wished to leave France with a regular passport, and he succeeded. He remained in England during the whole of the "effroyable" year 1793 and a part of 1794. He was very kindly received by the Marquis of Lansdowne, whom he had known in Paris. He did not wish to remain long in England, and his stay was shortened by an order of expulsion. He went on board the first ship that was leaving for the United States. A tempest obliged his ship to take refuge in Falmouth, and Talleyrand found himself for a day in the same inn with Gen. Arnold. "I am perhaps the only American," said Arnold to him, "who can give you no letters for his own country." Arnold withheld his name from Talleyrand.

Talleyrand landed in Philadelphia, and made a journey with M. de Beaumetz, a French émigré, and a Dutchman named Heydecoper. He was not given to the descriptive style, like the modern traveller; his observations had reference to manners. In Mrs. Robert Morris's drawing-room he admired an elegant *guéridon* of Sèvres porcelain; on this table was the hat of the master of the house—"a hat which a European peasant would not have liked to put on his head." In a log-house in Ohio he saw a piano adorned with the most beautiful bronzes. It is clear that he admired the simplicity of America more than its luxury. I have it from a person who had known him that, when he spoke of America, he always said, "Its *luxe* is horrible." Talleyrand did not see Gen. Washington, though he had a letter of introduction to him written by Lord Lansdowne; he made the acquaintance of Gen. Hamilton, of whom he says that, "by his mind and his character he seemed to him to be, even in the lifetime of Pitt and Fox, on a level with the most distinguished statesmen of Europe."

After thirty months spent in America (without any other desire than not to be in France or in England), he received a decree of the Convention which authorized him to return to France. He embarked on board a ship which was going to Hamburg. His prudence led him not to return directly to France. When he was still at the mouth of the Elbe, he received a message from Madame de Flahaut, who was at Hamburg, who urged him not to land, but to return immediately to France. They had been very intimate in old times, and she feared that his return might be an obstacle to her intended marriage with M. de Souza, the Minister of Portugal. Talleyrand did not mind this ridiculous message, and he remained a month at Hamburg, where he found Madame de Genlis such as he had seen her in the time of her glory. Madame de Genlis gives an account of her intercourse with Talleyrand at Hamburg in her interesting and too much neglected memoirs. They recalled to each other the delightful evenings they had spent in France with Mademoiselle (the sister of Louis Philippe) and her own niece Pamela. Talleyrand came to her little *soupers* in Hamburg, and ironically spoke of their "estimable frugality." "One night," says she, "I gave a great supper, perfectly well served, to which all our friends were invited. Talleyrand, seeing this magnificent repast, whispered in my ear: 'I promise you I will not appear astonished.' It would be impossible to be more amiable than he was at that repast."

Talleyrand went from Hamburg to Amsterdam, thence to Brussels, and arrived in Paris only in September, 1796. Mme. de Staël became his Providence in the new society which had emerged from the Revolution. She pressed him to make the acquaintance of Barras, and, after some reluctance, he accepted an invitation of Barras to Suresnes. While he was waiting for Barras, a young man of whom Barras was very fond drowned himself in the Seine, and Talleyrand's first interview was much disturbed by this unfortunate incident. "From that moment I never had any complaint to make of Barras. He was very passionate, all animation and impulse; I had known him for scarcely two hours, yet I might have thought I was, so to speak, the person he loved best in the world."

Some time afterwards, the Directory made a change in their Cabinet, and Barras insisted upon the nomination of his new friend as Minister of Foreign Affairs. A gendarme brought the offer to him; Madame de Staël urged him to accept, and he did so. "I know," he says, "that some persons, not then, but since the Restoration, have discovered that it was wrong to take office in a time of crisis and revolution, when it is impossible to do any absolute good. It always seemed to me that this view was very superficial. In the affairs of this world, you must never stop at the present moment. *What is* is almost always of little consequence, when one does not remember that *what is* will produce what *will be;* and, in truth, in order to arrive at an end, must you not start? . . . People are not always led by personal calculation when they accept office, and I might say that it is a great sacrifice to consent to become the responsible editor of the work of other people. Selfishness and fear have less abnegation." I give these reasonings, or sophisms, for what they are worth; they are certainly very characteristic of the man who served so many governments and always succeeded in conferring more favors than he himself received.

At the first sitting of the Directory at which Talleyrand appeared, a quarrel arose between Carnot and Barras. "The latter accused his colleague of having suppressed a letter which ought to have been placed under the eyes of the Directory. They were both standing. Carnot lifted his hand, and said: 'I give you my word of honor that it is not true.' 'Don't lift your hand,' answered Barras; 'blood would drip from it.' Such were the men who governed France, and with them I had to try to make France reënter European society. I threw myself into this great enterprise." The victories of the Directory, and especially those of Gen. Bonaparte, made this task somewhat easy. Talleyrand, on assuming office, wrote immediately to Bonaparte, and a correspondence between them was established. Talleyrand saw in the young general who signed the treaty of Campo Formio (October 17, 1797) the man of genius, the man of the future.

As soon as Bonaparte returned from Italy, he sent an aide-de-camp to Talleyrand announcing a visit from himself. The first conversation was extremely friendly and confidential. Bonaparte said, among many other things: "You are the nephew of the Archbishop of Reims, who is with Louis XVIII." If he dreamed a moment of playing the part of Monk, the dream was not of long duration. It is clear that Talleyrand did not, after the execution of Louis XVI., believe in the possibility of the Restoration; he thought that a transition was necessary—a temporary monarch, and perhaps a new dynasty. What he called the *polygarchy* of the Directory could not last, and did not deserve to last. The Consulate was, in reality, the preface to the Empire. Talleyrand understood at once that France wished to preserve the fruits of the Revolution, but to be rid of the revolutionists. These had been the instruments of destiny; Bonaparte was the strong man desired by the nation, who owed everything to the Revolution, and who could organize the new society which had sprung out of it. He was the man who could force Europe to recognize this new order of things, and defend it against everybody. Napoleon understood all this even better than Talleyrand; he did more than understand it, he was unconscious—he was like a living force of nature; his passions were as lucid as Talleyrand's intelligence. He felt that he was the natural master of the new France, and that in order to remain its master, he must be the master of Europe. Talleyrand represented the traditions of old France, and he placed his immense knowledge and extraordinary ability at the disposition of the man who was ready to remodel Europe as France had been remodelled.

Correspondence.

HOW OUR PENSION LAW WORKS.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: A German who had served in our army during the Civil War, but is now living in perfect health at Poessneck in the Duchy of Sachsen-Meiningen, was recently informed by the United States Consul at Sonneberg that he was entitled to a pension, not only from the present date, but also for the twenty-seven years that have elapsed since he left the service. This back pension amounts to more than $6,000. After his death the pension will be continued to his widow during her lifetime.

Another German enlisted in the United States cavalry from 1852 to 1855, when he returned to his native land and was appointed to a petty office under the Bavarian Government at Lindau. About a year ago he was surprised to receive a letter from a pension lawyer in Cleveland, Ohio, asking him whether he had never taken cold while on duty on our Western frontier, and whether this cold might not have induced some affection of the lungs, liver, or heart; adding that in such case he would be entitled to a pension. The man, having his memory thus jogged, recalled several instances of this sort, and presumed the cold might have injured the internal organs mentioned. He accordingly filled out the papers which the lawyer had sent him, and now

draws his pension. He has never been an American citizen and never fought in a single battle while in the United States service. He is a Bavarian subject, and was pensioned not long ago by the Bavarian Government on account of his age. But, as he remarked to the writer, his pension for thirty years' service under the Bavarian Government is a mere bagatelle compared with that which he receives from Washington for three years' bloodless service in the United States cavalry. He frankly admitted that he never expected a pension and was perfectly satisfied with the pay he received as a soldier; but why should he refuse the money thus thrust upon him? The above is by no means an isolated or exceptional case; and the money to pay for such "fooling" comes out of the pocket of the American citizen. E.

MR. PHELPS ON DIPLOMACY.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: In his recent article in *Harper's Magazine*, Mr. Phelps says: "A nation divided against itself can never achieve a diplomatic success." This can hardly be accepted as an axiom in diplomacy, as some of the most important treaties have been made by nations torn almost asunder by internal dissensions. The Hartford Convention of 1814 had but very recently closed its labors when the United States Commissioners secured all that their country demanded by the treaty with England ending the war of 1812—an issue due solely to the wisdom, patience, and patriotism of Gallatin and his associates, when the country was well-nigh exhausted by an unequal contest with a great Power and irreconcilable disputes at home. J. S. N.

Philadelphia, March 26, 1891.

A QUESTION OF CATALOGUING.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: I recognize with pleasure your hearty appreciation of the excellent code of rules for cataloguing just issued by Mr. Linderfelt of Milwaukee; and, where criticisms are so few, it may seem ungracious to object to any of them. But I feel called upon to protest against your dictum that "Pratt (Enoch) Free Library" is the proper form for the entry of that title. Mr. Linderfelt says it should be entered in its "usual" form (meaning, of course, what the word "usual" naturally means, and not what it means in cataloguing usage), and he is undoubtedly right. I think it will be found that most American catalogues give such forms as Enoch Pratt Library, Johns Hopkins University, Leland Stanford University, without any transposition. See, for examples, Johns Hopkins, in the Astor Library Supplement, in the American Catalogue, 1876–1884, and in the Catalogue of the Library of the Surgeon-General's Office at Washington.

I am aware that Cutter's Rules (2d ed.) gives "Pratt (Enoch) Free Library" as an example, but I am inclined to think it is in the nature of an oversight, as this particular question is not discussed. Cutter's note (H. p. 32) on the names of firms is not at all conclusive on this point. W. I. F.

Amherst College Library,
Amherst, Mass., March 28, 1891.

THE EXCAVATION OF DELPHI.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: I have not seen that any of your correspondents at Athens have called attention to the fact that, after all the negotiation and contribution of funds for the work which our School at Athens was to do at Delphi, the French School has got the concession even after ours had secured the funds necessary, as was supposed. This is the conclusion to which I have always looked as inevitable. I have urged the responsible authorities on our side not to enter into a competition which could only end to our disadvantage and which must produce unpleasant feeling; and I put forward the event which has ended the controvesy, viz., that the Greek Government would give the concession to France whenever she accepted the treaty negotiated in 1887, to which both parties were bound. I asserted that the Greeks were only using our propositions to get better terms from France, and that they never had any real intention of giving the concession to the American School. I stated, what now is seen to be the fact, that the French had never withdrawn their claims and did not mean to withdraw them, and on these grounds I urged abstention from a competition which exaggerated the pretensions of the Greeks, involved discourtesy to the French and alienation between the two schools, and which was certain to be decided against us. For this I have been attacked as unpatriotic, put in Coventry by the friends of our School, and made to pay such penalties as the outraged dignity of our archæologists could inflict. We have succeeded in making the French pay more than double what the Greek Government demanded at first, and when we come to the point with the money demanded in our hands, we have the humiliation of learning that we have only been made the tools of a crafty combination for the Greek advantage. There was never any intention of giving the concession to the American School. This I had the proof of in 1889, but the persons responsible would not believe me, and now we pay the penalty.

I am obliged to do justice to myself, and to this end I ask the publication of the above.

Yours truly, W. J. Stillman.

DR. WALDSTEIN ON THE GRAVE OF ARISTOTLE.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Contrary to my wishes, the news has already leaked into the papers here that I have discovered the grave of Aristotle. As I am very anxious that no sensational report be spread, not warranted by conscientious scientific investigation, I feel bound to make public at this juncture the grounds upon which this premature conclusion has been arrived at.

During the excavations which have been carried on by the American School of Classical Studies under my direction on the site of the ancient Eretria, I was making tentative excavations in the neighborhood of the city, in order to discover the temple of the Amyrinthian Artemis. I came upon beautifully worked marble foundations, which, however, proved to be the enclosures of a family grave, such as exist in considerable number about Eretria. But these walls were of such workmanship and magnificence that I concluded they must be the finest graves in the neighborhood. After much digging, and opening of two graves, we came upon one within this precinct which contained a number of articles (twenty-three), among them six diadems of pure gold and one laurel wreath of pure gold about the head; furthermore, a most interesting specimen of a writing-pen in silver, and two styluses of the same material. Also a statuette of a philosopher, with hands folded, in terracotta.

It seemed evident to me at the time that the person here buried was a man of literary pursuits, and furthermore a man of considerable fame and note. When, in the grave adjoining, containing the remains of a female member of the family, an inscription was found, [B]IOTH [A]PIΣTOTEAOY (Biote Aristotelou), the tempting question flitted through the mind, whether the gold-wreathed philosopher buried with such distinction was not the famous Stagirite? This grew still more tempting when one bore in mind that Aristotle died at Kalchis, and that Kalchis is the adjoining city to Eretria. Finally, Christodoros describes a statue of Aristotle which he saw in a gymnasium at Constantinople as "standing with hands folded together," which corresponds to the unique terracotta found in the grave. According to Prof. Richardson, the inscription goes back to the third century B. C.

This is an outline of the facts connected with the discovery. But I should like to point to the following points which militate against the identification: first, that Kalchis is not Eretria, though it adjoins it, though graves run almost continuously from Kalchis as far as Bathia, two hours beyond Eretria, and though one must not assume that these were the same distinct and inimical communities after the Macedonian period which they were in the previous centuries. One must further remember that there were several Aristotles in antiquity, and that the daughter of Aristotle by his wife Pythias is mentioned in his will, and that her name was Pythias, not Biote; though he might have had a daughter by Herpyllis. Finally, research has not yet considered and settled the question whether the terracotta figures in the graves had any such *direct* reference to the deceased as the statuette of the philosopher in the grave in question might tempt us to believe existed in this case; though we can, even now, maintain that a general relation subsisted, such as that of ephebi in graves of youths, children in children's graves, and women with articles of toilet in those of women.

These are, on the whole, the facts which I can at present make public. Perhaps more light may come to us.

Charles Waldstein.

American School of Classical Studies,
Athens, March 12, 1891.

SOME GREEK PROOF-READING.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: "What the author hath joined together let not the scribe put asunder" is a rule that is often violated, and many easy corrections may be made by restoring the original unity. But scholars are often very slow to avail themselves of the opportunity. One such correction, made long ago, has recently been confirmed by the discovery of the 'Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία.'

In the *American Journal of Philology*, i, 458 (1880), I proposed to read Solon fr. 36, 21 (Bergk)—

οὔτ' ἂν κατέσχε δῆμον οὔτ' ἐπαύσατο
πρὶν ἀναταράξας πῖαρ ἐξελεῖν γάλα

instead of πρὶν ἂν ταράξας πῖαρ ἐξέλῃ γάλα. "Of course," I added, "we might also have ἐξελεῖν as in Eur. *Alc.* 362," where πρὶν καταστῆσαι occurs after an unreal conditional.

In ignorance of my emendation, Mr. Adam, in his edition of the *Crito*, p. 44 D (1888), improved on it by reading ἀνταράξας, and added, "possibly ἐξελεῖν." In a letter to the *Academy* published March 14, Mr. Adam was swift to claim the credit of his anticipation.

The first edition of the 'Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία' had ἂν ταράξας . . . ἐξελεῖν. The second, among

the *corrigenda*, ἀνταράξας. . . . ἐξεῖλεν. "Auf ἀνταράξας," says Blass in the *Lit. Centralblatt*, Feb. 28, 1891, commenting on the first edition, "ist kein Mensch gekommen" (he might have added "ausser Adam"). "Da aber Negation vorausgeht, muss es ἐξείλεν heissen, was sich in Solon's Schreibung (ΕΞΕΛΕΝ) von ἐξελεῖν gar nicht unterschied." But I have already shown that ἐξελεῖν might stand perfectly well.

An odd persistence of a bad reading of the divorce pattern is to be found in Goodwin's 'Moods and Tenses,' in which for thirty years ἄν with the present ind. (Plat. *Legg.* iv, 712 E) has been explained by the anacoluthic shift. So in the revised edition § 195. In my copy of the edition of 1867 I changed, as a matter of course, ἂν ἐρωτηθείς into ἀνερωτηθείς, and this is the reading of Schanz's edition of the 'Laws' (1879).

In Pind. N 7, 68, μαθὼν δέ τις ἂν ἐρεῖ, ἂν ἐρεῖ has been corrected by Mr. Bury, in his recent edition, with a flourish of trumpets, into μαθὼν δέ τις ἀνερεῖ. The emendation is no great achievement; it is just what every proof-reader does every day without making any claim to superhuman insight; but, such as it is, it may be found in the *American Journal of Philology*, iii, 452, and in my Pindar, Introd. Essay, civ, so that it does not seem to me much more original than some of Mr. Bury's analyses of the Pindaric odes. And doubtless it has been suggested before my day. Comp. Aeschin. 3, 155.

Moral for young scholars. Be sure of your grammar. Be sure of your text. Don't brag.

B. L. GILDERSLEEVE.

MARCH 26, 1891.

Notes.

HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN & Co. will shortly publish a Life of Charles G. Finney, formerly President of Oberlin College, prepared for the series, "American Religious Leaders," by Prof. Geo. F. Wright of the same institution; 'Excursions in Art and Letters,' by W. W. Story; and John Fiske's *Atlantic* papers on the American Revolution.

'Jerry,' an anonymous novel that has been running in *Scribner's Magazine*, will be brought out at once as a book by Henry Holt & Co.

D. Appleton & Co. will shortly publish 'The Iron Game,' a story of the war, by Henry F. Keenan.

Thomas Whittaker announces a popular series of handy volumes containing biographies of "Men with a Mission" in English and American history. Kingsley, Stanley, Latimer, Lincoln, Howard, and Lord Lawrence are examples of the range of the series.

D. C. Heath & Co. will shortly issue a handbook of technical German called a 'German Science Reader,' by Prof. Gore of Columbian University. A vocabulary will much enhance its value.

Macmillan & Co. have in press a Life of Archbishop Tait, by Dean Davidson and Canon Benham; and a Life of Jane Welsh Carlyle, by Mrs. Alexander Ireland.

A volume of Sir Robert Peel's early letters, covering the period of his Irish Secretaryship and his first term as Home Secretary, edited by Mr. C. S. Parker, M.P., is about to be published by John Murray.

J. W. Bouton, No. 8 West Twenty-eighth Street, invites subscriptions to Portfolios I. and II. of Dr. Friedrich Lippmann's 'Engravings and Woodcuts by Old Masters,' reproduced in facsimile with rare fidelity by the Imperial Press at Berlin. There may be six or seven portfolios in all.

The manuscript of the second volume of Julius Froebel's 'Ein Lebenslauf,' the first volume of which was lately noticed in these columns, is already in the hands of the publisher (Stuttgart: Cotta), but will not appear until after the author's decease. It is a valuable contribution to the political history of Germany during the past thirty years by one who took an active part in it, and was intimately associated with the persons most prominent in directing the course of events. As Froebel, although eighty-six years of age, is still hale and hearty, it is highly probable that some time will elapse before the publication of the complete work.

Harper & Brothers make two pretty volumes, in the new series of their Franklin Square Library, of Mr. Howells's 'Hazard of New Fortunes' and 'Annie Kilburn.' From the same publishers we have a new local guide-book, 'New York and its Environs,' by Gustav Kobbé. It is orderly in its arrangement and discriminating in its selection, and compresses a great deal of information into less than 300 pages. There are three maps, of the city proper, of the environs, and of Central Park, and a few process illustrations. The foreign tourist has been kept specially in mind, and Mr. Kobbé takes him from the Battery northward to the Park. The new guide does not supersede 'Appletons' Dictionary of New York,' but the stranger will do well to own both these inexpensive volumes. Mr. Kobbé invites corrections, and we will suggest some minor ones: the placing of a semi-colon after "Manhattan," in the eighth line of p. 11, will remove the implication that this island, like the three following, is "occupied by the U. S. Government." In the last line of p. 179 Mr. Stanford White's name should be brought into conformity with the proper spelling of it on p. 177. And in the preface, p. 10, we should read "itinerary" for "itineracy."

Mr. M. M. Ballou's publishers, Houghton, Mifflin & Co., have made a tourists' guide-book of his 'New Eldorado: A Summer Journey to Alaska,' which first appeared and was favorably reviewed by us in 1889. Certain errors we then pointed out have been allowed to stand, and we believe there is no change in the work except the insertion of maps.

We have received from Charles E. Merrill & Co., 52 Lafayette Place, the first two volumes of the first authorized American edition of Ruskin's works. It is called the Brantwood edition, and its authenticity is vouched for by the introductions furnished by Prof. C. E. Norton. This friendly service has been made difficult by Mr. Ruskin's almost contemptuous self-criticism and recantation in his latter-day notes to the 'Seven Lamps of Architecture,' one of the volumes before us; the other being the lectures on art to which the collective title of 'The Two Paths' was given. The volumes are duodecimo in form, with good print and unostentatious binding. The 'Lamps' has fourteen plates.

The April number of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* is almost wholly occupied with the period of the Revolution. Dr. Stillé's new Life of John Dickinson is briefly noticed by Mr. Henry Flanders. Mr. William S. Baker, besides continuing his very valuable "Itinerary of Gen. Washington from June 15, 1775, to December 23, 1783," edits a MS. of Elias Boudinot touching the exchange of Maj.-Gen. Charles Lee. Of this eccentric character a curious caricature by Kosciusko is given in facsimile. Some letters of Franklin, bearing his stamp, are printed for the first time. Mr. S. W. Pennypacker treats at some length of the University of Pennsylvania in its relations to the State. We mention finally a summary of the winter seasons in Pennsylvania from 1644 to 1835, compiled from books, papers, and other sources.

The current issue (No. 57) of the Proceedings of the U. S. Naval Institute at Annapolis contains a very interesting account, by Lieut. W. W. Kimball, of the so-called "experimental ammunition cart" invented by himself for the Ordnance Department. Several plates show very clearly how a two-wheeled cart drawn by a horse is resolvable at will into two single-wheelbarrows, propelled by two men, with automatic-delivery action. After the battle, these barrows can be used for transporting the dead or wounded. The mechanism is as simple as it is ingenious.

In the last *Petermann's Mitteilungen* Prof. Woeikoff gives some of the results of a Russian expedition in the summer of 1890 for the exploration of the Black Sea. The greatest depth observed was 2,618 metres not far from the middle of the southern coast. Its mean temperature is surpassed only by the Red Sea, the Mediterranean, and the Sulu. There is very little life to be found at a greater depth than 180 metres, while the bottom of the deepest part is covered with the remains of organisms which are assumed to have existed before the breaking through of the Bosphorus and the introduction of the salter water of the Mediterranean. The electric light was used to test the transparency of the water, which was found to be greatest in the northern part. There is also an account of a trip in Somali-land in which the writer speaks highly of the progress made by the English in developing trade with the tribes of the interior. This has been done by protecting the great caravan-routes and indemnifying for losses by robbers. Within the past few years trade has greatly increased and well repays the cost of garrisoning and governing the Somali coast. Dr. Mitzopulos contributes a list, with some descriptive details, of seventy earthquakes observed in Greece and Turkey during the year 1890. From this it appears that the greatest number, fourteen, occurred in July, thirteen in April, and eleven in February. November was the only month free from shocks, and in December there was only one. The worthy Doctor naïvely remarks at the end of his communication, that "it is to be hoped that next year our catalogue of earthquakes will be *larger* and more exact"!

The current Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society (vol. vii., part i.) is exceptionally varied and readable. We can instance only Mr. Samuel A. Green's paper on the disputed boundary between Massachusetts and New Hampshire, in the defining of which the latest Commission could only agree as to the portion between the sea and the Merrimac River; Mr. Charles C. Smith's paper on "Financial Embarrassments of New England Ministers in the Last Century"; and President Stanley Hall's graphic "Boy Life in a Massachusetts Town," a valuable summary of New England domestic, industrial, and social ways within the memory of people yet living in Berkshire County, Mass. Dr. Hall, who draws largely for his picture upon his own experience, tells a number of racy Yankee stories.

Following close upon the completion of the fourth edition of 'Meyers Konversations Lexikon' (Leipzig: Bibliographisches Institut; New York: Westermann) comes a yearly continuation for 1890, forming an eighteenth volume. Except that topics of the day will naturally receive greater stress, the supplement differs

in no essential respect from the main work. The minute watchfulness of the editing is shown (in the two parts before us) by fresh entries under Samuel Adams, J. Q. Adams, and Mrs. Stowe, in order to mention the atest biographies of these personages. New articles are given to Dr. Herbert B. Adams, Edward Bellamy, and S. G. W. Benjamin—to choose again only American examples. The three chief congresses of the year, viz., the Americanists, the Anthropologists, and the Berlin Labor Conference, are treated with much fulness, the last occupying twelve pages, to say nothing of other labor articles, and of a long one on the condition of the poor, with special reference to Germany. The exhibitions are treated under one head. Noticeable also are the articles Aluminium, Archæological literature (1885–1890), Argentine Republic, Railroad Depots (with plates), Population historically considered, Bacteria, and Bismarck. Part ii. ends with Böhm-Bawerk, who, it seems, has just entered his forty-first year. Apparently six or seven parts will make up the volume.

The questionable system of admitting students to college on "certificate" has spread so far that, we believe, it includes every college in New England except Harvard and Yale. The system prevails, if possible, more thoroughly among Western colleges than among Eastern. Adelbert College of Western Reserve University, at Cleveland, has not determined to receive no more students by certificate, but it offers rewards for passing its entrance examinations sufficient to induce first-rate students to take these tests. It offers $100 to the student who passes the best examination in all subjects next June, and $50 to each student who passes the best examination in Greek, Latin, Mathematics, and English respectively.

The Department of Library Economy in the Amherst (Mass.) Summer School will be conducted by Mr. Wm. I. Fletcher, the librarian of the College, from July 7 to August 10. There will be daily lectures in the afternoons, and the class will be treated as if beginners. Forenoons will be devoted to practice work under Mr. Fletcher's supervision. The fee is ten dollars for the course, in regard to which Mr. Fletcher may be addressed at Amherst, and Mr. Elmer P. Smith in regard to board.

Professor George Hempl of the University of Michigan writes us from Ann Arbor: "Can any of your readers inform me whether anywhere on this continent there still exists a difference in the pronunciation of *know* and *no;* in other words, has initial *k* before *n* left any trace?"

—The April *Atlantic* offers nothing else so high in quality as Mr. Parkman's second article upon the siege of Louisbourg in continuance of the extraordinary history of that achievement of the New England militia, and in these pages is found in abundance the local coloring which lends such contemporaneity and vitality to the author's works. A second historical paper deals with the tale of Arnold Winkelried, with the purpose of discovering whether this Swiss hero is as mythical as Tell, but the writer comes to no definite conclusion. Mr. Benjamin's paper on the Armenians attempts to show the relation of the people to the Turkish Government, and gives some reasons why they have more to gain from submission to a rule which he declares not a harsh one than from revolt and the ambition to become an independent state for Russia to swallow up. Mr. Percival Lowell describes some good mountain-climbing in Noto, and Prof. Wright contributes a geological history of the Pacific slope, with some concluding pages on the antiquity and genuineness of the prehistoric relics of man found under Table Mountain. Miss Burt, whose propagandism of reform in the matter of juvenile education we have several times had the pleasure of noting, makes a very effective contrast between the stories which children are now compelled to read in their reading-books and those which might be drawn from the myths and poetry of good literature as well adapted to interest the young and to stimulate their minds. More unfit reading than the pieces which she quotes cannot be found: they represent the lowest point of written speech possible to man; and if all that were needed were to show the need of a change, her work would be done. The real difficulty is that the teachers are generally as ignorant of the resources of good literature as the untaught children themselves, and have not the original mental force required to make the experiment unless their text-books are changed. Mr. Clinton Scollard's poem deserves a welcome as an attempt to write something better than the flimsy little lyrics and trifling verses to which our younger poets have mainly given themselves. The blank verse is in places melodious and full, but does not flow continuously, owing mainly to its being chopped up into too short sentences or phrases that break the rhythm of the lines. In fact, the blank verse is that of two different styles—Tennyson's and Aldrich's—imperfectly fused; but technical mastery will come with practice to any poet with an ear for melody even in this most exacting form of poetry.

—The *Century* contains a few pieces by Mr. Lüders, whose recent death put an end to his promise, and among them the first poem is remarkable for the successful attempt to write an unrhymed lyric so musical that the rhyme shall not be missed. Collins and Tennyson are the most admirable composers in this difficult form, and in the present piece it is easy to see that the melody is wholly the latter's; but it is an excellent imitation, and the earlier part has original poetic value in the sentiment. The literary article upon the Wordsworths and De Quinceys is belated, coming after the publication of the matter it contains in the memorials recently noticed by us at length. In the two papers upon Mt. St. Elias we have a much fuller treatment of this geographical subject than was lately given by *Scribner's*. The California historical articles have the usual large space assigned them, and the same interest as ever; and the French Salon papers, illustrated by several striking portraits, are of the ordinary sort. In the way of illustrations, Mr. Cole's reproduction of Leonardo da Vinci takes precedence of everything. An article on the fetishes of the African tribes also deserves mention for its definiteness and its curious interest.

—*Harper's* continues its army series with a lively account of the French Army by Gen. Lewal, accompanied by a number of spirited illustrations of the different branches of the service. This very solid paper is followed by another on the State of Wisconsin by ex-Secretary Vilas, in which he describes its history and resources with the State pride natural to the occasion, but with no unjustified claim-making. The bacteria are the topic of a third paper of similar weight; and the nature of these microbes, their culture in the laboratory, and the state of scientific knowledge respecting the species that are harmful to man, are set forth in an interesting and untechnical manner. At the close the spirit of hopefulness with regard to our greater control of disease in consequence of these investigations is noticeable. Dr. Waldstein contributes an account of the Meiningen Court Theatre, which he regards as the most significant product in the recent development of the stage; he describes its methods of training in some detail, and the modes by which its peculiar effects are obtained, and winds up with some very pertinent general observations on the excess of present writers, painters, and musicians in directing attention to the way in which they produce their work, instead of leaving the work itself after completion to be its own justification.

—*Scribner's* opens with a concise history of the "Ocean Passenger Service," containing an account, not too closely comparative, of the accommodations offered for both cabin and steerage travel by the great lines. Dr. Dwight's paper upon "Right-Handedness" is of extreme interest because of the variety of the scientific information included in it and the number of theories passed in review. The principal point made is the showing that right-handedness is only one incident in the general right-sidedness of the body with its correlation in the larger size of the left lobe of the brain. Dr. Dwight includes also a discussion of the symmetry of the face and the parallelism of the fine markings on the finger-tips—a trait sometimes used for the identification of criminals. More important, however, than either of these interesting articles is that on the Indian outbreak, of which the conditions and course are temperately told by Mr. Herbert Welsh, with the usual deductions of the need of a changed method of administration of Indian affairs; and with this in philanthropic interest stands the impressive story of the rise and growth of that charity of the Fresh-Air Fund, which from so humble a beginning has spread of its own power over a large part of this country and Europe. The instances of permanent good done by this Fund which the author, Mr. Willard Parsons, cites, are powerful and often touching, and show what great results for individual lives may flow from so small an expenditure as two or three dollars on a child's welfare. It is hardly possible but that this charity should grow rapidly and be plentifully supported by subscription. The worst fact brought out is that only one-third of the children examined are found fit to go into clean and decent homes, owing to their foul physical condition.

—Are the Memoirs of Talleyrand authentic? This question is asked with directness and much emphasis in the *Revue Bleue* of March 14. In the most prominent place in that number appears an article by M. F. A. Aulard, who sets forth the difficulties in the way of belief in the authenticity of the Memoirs with such clearness and logical force as must cause misgivings to spring up in every reader's mind. M. Aulard, who, since 1886, has been Professor at the Sorbonne of an historical course on the French Revolution, divides his article into two parts: in the first he takes up some difficulties that the preface to the Memoirs presents; the second he devotes to the consideration of some extraordinary historical blunders in the body of the book. In his preface the Duc de Broglie informs us that M. de Bacourt, to whom Talleyrand had committed his papers, took the pains to copy the Memoirs with his own hand and prepare them for printing. This copy forms four volumes, and its faithfulness is attested, for the first two volumes, by Talleyrand's niece, the Duchess of Dino, and for the third by a certificate by M. Bacourt himself. As to the fourth, M. de Bacourt died before he had finished copying the parts that make it up. It is from this copy that M. de Broglie has

printed his book, and he says, and is to be believed when he says, that he has made in it "no retrenchment nor modification of any sort." But is M. de Bacourt's copy exact? Does it conform to the original manuscript? Does the original manuscript still exist? Where is it? Has the Duc de Broglie compared it with the copy? All these are important questions—the very first that are asked when a text is in dispute. But M. de Broglie does not offer any answer to them. It is difficult to believe that he has had the manuscript in his hands and read it and yet neglected to mention the fact in his preface. If he is silent on this capital point, it may be that he has never seen Talleyrand's manuscript at all; and, if he has not seen it, it is most likely that he does not know where it is. The Duchess of Dino and M. de Bacourt were the most honorable people in the world; but the Duchess was by birth a De Courlande, imbued with contra-revolutionary prejudices, and might she not have thought it lawful to conceal from the public certain portions of her uncle's life on which she looked with horror? And as to M. de Bacourt, does the Duc de Broglie really hold him to have been always a faultless editor, and believe that, for example, he published in its full integrity the correspondence of Mirabeau with Lamarck? M. de Broglie is obliged to recognize the fact that great liberties have been taken even with the copy made by M. de Bacourt. In one place there is a lacuna where eight whole leaves have been torn out. This occurs at a delicate point, just where Talleyrand says that he is about "to make known with exactness the degree of consanguinity that existed between Louis XVI. and the Duc d'Orléans." Then, besides, there is the doubt that is raised by the stories that have been told about the robberies committed by Talleyrand's secretary, Perrey. Some account has been given of these in our columns, and remonstrance was also made by a correspondent, and a denial of them. But M. de Broglie, at least, appears to believe that Perrey carried away with him to England very important papers belonging to his master; and among these, it was said, was a considerable portion of the Memoirs—perhaps the most interesting part of all, the satiric portraits of more than a hundred of Talleyrand's contemporaries.

—So far we have followed M. Aulard very closely in his remarks upon the preface to the Memoirs. We must pass much more hastily over his strictures upon the body of the volume. He finds some ground for suspicion in the change in style which marks the beginning of the account of the Revolution. The account of Talleyrand's earlier life is a masterpiece of narration, quick, bright, alert; but as soon as the epoch of the Revolution is reached the pen becomes heavy, and the style dull, almost dead. In a letter to M. d'Hauterive, Talleyrand says that he has given in the Memoirs an account of the part he took in the Constituent Assembly, and he repeats this statement in the Memoirs themselves, but when the reader comes to the place where this account should be found, it is not there. In place of it appear some lines that "seem as if copied—and ill copied—from some biographical dictionary." The same observation, M. Aulard thinks, might be made upon the account of Talleyrand's entrance upon diplomatic life at the time of his journey to London. There are also mistakes that no man of the Revolution could have made, such as calling the Department of Paris the Department of the Seine. But the master-blunder is made about Carnot, whom the Memoirs represent as being a general in the year 1800, and as having been cruelly exiled to Cayenne! Over this *bévue* M. Aulard simply holds up his hands in exclamation marks. It is not at all M. Aulard's belief that the whole Memoirs are a cheat; much, the most, of them he believes authentic. But he believes that many false and spurious passages have been interpolated in them. Nor does he make any question of the good faith of the Duc de Broglie; that is above question. But he does find him lacking sadly the perspicacity which the editor of such a book as the Memoirs ought to have, and he thinks, too, that he is bound with as little delay as possible to inform the public exactly where the Talleyrand manuscript now is.

—It was rather because he was quite the last survivor of the great epoch of Romanticism than because he was a writer of smooth verse and of not unpleasing comedies, that the death of Théodore de Banville, which occurred in Paris on the night of March 12-13, calls for some brief notice. He was celebrating with his friends his seventy-first birthday (on March 14) when a stroke of apoplexy ended his life. He was brought up in the school of Victor Hugo, of Lamartine, and of Musset; they were the masters who taught him to write and to think. His first book of verse, the 'Cariatides,' appeared in 1842, and was followed by a score of others in prose or verse, the titles of which need not be set down here. Nor need we discuss, as some of the Paris journals do, whether he was more Goth or more Greek. To foreign eyes perhaps he seems to have been neither. Some relationship between him and André Chénier might, we should think, be made out, though he was unlike Chénier in a certain quality of virtuosity that appears in his verse. He was, in fact (as has been said), the first of the Parnassiens as well as the last of the Romanticists. Hence not so much a great loss to letters is widely deplored in Paris as the loss of a man who was much loved by many friends. Personally, Banville must have been very charming. Something of this is to be seen in the photographs of his pleasant face, and more is to be detected in the note of affectionate sorrow which lets itself be heard in all the notices of his death that we have seen. He lived very quietly, in lodgings, among friends and flowers and books, happy in his life, and also, perhaps, *felix opportunitate mortis*—for it must be a sad thing to be the last survivor of a dead school.

—The Independent Theatre of London gave its first performance on March 13. If one can judge of its future by the success of its opening venture, it bids fair to have as prosperous a career as the Théâtre Libre of Paris. Of course, M. Antoine's experiment is really responsible for this new departure in the London theatrical world. The object of the Independent Theatre, as of the Théâtre Libre, is to encourage the performance of plays which have a literary and artistic rather than a commercial value, to counteract the demoralizing influence of long runs, and to give young dramatists the chance to test their talents. There is no quarrelling with this object. If a draught of fresh air, as it were, was wanted to give new life to the French theatre, how much more is it needed to clear away the stifling atmosphere of sentiment and melodrama and convention that prevails on the London stage! The question of actor-managers, long runs, and concessions to the Young Person and British Matron has lately been gone into so thoroughly that it is useless to do more than refer to it. On the stage, where commercial success cannot be ignored, the initiative movement towards reform could not very well be expected. It had to come from outside. It is a significant fact that the leader of this movement is not an Englishman, but a foreigner. Mr. J. T. Grein, the founder and literary manager of the Independent Theatre, is a Dutchman, a journalist living in London, and an enthusiast in all that relates to the drama. He has succeeded in interesting a sufficient number of people to raise the money necessary for his venture. Like the Théâtre Libre, it is a private enterprise entirely; for though, as Mr. Grein plaintively explained, it is not his intention to defy decency and morality, it is likely that his and the Lord Chamberlain's standards of dramatic propriety may not always agree.

—Only members of the Society or invited guests can attend the performances of the Independent Theatre, and it was no easy matter to secure an invitation for the opening night. The play selected for this occasion was "Ghosts," the most powerful, though not perhaps the most dramatic, of all Ibsen's dramas. No actors of note took part in it, it was but indifferently well interpreted, and yet, we are informed, the power of the dramatist made itself felt. One might doubt the advisability of putting "Ghosts" on the regular bill at a popular theatre, but there was no denying that the experiment of actually producing it on the stage was intensely interesting. It alone would justify Mr. Grein's attempts at theatrical independence. Whether he will accomplish all that he hopes to for the English drama, however, is quite another question. The list of plays he announces in his répertoire are chiefly translations. Now, Antoine in Paris has not hesitated to produce the work of Russians and Norwegians and, indeed, all foreigners; but he has relied chiefly on the dramatic creations of Frenchmen—of Zola, Hennique, Catulle Mendès, the De Goncourts, and a host of others of equal literary distinction. But who are the Englishmen upon whom Mr. Grein must depend? Original plays have been promised, he says, by Messrs. George Moore, W. Wilde, Cecil Raleigh, J. Zangwill, C. W. Jarvis. And what hope does such a list hold out? It may be that the Independent Theatre will, in the course of time, develop the independent dramatist. But until it does, the real attraction of the English Théâtre Libre will be the opportunity it will give to see foreign plays which otherwise would never be presented to the British public.

THE GENESIS OF THE UNITED STATES.

The Genesis of the United States: A Narrative of the movement in England, 1605-1616, which resulted in the plantation of North America by Englishmen, disclosing the contest between England and Spain for the possession of the soil now occupied by the United States of America; set forth through a series of historical manuscripts now first printed, together with a reissue of rare contemporaneous tracts, accompanied by biographical memoranda, notes, and brief biographies, collected, arranged, and edited by Alexander Brown. With one hundred portraits, maps, and plans. 2 vols. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1890.

THE complete title of these noble volumes is accurately descriptive of their scope. The editor has labored with enviable success to make his work as complete a history as is now possible of the movement in England which resulted in the plantation of North America

by Englishmen; to give the narrative with the evidence, and the actors therein with their lives and portraits; to enable the reader to see the events and personages pass before his mind's eye almost as they passed before the Londoner of 280 years ago. The work is especially devoted to the period included between the return of Weymouth to England in July, 1605, and the return of Dale in June, 1616, or the period of "The First Foundation."

Mr. Brown's method is as follows: He first introduces the reader to the movements anterior to those of the years with which he is specially concerned, in a sketch of what had been done by Englishmen in the way of discovery and colonization prior to 1606. In this preliminary sketch he traces the motives which governed the Virginia companies when they first undertook to plant colonies in America. He makes London the scene of his narrative in order to enable the reader to observe events as nearly as possible from the centre of influence which guided them. He next rapidly accounts for the sources of information which now exist, and indicates not only their intrinsic value, but their importance relatively to such original records as have not been preserved. The material now available is shown to be, in part, of secondary value compared with the early records of the Virginia companies, which were kept under the supervision of some of the best business men of the time and were evidently very complete. In referring to these inaccessible records, Mr. Brown advises the reader that the story of American beginnings has been based almost entirely on the evidence of opponents or enemies of the managers who established the first English colony in America. In 1787 Thomas Jefferson, who was as well informed in the premises as any man, knew of only five documents written during 1606–1616. In 1857 only twenty-seven of the contemporary papers had been printed in America; at the latter date the repositories of the Old World began to open their doors more freely, and since then the accumulation of evidence has been more rapid. Before the publication of Mr. Brown's volumes, seventy-one documents referring to this period had been published in the United States. To these Mr. Brown now adds about three hundred.

In presenting this mass of evidence, he has adopted the following classification: (1.) Manuscripts which have never before been printed; printed in full, regardless of their length. (2.) Printed papers which never have been reprinted either in England or in America. (3.) Manuscripts in foreign languages, of which translations into English have never before been printed. (4.) Manuscripts and printed papers which have appeared at a later date in print, but not in America. Classes 2, 3, and 4 are represented in full, except in some instances when the length renders this impracticable; in such cases extended extracts are given. (5.) Manuscripts and printed papers which have been printed in America. In this division, only the briefer papers are reproduced, but careful reference is made to the longer ones, and full account is given of the American reprint, including, in most instances, estimates of the probable market value of originals. (6.) Illustrated material of various descriptions, from the familiar scene of 'Westward Ho' to extracts from sermons, broadsides, and the variety-theatre doggerel of the day.

The feature of these volumes which will be of most constant assistance to critical students of the period is doubtless the collection of brief biographies, filling 250 pages. No casual reference to the titles in this collection can suggest more than the most superficial estimate of the amount of labor which the collation has cost. These biographical notices constitute a thesaurus richer than any previously available authority, and containing information in many cases entirely new, even to specialists. Altogether, it will be a more reliable guide to the biographical facts connected with the period than any single library in the United States.

The most obvious excellence of the work is the clearness of perspective gained by adopting London as the vanishing point. There is a unity and integrity of view which is, at once, natural in the combination and arrangement of details and ideal in exclusion of distractions. In these documents the enterprise is not only a vivid panorama; it is a drama, developing with the unity and precision of Elizabethan models. The determination of thought and adventure towards the New World appears in this delineation not as evidence of some single interest, nor as manifestation of some isolated principle, to which the historian is always tempted to reduce phenomena in his interpretations. The swinging of this new planet into the orbit of English life seems, on the contrary, to have caused perturbations in every part of the social system. Statesmanship, religion, commerce, patriotism, sentiment, are each thrown from their track and compelled into new courses. The English nation, as a whole, adjusting itself to relations which amount to a new social condition, is, accordingly, the picture which these volumes exhibit.

One scarcely begins to consider the material in this collection without becoming aware that Mr. Brown has contributed hardly less directly to the elucidation of diplomatic history than to the story of British expansion and American beginnings. For example, it has been the traditional belief that, from John Cabot to Sir Humphrey Gilbert, England claimed America north of Florida by virtue of the alleged Cabot discovery of 1497, in denial of the Spanish claim by right of Columbus's discovery in 1493 and the bull of Alexander VI. Mr. William Wirt Henry, in the 'Narrative and Critical History' (vol. iii., p. 106), seems to acquiesce in this view; and we notice that Mr. Hannis Taylor, in his recent volume, 'Origin of the English Constitution,' assumes the correctness of that supposition. Mr. Brown shows conclusively, however, that, except under Edward VI., the English Government did not fail to concede America, south of 44 degrees north, to Spain, and that the assertion of rights through the Cabots was at best a late idea, after Elizabeth had determined to make a right to America if she could not find one. Indeed, the very document in which, in 1580, the English Government declares its new doctrine with reference to America, virtually acknowledges that Spain's prescriptive right had not been questioned. The language is:

"That they could not acknowledge the Spanish right to all that country, either by donation from the Pope, or from their having touched here and there upon those coasts, built cottages and given names to a few places; that this, by the law of nations, could not hinder other princes from freely navigating those seas, and transporting colonies to those parts where the Spaniards do not inhabit; that *prescription without possession availed nothing.*"

In the clause which we have italicised we have a summary of the English case, so far as it professed to oppose to the Spanish claims a doctrine of international right; and this doctrine was not inherited from Henry VII., but was evolved at Elizabeth's council table.

Still further, the documents here collated exhibit the exploration and colonization of Virginia as a more important factor than has hitherto been realized in the game of war and diplomacy between Romanism and Protestantism. In this connection the eighty documents copied from the archives of Simancas have a manifold value. Dr. Curry, in securing the copies of the documents, and Prof. DeVere, in translating them from their archaic form, have enabled Mr. Brown to present a mass of evidence the importance of which he has certainly not overestimated. These papers make it possible to reconstruct the whole history of the period so far as it concerns the diplomatic value of American colonization. Mr. Brown furnishes in these documents abundant justification of the claim which he might have made, that we are, with their assistance, better informed about the relations of colonial enterprise to general European affairs than were the majority of the persons who were actively engaged in that undertaking.

The documents thus collected testify unexpectedly to the multitude of motives—scientific, economic, political, and religious—which combined to incite colonial enterprise. The economic character of the attempted plantation had apparently been understood before, but in the material now brought together there is a wider view than any which had previously been clearly perceived. The fact that the planting of colonies in America was looked upon by many religious people in the character of a religious crusade, is also familiar; but that these elements combined in exercising such an influence upon the imagination of all classes of English society as is evident from many of the documents thus presented, will astonish many to whom the movements of the period have long been subjects of study. For instance, the sermon of Symonds (p. 288) suggests a class of motives which have been frequently overlooked, and to which an inferior degree of importance has been attributed. We find in Symonds's discourse almost a paraphrase of the language which tradition has put in the mouth of Pope Urban at Clermont when he urged upon the poverty-stricken people the policy of forsaking overpopulated France for the land of Palestine, "which flowed with milk and honey." The same appeal, overpopulation in England and abundance in America, is combined with the motives of religion to make the reasons for participation in the Western enterprise irresistible.

Again, Mr. Brown has substituted for the Capt. John Smith superstition honor to a multitude of founders to whom honor is, doubtless, due. He even harries the memory of the dubitable hero with a savageness of irony quite exceptional and somewhat startling in a work of this class. No longer ago than 1884, Mr. Arber, in his preface to the works of Capt. John Smith, in the "English Scholars' Library," wrote:

"Some, of late, would have him to be the Baron Munchausen of his age; others, its swaggering and boasting *Pistol;* but this unmerited cloud of detraction and discredit with this volume passes away for ever. . . . One cannot read the following series without seeing that John Smith was something more than a brave and experienced soldier. Not only in his modesty and self-restraint, his moderation and magnanimity, his loyalty to the King, affection for the Church, and love for his country, did he represent the best type of the English gentleman of his day, but he was also a man of singular and varied ability. . . . Inasmuch, however, as the accuracy of some of Capt. Smith's statements has in this generation been called in ques-

tion, it was but our duty to subject every one of the nearly 40,000 lines of this book to the most searching criticism, scanning every assertion of fact most keenly, and making the text, by the insertion of the multitude of cross references, prove or disprove itself. The result is perfectly satisfactory. Allowing for a popular style of expression, the text is homogeneous; and the nine books comprising it, though written under very diverse circumstances, and at intervals over the period of twenty-two years (1608-1630), contain no material contradictions. Inasmuch, therefore, as wherever we can check Smith we find him both modest and accurate, we are led to think him so where no such check is possible."

Mr. Brown is, of course, perfectly familiar with Mr. Arber's work, and frequently refers to it, though not directly to the passages here quoted. Nevertheless, he calmly endorses the Munchausen and *Pistol* similes, and adds at least *Sir John Falstaff* and Alfred Jingle. In commenting upon Smith's 'Description of New England,' Mr. Brown remarks, for example:

"He tells the Adventurers for New England as to his being taken prisoner at sea in 1615, 'with foure men of warre provided as they were, they had been sufficient to have taken Sampson, Hercules, and Alexander the Great, no other way furnisht than I was'; but this peer of 'Sampson, Hercules, and Alexander the Great' overlooks the fact that his ship escaped, while he alone was taken. After this incident, he seems to have been dubbed '*Admiral*' by the North Virginia Company; but they trusted him with no more ships!"

Again, in commenting on Smith's letter to Queen Anne, and especially the account of the Pocahontas incident, Mr. Brown ventures the following:

"It was one of the afterthoughts of Smith's general history. Smith was a negative hero. He praises himself and abuses his peers, which heroes are not wont to do. He does not save women, as heroes usually do; but women save him, in every quarter of the globe, save Africa —Turk, Tartar, and Indian.

"Why did he slight the negro? He was as much a character of his time as Thomas Coryat and Artherus Severus Nonesuch O'Toole, and evidently afforded as much amusement to the poets and wits of the day."

In a later note, referring to the ostensible purpose of the letter to commend Pocahontas to the Queen's favorable notice, Mr. Brown adds:

"The success of the movement for establishing English colonies in America never depended on John Smith or Pocahontas, but it seems that the managers of the enterprise valued the services of Pocahontas much more highly than they did those of Smith, and Smith himself was probably fully aware of this fact. . . . She was brought over by, and was an object of great interest to, people of far greater influence than Smith. The letter was superfluous so far as the interests of Pocahontas were concerned, and the writer seems to be well aware of this fact, for although it is written ostensibly in her interest, it does not lose sight of the interest of Smith for a moment. Charles Dudley Warner well says, 'Fortunate is the hero who links his name romantically with that of a woman,' and this was Smith's forte; according to his account, 'he was rescued and protected and felt reliefe from that sex in his greatest dangers,' in nearly every quarter of the globe."

The evidence of Smith's incorrectness is not fully presented in these volumes, but they contain material sufficient to justify the above conclusion that, if such service were necessary, Mr. Brown has rescued the other founders from the ingratitude inevitable so long as Smith's monopoly of credit continued. We are inclined to the opinion that, in his excessive zeal for justice towards Smith's superiors and associates, Mr. Brown has needlessly discredited Smith. At all events, the edition of Smith's writings, cited above, together with the documents of Mr. Brown's collection, reduce the evidence to limits within which it at last seems practicable to reach a dispassionate and intelligent verdict.

Throughout his study of these volumes, the reviewer has encountered the rare difficulty of contending against constant temptation to abandon the judicial attitude for the rôle of the eulogist. Mr. Brown has not always confined himself to the presentation of evidence, and it would be easy to challenge some of his expressions of opinion; as, for example, the remark on the first page of the preface: "If the enterprise had then [1605-16] resulted in failure, the United States would not now be in existence." His conclusions often seem to us unauthorized by the data presented, and about many matters of fact these records obviously do not contain the last word. Mr. Brown's work, however, is of such inestimable importance, both as a contribution to knowledge and as a model of method, that it shames microscopic criticism as unsympathetic and trifling, and rather commands the most respectful recognition. Both the pious self-sacrifice of the author and the generous and patriotic coöperation of the publishers deserve unqualified praise. The result is veritable treasure trove for historical scholars, and will be easily conspicuous among our already respectable American *monumenta*.

MIDDLETON'S ENGRAVED GEMS.

The Engraved Gems of Classical Times, with a Catalogue of the Gems in the Fitzwilliam Museum. By J. Henry Middleton, Slade Professor of Fine Art, etc. Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan. 1891.

THE subject of engraved gems and signets in general, whether engraved on the hard stones or the softer steatite or finer qualities of sandstones, or even on metal, is one of the most important and fascinating branches of the study of pure art, containing as it does the completest history of artistic development in its earliest epochs, and of classical design down to the Roman epoch, that can be given by any special form of art. The reasons for this are various: the primitive use of the form of the intaglio for giving authoritative sanction to documents; its use for purely decorative purposes as soon as wealth began to accumulate and run in the direction of the encouragement of art; the small size of the designs, which permitted the complete mastery of design earlier than in large works; and more than all, perhaps, the preservation of so many examples intact, from ages of which the important public works were destroyed. It is probable that we have engraved stones of from twenty-five to thirty centuries B. C.; and the Egyptian scarab, which is the earliest form of signet we know of, is found in clay or soft stone as early as the Fourth Dynasty, or about 3,700 years B. C. It is true that the scarab hardly comes within the category of art work, being simply impressed with the symbol appropriated by the owner of the signet and retaining this character as long as Egyptian civilization held out; it only became a work of art under influences alien to Egypt, and whose origin is a matter of dispute—possibly Phœnician, possibly Cretan or Greek—but in any case the use of the scarab was borrowed from the Nile. The reason for its adoption, given by Professor Middleton, is "on account of its [the beetle's] moulding large balls of clay, round like the world, in which it encloses its eggs." As a matter of fact, which it is curious that so close an observer as the Professor should have overlooked, the ball of the Scarabæus Pilularius is not of clay but of dung, on which the young feed when they are first hatched; and the ground of the reverence paid the insect by the Egyptians assumed by him is open to question, as we can by no means assert that the Egyptians knew that the world was round, or that this was even suspected at the date of the adoption of the scarab as a sacred symbol. More likely the adoption was due to the mysterious gifts of the creature; to its forming the sphere, the perfect figure, from which nothing can be taken and to which nothing can be added; to the very mystery involved in the insect's use or purpose in forming it—and when this purpose was discovered, the wonderful intelligence of the parent would increase the sacredness of its attributes; and it has occurred to the writer, seeing the insect in its hurried roaming over the smoothly beaten sands of the shores of the Mediterranean, that the long line of characters which it inscribes as it goes, resembling as it does a line of hieroglyphics, must have added something to the reverence paid it.

But in the adoption of the form as the vehicle of Greek design and the working out of an artistic intention, the insect changes its character and becomes another species: the Pilularius becomes the beautiful beetle with metallic blue wings which is the pest of the fig-trees in Greece and Italy, and the imitation of the specific character of it is as close as, and sometimes far more elaborate than, that of the Egyptian type. This is especially the case with the finest examples of the scarabs known as Etruscan, probably made in Etruria by engravers following Greek traditions. But even this is uncertain; and the most archaic type of the Italian scarab, sometimes carefully realistic in the form of the beetle, but with extremely primitive intaglio, has been pronounced by no less an authority than Prof. Roussopoulos of Athens to be of the Pelasgic period, and produced in Italy before the Greek arts migrated there. An interesting general observation has been made on the excavations at Falerii, where the Greek influence was strongest and lasted longest unmodified in central Italy, viz: that the scarab of any form was of extreme rarity, while at Chiusi and the cities in which the Etruscan element was absolute and the art least resembles the Greek, the scarab is common. In all the tombs opened at Falerii, not more than half-a-dozen scarabs were found, and these were all of a late period and Etruscan in the character of design.

The section of Middleton's book devoted to the scarab is not full enough to treat that form of engraved stone exhaustively, and it is that which, of all the forms of gems we have, is the most complex and puzzling, and in many cases the most fascinating in its art. Most puzzling, too, though far from the most fascinating of all, are the scarabs in which the archaic method of producing the intaglio obtains, *i. e.*, by a continuous line of drill-holes, which Roussopoulos considers of higher antiquity than Greek art in Italy. Prof. Middleton does not agree with Köhler in his assignment of this class of stones to the period of decadence, "from 280 B. C. to the time of Julius Cæsar," a conclusion which is, to any one who has studied the stones where they are found, simply absurd. The Professor would probably not agree with Roussopoulos either, but one curious fact is, that this class of incised stone is far more commonly found in certain parts of Italy and in Crete than in any other field. The writer once bought from a woman in the mountains of Crete a perforated trilateral prism of steatite with designs, on each face, of domestic animals in the archaic manner, and, learning that they were commonly worn by the women of the district, he inquired the use of them, and was informed that they pre-

served the milk of nursing mothers. He found also modern imitations of the talisman, but they were not esteemed as of equal virtue with the ancient, which the owners parted with reluctantly.

The ground covered by Prof. Middleton's manual is so broad that it was not possible to treat any branch of the subject in full detail. It is a compendium of the information to be derived from the classical authorities on all matters relating to gem-engraving, and makes a handbook indispensable to amateurs and collectors who have not the Professor's familiarity with the originals. The nature of the materials; the nomenclature of the ancients; the history of the noted gems which serve as standards of comparison, both of the genuine and the counterfeit; the technical methods; and, what will be of especial use to the intending collector and student, the indications which he must look for to guide him in the acquisition of engraved stones, are very full and precise; and useful excursions are made into the regions of coinage and forms of statuary allied to gem-engraving by the character of their design. There is, in fact, no such encyclopædic work on the subject, and every chapter might be enlarged into a monograph on its branch. The amateur who does not yet know the ground will be dismayed by the statements of the precautions taken by the forgers of antique gems, and the pessimistic opinion of the Professor as to his chance of getting an antique of the dealers. And truly there is nothing in the range of archæological material in which such, and so many, frauds have been, and are to-day, perpetrated. The most experienced collector is sometimes met by forgeries so well executed that he requires a long study to decide his doubts, and the time is not always given. There are certain stones as to which he can decide at once that they are antique; and there are certain that the first glance determines to be forgeries; but there are others, and these especially of the Italian Renaissance, which are extremely puzzling, and as to which the judges will perhaps always differ. The 'Engraved Gems' indicates all the artifices of the forger and the best indices of the genuineness of a gem, but after all it is only long experience and frequent blunders that educate the eye, and this education lies mainly in the perception of the character of design, for it is rather in this than in the technique that the best modern and fifteenth-century engraving differs from the antique. Counterfeit antiques are sent from Italy up the Nile to meet the tourists on unexpected ground, as coins are struck in Catania to be sold in Naples and Athens; they are put into the hands of peasants who assure you, in the name of the saints, that they dug them up in their own fields. To the inexperienced buyer the caution of Prof. Middleton will therefore be none too stringent.

The chapters treating of the technique may be considered exhaustive in effect, but on one point we are disposed to take issue with the author. In treating of the tubular drill he discerns its use in gems of the class of the "island stones" (lenticular gems), so called because they are found in the Greek islands—Crete, the islands which lie between that and the Peloponnesus, and the Peloponnesus itself. It does not seem to us by any means assured that the tubular drill was used in the cases in illustration. As these stones must be dated back as far as fourteen or fifteen centuries B. C., the perfection of metal-working implied in the hypothesis that these minute rings, marking the eyes, etc., of animals, are made by tubular drills, seems to us unlikely, the more that they are not necessary, a single graving point of the corundum set on the tool so as to describe a circle of the desired diameter, meeting all the requirements of the case. The Professor considers the fact that the tubular drill was used in Egypt as early as 4000 B. C. conclusive as to its use in Greece, but we know that various arts were practised in Egypt many centuries before they reached Greece, or even Crete, which was civilized before Greece. Pausanias, stating that Callimachus of Corinth was the first to bore stone (λίθους πρῶτος ἐτρύπησε) probably simply recorded the tradition preserved in Athens of the date of its importation from the East; and the fact of its having been known in Egypt centuries before in no way impeaches his statement.

In the Museum of Palermo there is a curious indication of the use of the seal intaglio, in a collection of clay impressions of various seals, found in front of the door of one of the temples of Selinos, in a heap and imperfectly burnt, as if they had been exposed in a conflagration. The lumps of clay bear sometimes a single seal, sometimes two, or even three; but as the temples were not burned, it is supposed that these seals were attached to documents which, having been kept in the treasury, were piled in front of the Temple and burned in a mass, baking the clay incidentally. Some were evidently on contracts, and some bore what seems to have been the seal of the Temple, and others that of the city, combined on the seal with the private signet of the party contracting.

As a manual of engraved gems and gem engraving, the book of Prof. Middleton takes its place with Head's 'Historia Numorum,' and the chief fault to be found with it by the student of archæology is its brevity. It is followed by a catalogue of the gems in the museum of which the author is director, and is sufficiently illustrated by cuts in the text and two plates of phototypes, the former being much superior in their illustrative value and excellent in their way, while the phototypes are below the average of published work of their kind. This is the only defect in the get-up of the book, which has, moreover, an excellent index.

Home Life on an Ostrich Farm. With ten illustrations. By Annie Martin. London: G. Philip & Son. 1890. 8vo, pp. 288.

THIS is a perfect book of its kind. It aims to give no more than a simple description of a South African home, its manner of life and surroundings. Mrs. Martin joins keen observing powers to a great love of nature, both animate and inanimate, and a rare descriptive faculty; and her pictures of the farm life, but, above all, of her dumb companions, are admirable. She is so entirely in sympathy with all about her, in fact, and treats even her hardships and discomforts in such a sunny temper, that the reader receives a more favorable impression of her home than the reality would probably warrant. For, all things considered, the Karroo, as the plateau on which the farm was situated is called, can hardly be regarded as an attractive place. It is a treeless, cactus-covered wilderness, with barren mountains hemming in a plain parched to a dull brown under a "hard gray metallic sky," except for a few days after the infrequent rains, when the veldt is bright with flowers and short-lived herbage. A redeeming feature, however, is the climate, and if to be well is the *summum bonum* of life, evidently the Karroo is the most favored spot on the globe. "No one is ever ill here," is a boast which has some truth in it; moreover, "No one need die of consumption, however advanced a stage his disease may have attained, if he can but reach the Cape Colony and *proceed at once inland*."

The most important, if not the most interesting, chapters in Mrs. Martin's book, which is not a continuous narrative but a series of detached sketches, are naturally those upon the ostrich, a stupid bird which assumes a real individuality, however, under her skilful handling. She gives its biography in detail from the time it emerges from the shell, with its "sweet, innocent baby-face," large eyes, plump, round little body, "not unlike a hedgehog on two legs with a long neck," till its death. Some of her statements are very curious, and show, in one point at least, a remarkable intelligence or developed instinct in the bird. So far from deserting her nest and leaving her eggs to hatch in the sun, as was at one time the common belief, the hen is quite aware of the fact that the sun's untempered heat would be injurious to them. On a hot morning, therefore, when she leaves her eggs as usual for a quarter of an hour, she first places "on the top of each a good pinch of sand. This she does in order that the germ—which, whatever side of the egg is uppermost, always rises to the highest point—may be shaded and protected." It is at this time that the white-necked crow finds his chance for a meal. Unable to break the hard shell of an ostrich egg with his bill, "he carefully watches till the parent's back is turned and she is a good distance from the nest; then, flying up into the air, he drops a stone from a great height with a most accurate aim, and breaks an egg." In the same manner, it may be added, the crow kills for food the tortoise, numbers of broken shells, some of immense size, being found about the veldt.

During incubation the male is very savage, and it is impossible to walk about the camps without a "tackey," a long and stout branch of mimosa with the thorns left on at the end. This is thrust into his face as he is about to charge, so bewildering him that to escape is easy. "Fortunately, you are never assailed by more than one ostrich at a time; for in the large camps of some two thousand acres each—in which the birds are not fenced off in pairs, but live almost in the freedom of wild creatures—each one has his own domain, separated from those of others by some imaginary boundary line of his own, visible only to himself, but as clearly marked out as the beat of a London policeman." The young birds are plucked for the first time when nine months old, but the feathers do not attain their full width and softness till the third year. On the large farms—this one consisted of twelve thousand acres—the birds are "rounded" up for plucking much as cattle on a ranch, the feathers being cut two or three months before they are ripe, to prevent the tips from being spoiled. The age which the ostrich attains is uncertain, "for, however old they become, they never show any signs of decrepitude, nor do their feathers deteriorate." Death is almost always the result of an accident, most frequently from a broken leg. "The bone seems almost as brittle as porcelain; and a comparatively slight blow is enough to splinter it into just such jagged and pointed fragments as result from breaking the spout of a china tea-pot."

It would be hard to find a more amusing set of companions than the dumb inmates of Swaylands. The meerkats, or pencilled ichneumons, the crow, the secretary bird, Jacob—above all, the faithful collie, Toto—are described with infinite sympathy and humor, and are made to seem almost human in their intelligence,

Some of them were evidently as fond of a joke as their mistress. When she went about the place, she was generally followed by a small train of animal friends. Among these was Bobby, the crow, who "would come up noiselessly behind and, catching the tip of the meerkat's tail in his bill, would lift the little fellow off his legs, take him up a few feet into the air, and drop him suddenly. Then, after waiting a few moments till his victim had recovered his composure and was off his guard, he would repeat the performance." Another of the Karroo birds is the kapok, which builds a curious snake-proof nest out of wild cotton.

"The nest, which is very compact and looks as if it were made of soft, white felt, is of much the same shape as the oriole's brown flask; but near the outlet it is dented in, forming a kind of second or exterior nest, in which the little paterfamilias mounts guard over his household gods, effectually closing the aperture by the pressure of his back against the curving end of the tube above him. The white felt is very thick and firm throughout the globular part of the flask, but gradually diminishes in density along the neck, till at the orifice it is so thin and loosely woven that the soft edges, pressed together by the bird, remain interlaced even after he has flown from his sentry-box. No apparent aperture is left; and the little stronghold is quite impregnable, and ready to baffle the wiliest of ophidian marauders, until Mrs. Kapok, by flying out, reopens the tunnel."

Mrs. Martin does not give a very favorable impression of her English-speaking Africander neighbors. "They are a fine, sturdy, self-reliant race, splendidly fitted in every way for their extremely rough-and-ready surroundings," unsurpassed in their kindness and hospitality, but ill-educated, unprogressive, and with a wofully low standard of business morality. Incidentally she states, without reservation, that "the Cape Colony is the worst-governed country in the world, with the exception, perhaps, of Turkey and Morocco." One of the most entertaining chapters is on "Our Servants," which ought to be read by all who are inclined to despair over the imperfections of their "help." The illustrations, mostly from photographs, are excellent: one of them, representing the best kinds of ostrich-bush, by Mrs. Martin herself, shows that she is as skilful with her pencil as she is with her pen.

Essays in Little. By Andrew Lang. With portrait. Charles Scribner's Sons.

THIS is another of Mr. Lang's journalistic volumes, for though what is not fresh in the book is partly reprinted from magazines, the style of the brief essays is that belonging to the newspaper: they are fragmentary, conversational, rambling, personal, and delightfully clever at their best. The brightest of all, the most admirable in lightness of touch and amiable sufferance of fashions old and new, is the tribute to the once popular but now forgotten song-writer, Thomas Haynes Bayly, author of "Oh no, we never mention her," "I'll hang my harp on a willow tree," "Gaily the troubadour," and countless other smooth-flowing verses which somehow caught the fancy of the piano-playing and song-trolling folk. What was the secret of his success, or how the real thing differs from the facile parody of Mr. Lang into which he constantly falls, may be sought for by the curious; but whether they find it or not, we promise them an entertaining quarter-hour with the "hypnotized" critic.

There are fifteen other papers besides this, and they are mostly upon the author's favorites, such as Dumas, Thackeray, Dickens, Homer, Lever, Kingsley, Scott, etc. They are very informally written, and generally express only the critic's delight in adventurous or boisterous life depicted in literature, in story-telling for its own sake, and in the human interest of great works deficient on the artistic side. If we say that Mr. Lang likes "healthy" books as that word is loosely used, that is the whole story of his criticism; for what appears in his pages is not thought, but his keen personal enjoyment of his author. In the article in behalf of Scott's poetry, for instance, he stops to tell us that he went boating on St. Mary's Lake and took the book along, and then he cites his favorite passages with praise, and thinks Scott was a poet; but there is infinitely more to be said on Sir Walter's side, and to be said not apologetically at all, but with assurance, so that a lover of literature is much dissatisfied to find so inadequate a paper. Mr. Stevenson and Mr. Kipling are the only contemporaries who come in for commendation, and it is a pleasure to notice that, though extravagant at points, it is not undiluted panegyric, such as has latterly brought a part of English current criticism into some discredit.

As a whole, the volume is too incomplete in its method of treatment to take rank above the ephemeral class, but it is both instructive and entertaining within its limits.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Arnold, Sir E. After Death in Arabia. W. S. Gottsberger & Co.
Austin, A. Prince Lucifer. 3d ed. Macmillan & Co. $1.75.
Ballou, M. The New Eldorado. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $1.
Barrie, J. M. A Window in Thrums.—My Lady Nicotine. Cassell Publishing Co. $1.50 each.
Besant, W. The Chaplain's Secret. F. T. Neely Publishing Co. 25 cents.
Brooke, Magdalen. The Story of Eleanor Lambert. Cassell Publishing Co. 50 cents.
Clark, J. S. A Briefer Practical Rhetoric. Henry Holt & Co. 90 cents.
Dahn, F. Attila the Hun. The Minerva Publishing Co. 50 cents.

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Including the Downfall of the Empire and the Establishment of the Republic, and the Reciprocity Treaty. By C. C. Andrews, ex-Consul-General to Brazil. *Third edition.* 12mo. Cloth, $1.50.

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The Nation.

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The Week.

It appears now to be ascertained that only two of the eleven Italians killed in New Orleans were Italian subjects. As Mr. Blaine has admitted "the principle of indemnity"—that is, the right of the relatives of such Italian subjects as may have been wronged by a violation of the rights secured to them by the treaty, if any there be, to pecuniary compensation—whenever the discussion of this compensation begins, the value in money of the lives lost will of course come up at once. Mr. Blaine's first question will be, What kind of men were they whose fate we are all deploring? To what extent were they useful to their families and to the society in which they lived? What was the nature of their moral, apart from their legal, claims on the protection of the United States Government? To this the Marquis di Rudini will, it appears, have to answer that one of them, Vincenzo Traina, was a professional robber and cut-throat in Sicily, his native place, and a fugitive from Italian justice. The other, Antonio Catuna, was also a murderer and a fugitive from Italian justice. The compensation due to the relatives of a slain honest Italian laborer, lawyer, merchant, or doctor would be ascertained, in terms of money, partly by considering the amount of his lawful annual earnings, and partly by considering the estimation in which he was held in the community in which he lived, and the credit which his life and career reflected on his family and in his native country. But how would the lives of two fugitive cut-throats be appraised? What jurist, moralist, or auctioneer should be called in as an expert by the arbitrators sitting on this question? Would there not be some danger that, after hearing the evidence, Mr. Blaine might set up a counter-claim against Italy for the damage done by the presence of two such Italians in an American city during a certain period of time, including the expense of watching, catching, and trying them? If this be considered a fantastic view, can the question of pecuniary indemnity be discussed at all without the submission of a counter-claim against Italy on behalf of the family of the murdered Hennessy, the Chief of Police? Hennessy really lost his life because he was trying to break up, among a portion of the Italian colony in New Orleans, the practice of murdering each other. The number they had murdered when he intervened is estimated at thirty. As soon as he intervened they murdered him, so that it may be fairly said that he died in the service of the Italian kingdom. We do not say this claim on the Italian Government is a legal claim, but the claims submitted under the "principle of indemnity" will not be legal claims, but moral ones, and as a moral claim that of Hennessy's heirs will, in our opinion, be the best of the lot.

The Rio *News* of February 17 finds public sentiment in Brazil so overwhelmingly opposed to the so-called reciprocity treaty with the United States that, although itself favoring the treaty, it thinks it might better be rejected, since "a treaty of reciprocity loses much of its value if the parties to it are not heartily in accord, and if the treaty is not the frank expression of their mutual wishes." The *News* expects that when the treaty is rejected, the President of the United States Government will put a duty of three cents per pound on Brazilian coffee at once. Apparently the Brazilians are not alarmed by the prospect of our taxing ourselves ten million dollars per year for one of the necessaries of life, and making a present at the same time of some six millions to other coffee-growing countries. Our importations of coffee from Brazil are a good deal more than one-half of our total importations. In the year 1889 we received from Brazil 374 million pounds, and from all other countries 204 million pounds. If a duty were put on Brazilian coffee only, the price of all coffee would rise in our market by the amount of the duty, or very nearly that. But our Treasury would get the three cents per pound only on the Brazilian article. The advance in price on other coffees would go to the producers in Venezuela, Java, Hayti, etc., for which, no doubt, they would be duly thankful.

The Boston *Advertiser* learns from an official source in which it reposes confidence that the President will *not* put a duty of 1½ cents per pound on hides from the Argentine Republic in case the latter refuses to lower her tariff on our products. The reason why he will not do so is that he recognizes the present financial difficulties of the Argentine Government. The Argentines are under the necessity of raising a large revenue from customs duties, and President Harrison would not put a stone in their way. The *Advertiser* coincides with this humane view. "We ought not to take advantage of the distresses of our neighbors to vex them with tariffs in the hour of their need. The brotherhood of man forbids such a policy. Another fact not mentioned by the *Advertiser*, namely, that the putting of a duty on hides would smash what is left of the Republican party in Massachusetts, may have helped President Harrison to make up his mind. In fact, we think that if the Argentine finances were in the most flourishing condition imaginable, the President's decision not to put a duty on hides would be about as firm as it is now. If the Argentines had a Treasury surplus instead of a deficit, our compassionate and brotherly feelings would remain at about the same tender pitch as at present.

The sudden departure from Washington of the Canadian Commissioners appointed to negotiate a treaty of reciprocity with Mr. Blaine has given rise to all sorts of conjectures, and everybody is wondering what the reciprocity movement was begun for if it was so soon done for. The explanation is offered on both sides that President Harrison desired to take a part in the negotiations personally, and that, having made arrangements for an extensive tour in the South and West, he found it necessary to postpone the negotiation until his return. As the use of the telegraph is not unknown in Washington, the further explanation is offered that a telegram was sent to Ottawa to notify the Canadians of this change of programme, but that they had already started on their mission. So it appears that while the telegraph is recognized as a convenient instrument to prevent unnecessary journeys, it is not known how to use it to shorten them. Probably Mr. Foster, the Dominion Minister of Finance, will severely reprimand his subordinates when he returns home for not repeating the telegram to him on the train by which he was proceeding to Washington. The *faux pas* would have a rational explanation if we were to imagine that President Harrison had changed his mind at the last moment, and determined not to have any reciprocity treaty with Canada at all. Indeed, it is hard to see where reciprocity could begin without tearing the McKinley Act in tatters. After having taken such pains to "protect" hay, straw, potatoes, barley, eggs, fresh milk, oatmeal, wood pulp, lime, building stone, vegetables, bouquets, plants, fresh fish, etc., it would have been a terrible discomfiture for McKinley to have a negotiation going on whose very first move would have been to put all these things on the free list. The very presence of the Canadian Commissioners at Washington would have endangered his chances of becoming Governor of Ohio. If this is the true explanation of the sudden stoppage of the negotiation, Mr. Blaine owes Mr. McKinley "one," and will no doubt pay it to him in good time.

The Farmers' Alliance secured control of both branches of the Nebraska Legislature last November, and their constituents expected to see the promised era of "reform" in the Capitol. The session closed on Saturday, and a despatch from Lincoln says: "The closing scenes of the Legislature were disgraceful beyond description. The session wound up in a drunken orgy, lasting until daylight. Case after case of wine was taken into the House, and large quantities of whiskey and other liquors were consumed. The last official act of the Legislature was to pass a resolution declaring that Nebraska is eager to go to war with Italy, and that the United States ought to prevent Italian immigration." This is worse than has been recorded of any Legislature controlled by either of the old parties, and is calculated to suggest doubts to the minds of

even the farmers as to whether the Alliance is really going to "reform things."

The Alliance members of the Minnesota Legislature have become so sensitive under newspaper criticism as almost to have succeeded in passing through the Senate a bill which provides that all articles, editorial items, and written accounts printed or published in any pamphlet, periodical, magazine, newspaper, sheet, circular, or handbill which shall therein purport to relate, state, describe, or give an account of or give intelligence of any political, official, personal, or social act, writing, or speech of any human being, living or dead, reflecting in any way upon such person's character, shall be subscribed by the full name of the person or persons who shall have written, composed, edited or prepared for such publication such article, editorial item, or written account. Penalty for failure to comply with the law is a fine of not more than $100 or less than $20, or imprisonment for not more than three months or less than thirty days. We are surprised that the publication of portraits or cuts of anybody, without signed authority, is not included in the list of offences, for surely here is a genuine grievance in all parts of the land, from which members of the Farmers' Alliance are not the only sufferers. There is such recklessness shown in the selection of these "cuts," in the "hurry of going to press," that nobody can feel any assurance that the one put forth fits the man to whom it is assigned. It is very seldom that cuts of the same man agree in any two newspapers; and if the majority of our rising statesmen really resemble any of the current newspaper portraits of them, it is in the interest of everybody concerned, if not in the interest of popular government itself, to have the publication of them in future surrounded with such difficulties as will prove practically prohibitive.

Senator Edmunds and Senator Plumb have allowed themselves to be interviewed in a careful way on the political situation, and both have taken occasion to point to the danger that the Farmers' Alliance threatens of throwing the next Presidential election into the House of Representatives, in which case the Democratic candidate would be elected. Such a result could follow only in case the Alliance should carry a certain number of States, leaving each of the other parties without an actual majority of the Electoral College. It is possible that the Alliance may carry Kansas, Nebraska, Minnesota, and one or both of the Dakotas. All of these have hitherto been Republican States, and if they should be taken out of that column, the column would crumble. But the prospects of the Alliance carrying those States will be sufficiently clear in the autumn of 1892 to exercise a potent influence on the vote of other doubtful States. If it should become pretty evident before the election that the Republicans were in real danger of losing so large a slice of their accustomed vote, the reflex action in the doubtful States, such as New York, Massachusetts, and Indiana, would be very nearly decisive against them, while the same feeling would make Illinois, Iowa, Wisconsin, and Michigan doubtful. Therefore we cannot consider the danger of the election being thrown into the House very serious.

The Democrats have once more carried the State of Rhode Island and at the same time lost control of its government. Their candidate for Governor had a plurality of over 1,200, but not a clear majority over all; and as a majority is necessary for an election, there is no choice by the people, and the contest goes into the Legislature for decision. As the Republicans have a majority in the Legislature, they will elect as Governor their own candidate whom the people have refused to elect. This is in accordance with the antiquated system which the Republican managers in the State keep in operation, as the same party's managers do in Connecticut and New Hampshire, years after it has been abolished nearly everywhere else, to meet precisely this emergency. Its only effect is to permit a party which is in a minority in the State to retain control of the State government through the working of the town system of representation in the Legislature. In spite of these unjust advantages for the Republicans, the Democrats could have won this year in the legislative districts as well as in the State at large if they had shown more wisdom and public spirit in their legislative policy. So far as national issues are concerned, the State is Democratic, for in Presidential elections a plurality elects, and Rhode Island now has an unquestioned Democratic plurality.

It is becoming plain that the exigencies of Republican politics in Philadelphia and other large cities of the State have made necessary the defeat of the pending ballot-reform bill in the Pennsylvania Legislature. The Philadelphia *Press*, which is, for some inscrutable reason, almost invariably in favor of that kind of political reform which its party refuses to adopt, says the "Steering Committee" of the party in the Legislature has given orders that the bill must be beaten, and it thus warns the Republicans: "Such a course would prove the gravest mistake, and the Republican members who follow out such a policy will do their party a great wrong. It will pay to be fair and frank in this matter. The defeat of the ballot-reform measure now before the House, and the adoption of a scheme for a Constitutional Convention to be held at some distant time, means that the ballot-reform question is to be sidetracked by this Legislature. That is the plain sense of it, and the people will not be fooled with the idea that it means anything else." But the Republicans of the State are accustomed to the warnings of the *Press*, and are not likely to pay much heed to them. They remember that it threatened to "stand dumb" about Quay when the lid was taken off his State Treasury operations, and that it has been defending him with great volubility and shamelessness ever since the lid was removed, saying, in fact, that the removal was the devilish work of free-traders.

The enemies of ballot-reform legislation in this country have constantly taken pains to insist that this is "un-American." The Cincinnati *Commercial Gazette* has sneered at it as "kangaroo reform," and Boutelle has denounced it as "a penal-colony institution." It happens, however, that the secret ballot, which is the foundation of the reform, found a warm defender in the first session of the United States Senate as long ago as the year 1789. The matter came up in connection with the subject of confirming nominations. Vice-President Adams proposed that he should rise in the chair and ask each Senator how he would vote. Senator Ellsworth argued that voting by ballot suited bashful men best. Senator Maclay, the radical Democrat of the body, replied (we quote from his diary): "So far from balloting being productive of caballing, it was the very antidote against it; that men made bargains for certainties, but it was in vain to purchase or bargain for a vote by ballot which there was no certainty of the party ever obtaining, as he had no method of securing the performance of a promise or of knowing whether he was deceived or not." The resolution in favor of a ballot was carried, but, so far as nominations were concerned, the matter was afterwards reconsidered. This argument of this early Democratic Senator has been used time and again in the recent discussion of ballot reform in the United States. It goes to the root of the whole matter, furnishing the reason why a secret ballot at the polls is a check on bribery and intimidation. That the Australians saw the force of it, as applied to popular elections, before we did, is no reason why it no longer holds good.

One of the reasons why the prices of domestic wool have declined is that the woolgrowers, putting their dependence on the tariff to keep out foreign wool and ward off competition, have allowed their own product to deteriorate in quality. The sheep are now imperfectly fed and cared for, and much extraneous matter is allowed to mingle with the fleece. The result, is that a large amount of Australian wool has been imported to take the place of this deteriorated domestic product. For many years the imports of Australian wool amounted only to 25,000 or 30,000 bales per annum. Since the 6th of October last, when the McKinley tariff went into effect, the importations of this wool have reached 42,000 bales. That is, the arrivals for six months have been more than they ever were in any single year before, and the trade advices are that when the next London sales take place, 12,000 bales more will be taken for New York and Boston. Probably before the end of the year 65,000 bales of the current Australian clip will have reached this country. This spectacle has driven the tariff-mongering shepherds, who thought

that they had been very smart, and who certainly were very unscrupulous, in their manipulation of the McKinley Bill, nearly wild. The only industry open to their attack at present is that of carpet-making. The sorting clause and the change-of-samples clause offer them an opportunity of getting a new tax levied without any new act of Congress. Under the latter clause they may get East India, Bagdad, and Khorassan wools, which now pay about eight cents per pound duty, put into the first class and taxed twenty-two cents per pound if they have been washed on the sheep's back, or thirty-three cents if they have been washed in any other way. Generally they are washed after shearing and before packing for market, and consequently would be subjected to thirty-three cents duty. That is, they would be prohibited altogether, and carpets would be imported instead.

The *United States Tobacco Journal* is moved to some remarks on the "Drawback Humbug" after reading what President Harrison said on the subject in his recent *Tribune* interview. What the President said was that under the McKinley Act "the American manufacturer can get raw material, for the duty is not charged when such material is imported to be manufactured into articles for exportation, and so the American merchant will be able to sell at the same point of advantage as the English merchant, with the additional advantage of free entry into the ports where treaties are made." The *Tobacco Journal* imagines a cigar-manufacturer trying to export his products and to get a refund of duties for that portion of his raw material which has been imported. He imports wrapper, paying duty at $2.75 per pound if stemmed, or at $2 if not stemmed, and filler, paying 35 cents per pound. A certain proportion of home-grown tobacco is used also. Now, how is a cigar-manufacturer to obtain his drawback? The first thing to be done is to ascertain what part of the cigar is of foreign and what part is of domestic material, and next, what part of the foreign material has been taxed $2 or $2.75 and what part 35 cents per pound. It might be supposed that by taking the cigar to pieces these facts could be ascertained. The parts would no longer be a cigar, it is true, but at least we should know what the drawback would have been, should we not? On the contrary, nobody could tell what parts were foreign and what parts were domestic, except that the wrapper might possibly be identified. It would be necessary, however, to prove affirmatively that the wrapper was imported, and to show whether it was imported stemmed or not stemmed, and to show that the duties had been actually paid. If no American tobacco were used, it would still be necessary to identify the different kinds of tobacco used, since they have different rates of duty. In short, the drawback is utterly inapplicable to the cigar trade. It is, says the *Tobacco Journal*, "as monumental a humbug as Schedule F [the tobacco duty] is a monumental folly of the McKinley Tariff Act."

The white population of the sixteen Southern States and the District of Columbia has, during the last decade, increased 2,915,070, or at the rate of 23.18 per cent., as against a negro increase of 845,692, or at the rate of 13 87 per cent. In both of the States whose race population has been but recently announced, viz., Mississippi and South Carolina, the negro gain since 1880 has been absolutely greater than that of the whites, and in the former (but not in the latter) it has been relatively greater as well. Mississippi the negro increase during decade has exceeded that of the whites by 37,174, and in South Carolina by 20,822. Between the tenth and eleventh censuses the negro population of South Carolina multiplied at the rate of 14.59 per cent. and the white at the rate of 17.22 per cent. In Mississippi the percentages of decennial increase were: colored 14.98 per cent., white 12.58 per cent. In the latter State there are now 208,013 more negroes than whites, and in the former 234,049 more. Comparing the statistics of the census of 1860 with those of the census of 1890, it appears that in each of the two States named the negroes have, in the thirty years intervening, grown somewhat more rapidly than the whites, and that as a consequence the number of negroes in every 10,000 of population, which was, in 1860, 5,528 in Mississippi and 5,859 in South Carolina, had by 1890 increased to 5,798 in the former State and to 6,016 in the latter. Except in the States which lie south of the southern boundaries of North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas, and east of the Sabine, there is no likelihood of the negro population ever outnumbering the whites, for, except the States of South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana, there is no State in which the negroes constitute as much as two-fifths of the entire population. Moreover, in those of the more northern Southern States in which, as in Virginia and North Carolina, the negroes are proportionately most numerous, they are increasing very much more slowly than the whites. In the six far Southern States east of the Sabine, taken together, the negroes now constitute a majority of the entire population, but in the last decade they have increased very much less rapidly than the whites in Alabama, Florida, and Louisiana, appreciably less in South Carolina, have not quite held their own in Georgia, and only in Mississippi have they multiplied at a greater ratio. In these States the aggregate white population has increased 21.53 per cent. since 1880, while the colored, if the census is to be relied on, has increased but 16.45 per cent.

For twenty years the tide in the States in question was running the other way, and that to so great an extent that even now, after the white gains during the last decade, there are only 4,905 whites in every 10,000 of total population, as against 5,036 just before the outbreak of the war. As the rate of the natural increase of the negroes since 1880 for the country as a whole has been probably between 13 and 15 per cent., the six States named have not only retained their native negro inhabitants, but have absorbed negro immigrants from other States. The white gain is due to the fact that the white immigration, especially to Alabama and Florida, was still heavier. Comparing the actual percentage of increase during the decade in the negro population of such States as have thus far been announced, with the rate of natural increase of the negro population as determined by the census, it appears that the number of negro immigrants to the States of Alabama, Mississippi, and South Carolina is about as great as that of the negro emigrants from them; that the latter exceeds the former in the States of Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia, while the reverse is the case in Arkansas, California, District of Columbia, Florida, Georgia, Kansas, Louisiana, Texas, and West Virginia. In other words, there is unquestionably a movement of negro population from the more northern Southern States to the States of the far South and Southwest, and probably also northward to the old free States.

On March 15 the project of a pension law was submitted to the Swiss people and rejected by a vote of 352,462 against 91,679. The law proposed to give to Federal functionaries and officials who, on account of age or other infirmity, had become incapable of discharging their duties, and who had been at least fifteen years in the service, a pension amounting to not less than 25 or more than 50 per cent. of their salary, and in no case to exceed 2,000 francs. In exceptional cases, after thirty years of faithful service, the law permitted a pension of 60 per cent. of the salary, but in no case could such pension exceed the sum of 2,500 francs. In Switzerland 6,829 officials, or 80 per cent. of the entire personnel of the Federal Administration, are connected with the Post-office. Of these 6,829 persons 2,262 receive a salary of only 1,000 francs, 2,237 receive from 1,000 to 1,500 francs, 1,107 from 1,500 to 2,000 francs, 405 from 2,000 to 2,500 francs, 292 from 2,500 to 3,000 francs, 301 from 3,000 to 3,500 francs, 168 from 3,500 to 4,000, and 57 receive 4,000 francs. The necessity of the pension law is therefore perfectly apparent, and it would at present require an annual expenditure of only about 130,000 francs. Not merely as a matter of simple justice to poorly paid subordinate officials, but also as a means of increasing the efficiency of the public service by enabling sickly and superannuated persons to retire without danger of starvation, some such legislation is imperatively demanded. Only the cities of Geneva and Bâle accepted the proposed law by a vote of nearly three to one; but the rural districts and the working classes of the other towns voted it down by a majority of 260,788. The result was due partly to ignorance, but still more to deep-seated jealousy and suspicion of whatever seems to savor of bureaucracy.

THE ITALIAN TROUBLE.

THE withdrawal of the Italian Minister from Washington as a mark of the dissatisfaction of his Government with the answer he has received to the remonstrances addressed to Mr. Blaine touching the New Orleans lynching affair is, of course, greatly to be regretted. But we think its diplomatic importance may be overestimated, even though nothing worse is likely to happen. There is really hardly any material in the case for diplomatic discussion. As regards those victims who were American citizens, the Italian Government has no charge of them whatever, any more than of any other American citizens. It cannot call the American Government, either State or Federal, to account for anything that has happened to them. They had repudiated their allegiance to the King of Italy in a way which the Italian Government recognizes as valid. As regards those who were still Italian subjects, the case is equally clear. They lived at New Orleans under the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation concluded in 1871 between Italy and the United States, through Mr. George P. Marsh, then our Minister. Article i. secures for Italian citizens sojourning in the United States "the same rights, privileges, favors, immunities, and exemptions for their commerce and navigation as the natives of the country wherein they reside." Art. ii. secures to them the same trading rights and privileges as the natives. Art. iii. is, however, the one which has a direct bearing on the New Orleans incident, and we copy the first clause of it in full. The second clause simply provides for the exemption of Italian residents here from compulsory service in the American army or navy, or in any judicial or municipal office :

> "The citizens of each of the high contracting parties shall receive in the States and Territories of the other the most constant protection and security for their persons and property, and shall enjoy *in this respect the same rights and privileges as are or shall be granted to the natives, on their submitting themselves to the conditions imposed on the natives.*"

Now, what would or could be done by the State and Federal Governments to punish such offences as the slaughter of the prisoners in the New Orleans jail, supposing the victims to have been natives? The State Government could have indictments presented to the Grand Jury by the District Attorney against such of the rioters as could be identified, for murder or manslaughter, and, if the Grand Jury found true bills, could have them prosecuted either to conviction or acquittal by a petty jury. Here its powers would be exhausted, and nothing could enlarge them except an amendment to the State Constitution. In addition to this, however, we presume the relatives of the slain could bring civil actions for damages against the county and also against individual rioters. We do not speak on this point with confidence because we have not the Louisiana law before us, but it is very certain that if the relatives can do this, they cannot do anything more than this. The county and the rioters may be liable to them in damages, and, if they are, the damages must be recovered in the courts by suits instituted and prosecuted by the relatives themselves. The State itself cannot be sued.

What can the United States do? Nothing more than the King of Italy himself. It cannot interfere forcibly in State affairs except on the demand of the Governor or Legislature. It has no jurisdiction of offences against person or property in the States. It could not assume it, except as the King of Italy might, by force of arms. Even if it had jurisdiction of such offences, it would have to punish them in precisely the same manner as the State—that is, it would have to have indictments found by the Grand Jury, and have the case tried before a petty jury, and, as all criminal offences triable in Federal Courts are, under the Constitution, triable only "by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed," these Federal juries would be composed of exactly the same material as the State juries.

All these peculiarities of our jurisprudence are things of which the Italian Government was aware when it made the treaty of 1871, and of which every foreigner who comes here for business or pleasure is bound to take note at his peril. Every traveller or sojourner must be assumed to have considered, before entering a foreign country, the various risks, whether political, physical, or legal, to which he would be exposed during his stay, whether through defects of the laws or the absence of law. But no civilized government ever acknowledges that the protection it supplies for the persons and property of its own citizens is not good enough for strangers.

Secretary Blaine's answer to Baron Fava is very neat and complete, and puts the whole case in a nutshell. It makes the position of the Italian Government difficult to comprehend. The Italy of to-day is very far away in matters of government from the old Italy of 1840, when any Italian Government could seize any man it pleased, and either expel him from the country, or clap him in prison for an indefinite period without trial. Italians understand and are practising with great success a government of law and liberty. An Italian cannot, under his own Constitution, be punished for anything without a trial by legal tribunals. We are surprised, therefore, to find the Marquis di Rudini maintaining "Italy's right to demand and obtain punishment of the New Orleans murderers" of the President. The President has, as we have just shown, no more power to punish murderers than the Marquis himself. Demands of this sort are, in fact, not now addressed to any but semi-barbarous Governments like Turkey, Morocco, Russia, and China, where the Executive can at any moment give a man a dozen, or send him to the mines for life by "administrative order." What constitutional governments are asked to do in case of injury to foreigners is to put the law in motion for the punishment of the offenders—not to guarantee a verdict of guilty. Considering, too, what foreigners have suffered, ever since the present kingdom of Italy was established, from Italian brigands, both in Sicily and on the mainland, through the inefficiency of the police and the courts and the demoralization of the population, it seems as if a less peremptory tone in demanding justice in this case would have been more becoming. The Marquis di Rudini could hardly have been sterner if he had been asking for justice against the murderers of two respectable Italian merchants or tourists, instead of two escaped cut-throats, whose landing in this country at all might fairly be considered an offence against its peace and dignity.

At the same time it will not do to ignore or deny the fact that the inability of the Federal Government to set on foot, in its own courts, prosecutions for injuries to foreigners, is a serious defect in the law. It ought to be able to order the indictment of the New Orleans rioters before its own Grand Jury, through its own District Attorney, try them before its own courts, and carry out the sentence through its own marshal. The Supreme Court has intimated that legislation for this purpose would be constitutional, and it ought to be one of the first pieces of work of the next Congress. We do not know what Mr. Blaine means when he says that "the United States has distinctly recognized the principle of indemnity to those Italian subjects who may have been wronged by a violation of the rights secured by the treaty with the United States of February 26, 1871." There was no such recognition in the case of the attack on Spaniards in New Orleans in 1850, or of the attack on the Chinese at Rock Springs in 1885. In the latter case an indemnity was voted, but it was expressly stated at the time that it was a matter of grace, not of right. In other words, any acknowledgment of "the principle" has been expressly guarded against by Mr. Webster and by Mr. Evarts and Mr. Bayard. But Congress will doubtless be willing to follow the Chinese precedent in this case and vote the money. We must add that Mr. Blaine, in his letter to Gov. Nicholls of March 15, immediately after the massacre, rather delivered himself, dialectically speaking, into the hands of the enemy, by asking the Governor to "coöperate with the President in maintaining the obligations of the United States towards Italian subjects" who might be exposed to further violence in New Orleans. There is not much difficulty in construing this into an acknowledgment that the President is, conjointly with the Governor, responsible for the peace of that city.

BRAZILIAN VIEWS OF THE TREATY.

WHILE the reciprocity arrangement with Brazil was being received in this country with comparative indifference, in Brazil it was exciting an agitation that has at times been violent. Feeling against President, or Dictator, Fonseca ran high, both on account of the nature of the treaty itself and the way in which it was negotiated. It was concluded as an arbitrary act of the "Provisional Government," with no

reference whatever to the Congress, just on the eve of the adoption of a Constitution which specifically requires all treaties to be submitted to the approval of the representatives of the people. The matter was brought up in the Constituent Congress on February 11, when two motions were made by prominent delegates calling for the suspension of the treaty until it could be acted upon by the Congress to be hereafter elected. These motions went over without action, as did another approving the treaty. But the general conviction appears to have been expressed by the *Jornal do Commercio*—a paper that approves the treaty, or at least wishes it given a fair trial—when it said, "The treaty should never have been negotiated in such a secret fashion, without consulting the views of the States or our commercial and industrial interests." Indeed, Fonseca's action in the premises, and his general disregard of the Congress, developed the unexpected and powerful opposition to his election to the Presidency, and the large minority vote for Prudente de Moraes shows how strong is the hostility to the policy of the Government. In fact, even since Fonseca's election this hostility has not subsided, and a meeting was held on March 13, attended by a large number of Senators, and Deputies, and journalists, at which it was resolved to publish a solemn protest against the proceedings of the Government—particularly against the treaty with the United States.

Turning to less official expressions of opinion, we find the manufacturing and commercial interests of the republic almost unanimous in opposition to the treaty. Protest after protest has been drawn up by industrial and commercial associations in different parts of the country, expressing alarm at the impending ruin of nascent or even established manufactures. The flouring-mills will have to close, their owners say. Sugar-refining will come to an end, say the men interested in that business. So, too, many branches of agriculture and fishery are in dread of the deadly competition of the United States. The organs of foreign capital in Brazil are, of course, dead against the treaty. The French merchants particularly are aroused, and it is announced that the French Minister for Foreign Affairs has already telegraphed a demand that the same concessions be made to French imports as to American. This was done at the urging of the French Chamber of Commerce for the Export Trade. On the other hand, the producers of sugar, coffee, hides, and rubber are well pleased. The *Diario de Pernambuco*, speaking for the sugar-growers of its State, says that "the patriotic Government of Brazil deserves the thanks of the country."

That the Government itself is disturbed at the general outcry, is clear from the labored defence of the treaty made in the *Diario Official*—a defence, it is safe to say, which will not be reproduced by our Department of State. This official organ of the Brazilian Government expresses its surprise that such a hubbub should have been stirred up over such a harmless affair. It goes on to recite the well-known figures of Brazilian-American trade, showing how much more the United States buy of Brazil than does Brazil of the United States. Then it adds that already the Brazilian tariff admits free of duty almost all the articles of American export which appear to be most favored by the treaty, such as wheat and machinery, It argues, further, that, in the case of the manufactured articles that are to have the advantage of 25 per cent. reduction from the general tariff rates, the effect upon the Brazilian market is going to be scarcely perceptible. This contention it proves, furthermore, by an array of figures in analysis of the exact effect to be expected from the reduction on American goods. It shows that this reduction applies mostly to articles now taxed at a comparatively low rate in the tariff—from 10 to 20 per cent.—and figures out the real reduction for American exports to be no more than from 3 to 9 per cent. on the total cost. Then it sums up as follows:

> "Any one who knows the prices of the larger part of American products, and who will compare them with similar articles of European manufacture, will find no cause for alarm in the figures we have given, for although it is true that the treaty favors American merchandise, the difference is not enough to make up for the lower prices of European manufactures, and consequently the treaty will not perceptibly or permanently affect our commercial exchanges with Europe."

Very similar is the opinion of the *Rio News*, which says of cotton manufactures:

> "In that particular, our English friends may rest content. The reduction of 25 per cent. will scarcely equalize the original cost to the importer, while the unwillingness of the North Americans to establish commercial houses in Brazil, and to give the customary credits, will destroy the very slight advantage given them by the treaty."

One curious feature of the whole discussion in Brazil is the entire oversight of the fact that we are really making no equivalent concessions to Brazilian exports. Everything that the so-called treaty declares shall be free of duty is made so for all the world by our general tariff. No one knows better than Minister Mendonça that the threat of taxing Brazilian exports by Presidential proclamation, in pursuance of the reciprocity clause in the McKinley Bill, is the merest *brutum fulmen*—especially since last November. In fact, this Brazilian agreement is precisely along the lines of a treaty which Mr. Blaine was prepared to negotiate in case the McKinley Bill did not make sugar free. When sugar was made free, and coffee, hides, and rubber were left free, it was supposed that the treaty had fallen to the ground, as there could no longer be any reason for it. Indeed, Minister Mendonça admitted as much. Why, then, it should have been reverted to in the form of a pure gift from Brazil is a mystery which has not yet been solved. It would not be strange if it should turn out to have been a *quid pro quo* on Fonseca's part, in return for his early recognition by our Government, or some other unknown consideration. What is perfectly clear is, that if it should prove to favor American trade to the extent that has been claimed for it, it will not be allowed to stand by the Brazilian Congress. If, on the other hand, it has no practical effect, as is most likely, it will be looked at with indifference both in Brazil and in Europe.

THE NEW COMMONWEALTH.

The Federation Convention in Sydney, New South Wales, that has just virtually completed its labors by adopting the title of "The Commonwealth of Australia," grew out of the same desire that led to the work of the Philadelphia Convention in 1787—the desire for a more perfect union. The union effected by the act creating the Federal Council in 1885 was weak and inefficient. Not only were the powers of the Council extremely limited, but its membership did not include representatives of all the colonies. Although Southern Australia's reluctance to enter the confederation was soon overcome, that of New Zealand and New South Wales was more persistent. It was contended by the New Zealanders that the 1,200 miles separating them from the Australian continent made closer political connection with their sister colonies impracticable. They feared, too, that the movement was not altogether loyal to the mother country, and they did not wish to take a step that might result in severing their connection with the British crown. The reluctance of New South Wales had a different basis. This colony has pursued, with great advantage to herself, the policy of free trade; in the race for commercial supremacy she has outstripped her strong protectionist neighbor, Victoria. Her fear has been that if she became a member of the confederation, she might be compelled to abandon that part of her policy at least that gave her unrestricted trade with the outside world. Both of these colonies were induced, however, to send delegates to the Sydney Convention, which included delegates from Victoria, Queensland, South Australia, and Tasmania But it still remains to be seen whether the work of the Convention has broken the force of their objections, and whether they will enter the proposed confederation by assenting to the new Constitution.

So far as reported in the despatches to this country, this Constitution is modelled closely on that of the United States. There is a Senate having a territorial basis and a continuous existence; the members are elected for six years, one-half retiring every three years. The membership of the House is based on population and universal suffrage; the term is for three years. There is a Cabinet of seven members, who may sit in either house. The Executive is the appointee of the Crown, but his term of office is not fixed. The judicial system is similar to ours, except that there is an appeal from its decisions to the home Government. Although a desire was manifested in the debates in the Convention to use the Federal Council as a basis for the new government, it appears to have been regarded as too weak and inefficient to serve any useful purpose. It could take original action only on a few subjects, and on other subjects it could

act only when they had been referred to it by the legislatures of at least two States. It had no authority over the commercial relations of the colonies, and was powerless to levy taxes or make appropriations. Under the new Constitution, however, these two subjects are reserved to the National Assembly for original action. Should the Constitution be adopted, this Assembly will probably be called upon to solve the tariff question in such a way as to please Victoria and not offend New South Wales — a task that will undoubtedly tax its wisdom and patience to an extreme degree.

The formation of the Commonwealth, if successfully carried out, as it doubtless will be, foreshadows before many years trouble for both Germany and France in the Southern Pacific. The shortcomings of the mother country in that region which the colonies have felt most keenly have been her acquiescence in the occupation of half the great island of New Guinea by Germany, and her acquiescence in the possession of New Caledonia as a penal station by France. Both these islands are in Australian waters, and Australia owns one-half of New Guinea. Nothing can be more certain than that, as the new Commonwealth grows, notice to quit will be served on both France and Germany, and that somehow the power to enforce it will be provided. One of the many extraordinary things about this new republic is, that the warmth and dryness of the climate have apparently added to instead of diminishing the physical vigor and energy of the original stock. In every athletic sport, and especially in rowing and cricket, the Australians are fully a match for the English, and they occupy a foremost rank among the equestrian races of the world. They not only have the finest bucking horses in the world, but they have the men who can ride them best. That the Commonwealth will turn out as good soldiers and sailors as ever fought by land or sea, there is no doubt whatever, and any Power in the world which tries to stay in the Australasian seas against the will of Australians, when once they begin to feel themselves a nation, will have a very hard time.

THE MAFIA.

ROME, March 20, 1891.

THE recent tragedy at New Orleans furnishes a terrible commentary on the character of the Italian secret societies of which the chief are the Mafia in Sicily and the Camorra in Naples. The Mafia, under one designation or another, runs back into the middle ages. It then punished crimes against itself by the same standards that the Government established, with one exception—it had no degrees of penalty: death was the only punishment it could inflict. A man who had injured one of the Mafiosi had his hand cut off; if he had overheard the secrets of the association he had his ears cut off; and if he had seen too much he had the skin of his forehead flayed and turned down over his eyes—but these were only the tokens of the reasons for his removal: he was killed first and the mutilation was only the intimation to his friends. Under the Bourbons, no measures the civil authorities could employ had the least effect on the organization; its simplest form was brigandage and sequestration of the person, to be held to ransom, default of which implied death. Members of the Mafia in the cities kept watch on the movements of people of wealth, and sent messengers to their colleagues outside to give information of them, so that they might be taken with the least trouble, and the spies had their percentage of the ransom. When Sicily was annexed to Italy, the outlawry was increased by the addition of the partisans of the Bourbons, who pretended to be in insurrection. The disorders were suppressed by the bersaglieri, who scoured the country and tried by drum-head court-martial all the men they caught with arms, or who were accused of brigandage, and shot the condemned on the spot. Since the reëstablishment of the civil law in the island, there has been a slight recrudescence of the Mafia, and a few cases of sequestration of the person, but foreigners have been respected for the most part with great scrupulousness. Minor crimes are still to a large extent protected by the organization, but the policy of the Government has been one of steady legal pressure and change of venue to the continent for the trial of the criminals, and this is gradually paralyzing the Mafia.

The organization is probably stronger to-day in Louisiana than in Sicily, for the active pursuit of the actual offenders has driven many of the worst of them out of the country, and their best field of operations seems to have been our Southern States, whose climate agrees with their habits, and where wealth offers them attractions. It is well known in Italy that the dregs of the criminal population of Sicily and Naples are in Louisiana; and, transplanted to a new and almost virgin soil, where, too, a certain old infirmity of the law has predisposed to violence and short roads to justice, it was certain that the Mafia would become a danger to society. This is so well recognized by reasonable Italians that they admit a palliation for the summary justice of New Orleans, and acknowledge that the case is a difficult one to deal with by strictly lawful means. The first expressions of indignation were naturally very strong, but there is a moderation in the later comments due to the facts having come to knowledge and to previous acquaintance with the *teterrima causa* of conflict.

The flagrantly criminal character of a large portion of the Italian emigration to the Southern States is too well known here to permit their countrymen at home to doubt that the authorities at New Orleans have a knotty problem to deal with in the Mafia, and it is admitted that the extermination of the organization is necessary to order, and that the longer the efficient remedies are neglected the worse the evil will become. The only efficient remedy is the suppression of the Mafia. There is no question that at present the tendency of the criminal classes in the south of Italy, where those classes most abound, is to emigrate to the Southern States of America, and something might be done to check the influx by a law that every immigrant must be furnished with a passport in which his non-responsibility to the Italian law shall be stated and endorsed by the American consul at the port. Every emigrant from Sicily is suspicious, and the authorities, in default of any pressure on the part of the American Government, will take no precaution to prevent a known criminal from escaping to the United States, where he will give the Italian authorities no further trouble. This is natural, but the desire to protect the honest and industrious Italian emigrants to America may induce the King's Government to enter into arrangements which will secure this, and at the same time lead to the discovery of some of the criminals wanted for offences at home.

The honest Sicilian is an emigrant whose value to the United States is great, but the proportion of such in the mass of emigration is very small, and should be looked after. The late and present Prime Ministers of Italy are both Sicilians, as have been many of the ablest statesmen of Italy during the years since the annexation. I have been surprised, in making the acquaintance of the islanders and seeing their work, at their energy and administrative ability, so different from what we are accustomed to associate with the south-Italian mind; but the fact is that they are superior in this respect to the inhabitants of the southern provinces of the peninsula. This, coupled with their prolonged existence under the rule of the Bourbons, which was only the recognition of illegality and official robbery, is probably the cause of the long persistence of the conditions of brigandage and secret organization against the law which have obtained in the island. However this may be, I can assure the people of New Orleans that unless they take some radical measures against the Mafia *as such*, so as to make the belonging to it an offence against the law, they are not likely to suppress it, unless by expelling from the State all Italians—which is more difficult. X.

A DAY WITH FATHER NEWMAN.

MARLESFORD, ENG., March 18, 1891.

IN the autumn of 1859, while crossing the Atlantic from Liverpool to the United States, I made the acquaintance of a compatriot, Father T., who had then for some time been associated with the celebrated Dr. J. H. Newman, subsequently raised to the cardinalate. Both of us intended to return to England in the course of the next spring; and Father T. expressed a hope that, as he was pretty certain of preceding me, I would call on him at Edgbaston, if I chanced to take Birmingham on my way to Southampton and Calcutta.

The following March found me at Birmingham, whence, one morning, after an early breakfast, I drove out to Edgbaston. The servant who answered the bell at the oratory could tell me nothing about Father T., except that he was still away. Unsatisfied with this scanty information, I gave him my card, asking him to go and ascertain, if he could, something more definite. He came back with the message that Dr. Newman wished me to come in.

Despatching my errand to the famous Doctor as expeditiously as I was able, I was about to withdraw, when he requested me to be seated. I accepted his invitation. On my soon again offering to take my leave, I was once more politely detained by him, with the assurance that he was quite at leisure. I resumed my seat.

Since I had spoken of Father T. as my fellow-countryman, Dr. Newman was aware of my nationality. America, its people, and everything relating to both were, evidently, in spite of his perceptible antipathy to them, objects of interest to him. We talked on and on, he putting questions innumerable relative to them, and I replying to the best of my knowledge. Among the various Americans regarding whom he manifested curiosity, Dr. O. A. Brownson seemed to be foremost. Having read all the writings of that indefatigable and ingenious speculator, and being familiar with the history of his multifarious career, I had much to communicate which my interlocu-

tor owned to be new to him. In time, however, our conversation turned to India, where, as I had incidentally mentioned, I had spent a good number of years, including the momentous period of the mutinies of 1857. It turned out that I was the only actual witness of Sepoy atrocities that he had met with; and, before we had done with the subject, he drew from me many particulars of horrors and sufferings which I desired, as I still in vain desire, should pass from my memory. But finally we got on the topic of Hindu philosophy, in the study of which I had of late been zealously engaged. To this my untiring interrogator pinned me for a full hour and more, when, just as I was protesting, with reference to something demanded of me, that the point would require a whole day to develop and expound satisfactorily, the bell rang for dinner. Pressed to accompany him and refresh myself, if I could be content with monastic fare, nothing loth, after the compulsory exhaustion I had undergone, I followed my host to the refectory.

The four sides of the refectory were wainscoted. Near two of them that formed an angle stood small detached tables, each for a single person, with a form behind. The company consisted of nine or ten Fathers of the Oratory and myself. Roast-beef, potatoes, bread, beer, and a plain pudding composed our meal. These were passed from the kitchen through an opening in one side of the room, and were handed round by one Father after another. While we were dining, as if the promotion of dyspepsia were a discipline of piety, strict silence was observed by all, and yet mental entertainment was considerately provided. Diagonally opposite to the corner where the rows of tables met was an ambo, perched in which a young man, habited priest-wise, read for our edification. First he gave us a chapter of the New Testament, of course from the Vulgate. Then followed, also in Latin, legends of several saints commemorated on the day that was passing. Last of all, we were treated to what I recognized as from Carlyle's 'French Revolution.' To that work, certainly, as to many others by the same pyrotechnic rhapsodist, the remark of Lord Macaulay is applicable, that its author "might as well write in Irving's unknown tongue, at once." It appeared to me, then, in no wise singular that Dr. Newman, with his critical sense of good English, after listening for a few minutes to the uncouth and spasmodic jargon that was stunning us, put up his hand, impatiently exclaiming "Sufficit." Carlyle being thus summarily dismissed, we finished our repast without a word spoken by any one.

Thanks being duly transacted, Dr. Newman informed me that "recreation" was next in order. Naturally enough, the term set me conjecturing. I thought of leap-frog, summersaults, hide-and-seek, and sundry other guileless diversions of like kind, though only to reject the idea of them, in favour of no idea whatever. But I was not long held in suspense. Headed by the Doctor, we proceeded to a spacious apartment where a large grate was in full blaze. In front of the fire, chairs were disposed in a semi-circle. We took our seats; and I soon discovered that the "recreation" of my solemn companions was general conversation. And very much indeed, both as to topics and as to tone, was it the conversation of the profane world. Through an aperture in one side of the room, just as in the refectory, creature-comforts were handed in for us; only they were now merely supplementary tea and biscuits. All the waiting was done by Dr. Newman. There being no novelty to me in experience of "the pride that apes humility," so often discernible in professional nuggets of the salt of the earth, this ostentatious exhibition of servitorship did not, I confess, affect me agreeably. Nor did I see anything to admire in an incident which happened while we were sipping our tea. One of the Fathers, finding his cup unpalatable, made a wry face, on noticing which, Dr. Newman seized the cup, and insisted on bringing him another, at the same time patting the fastidious shaveling on the shoulder, and coaxing him, precisely as if he were a little girl in a pet.

The "recreation" in which I participated was, in part, not such as I would have chosen. For many years I had then been accustomed, as I have been accustomed still more years since, to be regarded, because of being an obscure American, as, at best, an anthropical or anthropoidal phenomenon, a creature that must needs speak barbarously, that knew nothing, and that could have no ideas, principles, or aims but the most reprehensible and sordid. When cast among persons who, by their interrogatories or comments, have plainly signified that such was their preconceived estimate of me, I have always been as sparing of speech as was practicable, and, consequently, have been the more free to listen and to reflect. And so it was on the occasion in question. I learned much more from my opinionated inquisitors than they learned from me. And one of the things which I learned was, that Englishmen, in changing from Protestants to Romanists, are the same as ever in the article of ignorance touching Americans, and in the contempt for them which, even to this hour, forms a conventional feature of British tuition. With the patience which abundant demand for practice of it had made easy to me, I once more underwent a diatribe on what were taken for granted to be, without gainsay, the blemishes and shortcomings of my countrymen.

Daylight was disappearing before I left the Oratorians. The impression which they produced on me I lost no time in committing to paper, so that, in recounting it, I am not obliged to depend on recollection. Everything that had passed before me bore, to my apprehension, the stamp of intellectual obliquity, ethical emasculation, grimace, hollowness, or histrionism. All was unreal, and almost all looked insincere. It seemed strange to me, in particular, if Dr. Newman could lastingly influence, in the least degree, any but those who, what between ill-starred idiosyncrasy and irrational tutoring, had ripened into sentimental visionaries and enthusiasts. His allies were, manifestly, men of the same mould as himself; and his deliverance of some morbid half-poetical fancy, or subtile sophism, was what especially excited their delight and elicited their applause. That, like their leader, they were persons grown incapable of seeing truth in a dry light, and that they saw it through a haze of fantastic theory and refracting prejudice, was, to me, a lifelong student of theology, but, for all that, still an unresolved investigator, palpable beyond all mistaking. I had read and reread all that Dr. Newman had published; and the man himself was just what I expected from the author. Lord Macaulay, in one of his Speeches, aptly characterizes the jesuitical "Tract Number Ninety" as "a set of quibbles, under cover of which a divine may hold the worst doctrines of the Church of Rome, and may hold with them the best benefice of the Church of England." The concoctor of that Tract did not, when I was brought face to face with him, disappoint me at all in his favour.

As many are well aware, Mr. Charles Kingsley could easily have produced, if he had but had the patience to search long enough, repeated proofs of the grave disingenuousness which he laid at the door of Dr. Newman. One such proof, unless I am greatly mistaken, offers itself in what is about to be cited, namely, a passage occurring in p. 21 of Dr. Newman's 'Callista,' published in 1856:

"Under the cross were two or three pictures, or, rather, sketches. In the centre stood the Blessed Virgin, with hands spread out in prayer, attended by the holy Apostles Peter and Paul, on her right and left. Under this representation were rudely scratched upon the walls the words 'Advocata nostra,' a title which the earliest antiquity bestows upon her."

An eminent doctor of divinity was once inspired to discharge his spleen on me, as an American, because I approved of the measures taken to restore the integrity of the Union. One day, in conversation with this profound scholar, laying before him the words just quoted, I remarked that the phrase "earliest antiquity" could not there possibly point to any age later than the paulopost-apostolic, and added that, to the best I could discover, the term *advocata* was, at that period, altogether unknown. What ground, then, I went on to ask, was there for the allegation that the primitive Christians gave to the mother of Jesus the epithet "our advocate"? And how, if there was irrecusable authority for that designation of her, could a Protestant that supplemented the New Testament by other recorded traditions deny that he ought to enter the Roman communion? My interlocutor, who had long been an intimate friend of Dr. Newman, gave me no reply. I pressed him for one; and at last he angrily silenced me by saying that I was to submit my difficulty to some one else. If I failed to draw other than uncomplimentary inferences from this evasiveness, it was not for want of trying.

"It may be almost laid down as an historical fact, that the mystical interpretation and orthodoxy will stand or fall together." So writes Dr. Newman, in his 'Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine'; and the passage is noteworthy, for we see in it a man who deems himself not far from being a prophet, and who, as an arbitrary fantast, takes rank with Origen and Jacob Boehme. Nor did the public misapprehend that he was what he was. Nevertheless, the grief and veneration which, on the announcement of his death, found expression in the English press, could have been foreseen. Those who knew him best have all concurred in representing him as distinguished, constitutionally, by melancholy, superstition, and unreasoning self-will; and he was, thus, except as to his mysticism, typically English. And again, he had rendered himself famous. In our own time, more than was ever the case before, his countrymen stand conspicuous as hero-worshippers; and in him they recognized a hero preëminently sharing their national characteristics. And this was enough to secure for him their reverent homage, though millions of them could not but acknowledge that his aspirations were such as, if realized, would go far to extinguish genuine enlightenment, and would operate to enslave the world once more to the execrable tyranny and the ridiculous mummeries of mendacious and self-seeking priestcraft. F. H.

COLUMBIANA.

FLORENCE, March, 1891.

AT Genoa and here I have been made cognizant of the interest which Italy is of right taking in the approaching anniversary of the discovery of America. I had an interview at Genoa with some of the gentlemen engaged in

the effort which the Italian Government is now committed to make in demonstration of the leading position which Italians gained in the earliest stages of the development of American geography. Every student of that period is impressed with the uncompensated mastery which fell to the lot of Italy in those days, in that she contributed Columbus and Cabot, Vespucius and Verrazzano to the solution of the great cosmographical problem, while she failed to acquire a foothold in the land. It is to make this more abundantly evident that the Italian Government has now planned the publication of a treasury of documentary proofs in indication of her almost supreme share in the great discovery.

While in Paris, I saw in the study of Henry Harrisse the annotations which he had prepared on the 175 documents illustrative of Columbus which are to constitute a section of the great work. It was some time since announced that he was to have the care of this portion on Columbus. It will be remembered that, a year or two ago, Harrisse addressed an open letter to the Government at Rome, urging the official publication of these documents as Italy's contribution to the literature of the coming anniversary. That Government has accepted the suggestion; but, as I have said, it has enlarged its scope by associating with the labors of Columbus those of the other great navigators, which made the part of Italy so conspicuous in the discoveries of that time.

The great need which the student now feels of further elucidation in respect to the career of Columbus is the recovery of the diplomatic correspondence of Spain and Portugal with the Papal Court, which led to the bull of demarcation in 1493. It has long been supposed that the archives of the Vatican would reveal something. The truth is, that, though the doors of that repository have been of late years left ajar, the student makes his researches there under the utmost difficulties. No official warrant gives its bearer unrestricted access, and all that the inquirer can do is to indicate what he wants, and let the custodians, who have no catalogue to aid them, bring what inclination, leisure, or acuteness prompts them to discover. Research by the student himself is in no valid sense yet permissible. Harrisse tells me that he has done the best he could under such restraints to profit from the resources of the Vatican, and he feels quite sure that there are still preserved there no maps or other important papers illustrating the bull of 1493, further than are already known.

The few scholars interested in this field to the extent of appreciating Harrisse's best labors may indeed be counted almost on your fingers, and one could name two or three in Germany and perhaps as many in America, and possibly one or two in France and England. This small body of students have followed his traces, not only in his various monographs, but in sundry periodicals of France, Italy, and Spain for a score of years or more, and know pretty well what he has been doing. His work has no quality for popular recognition, and there has been no demand to translate his studies into English so that his countrymen—for he is an American citizen—could generally appreciate his labors. It will be remembered that, in his 'Vie de Colomb,' he had indicated that he had prepared a full bibliography of the works which had been written exclusively upon Columbus, then numbering about 600. The MS. has since been enlarged and waits now for publication.

Any one who has dealt with the history of the earlier voyages to America, say before 1550—or better before 1525—knows how much depends, in settling some of the questions which surround them, upon the identification of persons often met with in the accounts under names difficult to distinguish. The studies of Harrisse have been helped by the registration which he has been accustomed to make of all these recurrent names, with a reference to the document which contains each one. This material, alphabetized and unified, would be a valuable companion for any students in this field, and it is to be hoped that a publisher can be found for it, as Harrisse has now got it arranged.

The work upon which his attention is now chiefly turned is a history of the discovery of North America. His earlier books on the Cabots, Cortereal, and other of the earliest explorers can be found in a few of our larger libraries, but they have failed of their full purpose, for the reason that what in them attracted a few students rendered an English version of them unadvisable in a publisher's eyes. An English publisher has at last risked the undertaking, and Harrisse is now sending through the press in English a large book which will embrace the material of his earlier French publications, reworked and amplified. I find in talking with him that he expects to have competent critics acknowledge that he has in good measure placed a new significance on much of this early history. He expects that it will be seen that Sebastian Cabot is not deserving of all that has been assigned to him, and that the map in gores which Henry Stevens brought forward a few years ago, as a newly discovered map of Schoner of 1523, and upon which that writer based beliefs which he claimed to be new, was indeed no such map as Stevens had represented. With the map discarded, as Harrisse insists it should be, the theory which Stevens, with his usual airs of superiority, maintained, falls to the ground. Students will eagerly wait to see if this catastrophe to Stevens's critical sagacity is really to happen.

When in London, some weeks ago, I saw at Quaritch's shop the single copy of the folio edition of the Spanish text of Columbus's first letter, which has been recently discovered; and that dealer also gave me the opportunity of going over the evidences that what is claimed as a new quarto edition of the same text is in reality a forgery of a nature to permit various other copies of the same fabrication, now lurking somewhere, to be unearthed again with the same appearance of chance discovery. The copy already made known was somewhat boldly facsimiled in a little publication by the same dealers, so that those suspicious of its genuineness have had something to work upon in their investigations. The alleged original has gone into a collector's library in America. I find that Harrisse has been investigating this dubious edition independently, reaching the same conclusion. He has had photographs made of certain pages of the copy in the Ambrosian Library at Milan—the only Spanish printed text known till recently—but he finds that the fabricators worked not on this copy (as indeed the custodian of that library is willing to swear, since it has not been out of his custody), but upon the facsimile edition of it which was published some years ago. It is claimed by Harrisse that the forgers have in sundry ways been ensnared by the tendencies to which such adventurous inclinations are sure to lead. As I looked upon the proofs of the forgery, both in Paris and in London, there seemed scarcely a doubt that a respectable London dealer unwittingly lent himself to a deceit. I saw the only copy which the makers have as yet dared to put upon the market, when an agent of the London firm laid it before me a year or two ago at Cambridge, Mass.; but he found a purchaser elsewhere.

When at Mentone, I went, by Mr. Hanbury's invitation, to visit his famous garden at La Mortola, just over the Italian line, which has been called the finest private garden in Europe, with its almost unprecedented array of trees and plants brought from every quarter of the globe, and selected for their ability to thrive in the open air in this sheltered nook of the Riviera. I felt the presence of Columbus even in this vestibule of the great peninsula. As Mr. Hanbury led me into his house, he told me that its roof had sheltered those who were born before the great navigator, and on the walls of its porch he had placed a beautiful Florentine mosaic of Marco Polo, which seemed to promote the illusion. His reason for commemorating that traveller was that he was the earliest to bring back from Cathay descriptions of the plants which glorify the East, and which he could point out to me as growing before my eyes. I sooner, however, associated the great Venetian traveller with that account of his travels in Asia written after his return from his long sojourn there, and while imprisoned in the building which the other day I still looked upon in Genoa. It could not be forgotten by any one who knew of that copy of Marco Polo which is preserved in Seville, and marked with annotations in manuscript ascribed to Columbus himself, that the strange marvels of the 'Milione' had had much to do with fostering the adventuresome dreams of the Genoese navigator. As Mr. Hanbury took me to a spot in his grounds where, from a bridge that spanned the chasm, I looked down into a remaining bit of the old and narrow lane, shut in by crumbling and ancient walls, which is all that is here left of the road along the Riviera which the Romans traversed, which Dante describes, and which even Napoleon was not too late to follow when he marched his troops into Italy, I even fancied that Columbus might have thridded its windings along these slopes, either, perchance, when his mule took him from Italy to seek his fortunes among the more western maritime peoples, or when, it may be, he returned by the same route to seek to interest the Genoese in his purposes. There is an interval from 1473 to 1487 when no one can say with absolute certainty where Columbus was or what he was doing, or on what date any supposable venture may be connected with his name. This gives the license which prompted my musings in Mr. Hanbury's garden.

One sees to-day in the municipal palace at Genoa, in the Council Chamber of its Government, and adorning its walls on either side, two superb specimens of the art of the mosaic-maker. One is a portrait of Columbus and the other of Marco Polo. They were the gift of Venice to Genoa in commemoration of the union under which Victor Emanuel and Cavour brought at last the native places of these two great discoverers, and they were fitly associated together in that hour of jubilant patriotism, for Italy in the one had splashed the waters that laved the shores of Cathay, and in the other she had seen the reflections of the tropical verdure of the Antilles.

There are some students of Columbus's career, now in Genoa, who have worked assiduously of late years in delving among the old archives of Liguria, particularly in the notarial records of Genoa and Savona; and foremost among them is probably to be placed the Marquis Marcello Staglieno. Some of them, together with other antiquaries of Rome and Venice, constitute the Committee now royally

charged with the publication of the great documentary work of which I have already made mention. I had in Genoa two interviews with the Cavaliere Cornelio Desimoni, to whom is intrusted the part of this great collection which is to be given to Verrazzano, and whose publications on that navigator some years since procured him recognition among American students of that somewhat obscure theme. There was at one time, after the late Henry C. Murphy had privately printed his iconoclastic monograph on the subject, a tendency to treat the voyage of Verrazzano along our Atlantic seaboard as a myth, and George Bancroft fell into the humor and left out all mention of the voyage in his first revised edition, and did not restore it in the last edition. But the faith of Carson Brevoort, as manifested in his treatise on the voyage, the later exposition of De Costa, and particularly the two publications of Desimoni, when they became known in America, furnished rallying points for the believers; and the map of Maiollo, which Desimoni first made known as among the treasures of the Ambrosian Library, as well as the chart of Hieronymus Verrazzano, have of late years rehabilitated the old story, as detailed in the letter addressed to Francis I. Desimoni tells me that he shall in the new publication repeat all his earlier results, and put the record in shape with something of a final stamp.

I cannot feel sure that all the investigations of Staglieno and others have made it quite certain where Columbus was born, further than it was within the corporate precincts of Genoa. All claims for other regions must surely be dismissed; and there could hardly be a neater bit of antiquarian skill than that which has demonstrated that Columbus's father lived, in the navigator's childhood, in a house which still stands in the narrow Vico Dritto Ponticello, where the tall houses shut out the light far above the passer, in a quarter of the town then frequented by the workers in wool, and near one of the remaining old city gates. The house bears a marble tablet explaining its interest. It is a very narrow structure, two small windows taking a good share of its breadth; and when I saw it the other day the lower story was boarded up, as if some structural changes were going on within. In one of the open spaces not far distant I noticed among the placards on the walls that a play of "Cristoforo Colombo" was announced at one of the theatres in Genoa, and that the public were asked to attend a lecture soon to be delivered upon his career.

The newspapers announced the other day that a portrait of Columbus had just been brought to light in the possession of a family which had acquired it when the gallery was broken up which the historian Paolo Giovio had gathered in his villa on Lake Como. I know nothing more of this alleged discovery than the press has given; but I do not find that the story of such a discovery is credited by such Italian scholars as I have met. That Paolo Giovio—I looked yesterday on his mural statue in the cloisters of San Lorenzo—possessed a likeness of Columbus, and perhaps more than one, which he had added to his collection of Italian celebrities, admits of proof both from the mention of it by contemporaries and from the woodcut bust likeness which he included in his 'Elogia,' published at Florence in 1551, five and forty years after Columbus's death. Giovio could never have seen Columbus, and his collection of portraits could not have been painted for him till long after the great navigator had died. The authenticity of any such likeness is therefore far from proved, and no one has ventured to trace even a story of probability. Indeed, it is far from demonstrable that any likeness whatever was ever painted of the famous Genoese, and there was certainly no period except the few months following his return from his first voyage when there could have been any popular interest in such a picture. Further, there are very few examples of portraits dating back to the later days of the fifteenth century, which have come down to us, and we have no contemporary evidence of any such likeness of Columbus. Still, the known existence of the Giovio picture has instigated many people since that day to associate some canvas or other with it, and the present story of a new discovery of such a likeness is probably due to a new impulse of the same sort, having little more than a fanciful basis.

One looks eagerly for associations with Columbus in Florence, and it is not found more vividly than in the Duomo when we stand beside the meridian line which Toscanelli drew here a few years before he replied to the letter of Columbus, and confirmed the unknown Genoese in the portentous belief that was slowly fructifying in his mind. I could not look to-day on the statue of Vespucius, which stands among the Florentian worthies in the court of the Uffizi, without thinking of that letter which he addressed to his friend in Florence, and which, falling into the hands of that little circle of geographical students at St. Dié, led to the placing of the name of a Florentine upon the Western continent.

JUSTIN WINSOR.

Correspondence.

EGYPTIAN DISCOVERY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: You may be glad to know of a recent discovery in Egypt made by Mr. Petrie on Wednesday, March 11. He has found at Maydoom the oldest known Egyptian temple and the only Pyramid temple ever found. It is also the only temple of the Old Empire so far known, aside from the "Temple of the Sphinx" at Ghizeh. The building was buried under about forty feet of rubbish (detritus fallen from the Pyramid), and lies directly at the centre of its eastern base, with two round-topped obelisks on the side facing the Pyramid. Obelisks and temple chambers so far entered have the plain undecorated style of the Old Empire, as shown by the Temple of the Sphinx, but hieratic inscriptions in black paint found within fix the name of Seneferoo as builder, and confirm the supposition to this effect hitherto based on the fact that tombs near the Pyramid contain his cartouche. Seneferoo is the king connecting the Third and Fourth Dynasties, and variously placed in either. According to computations of Mariette and Brugsch, the antiquity will be about 4000 B. C., or earlier.

I was visiting Mr. Petrie on the day of the discovery, and he thought then that about two weeks would be required to uncover the temple and ascertain its plan. On the day preceding, the workmen had reached a platform which then appeared to be a causeway terminating with two obelisks at the base of the Pyramid. In the forenoon of Wednesday a workman came to say that an opening had been found under the platform on the side next the Pyramid. This proved to be the top of a doorway choked by detritus, through which Mr. Petrie crawled into an interior of three chambers and discovered the inscriptions mentioned. I had the pleasure of following him. Mr. Petrie thought the apartments had not been previously entered for about three thousand years—that is to say, that the rubbish fallen from the Pyramid had choked the entrance about three thousand years after construction. A friend who was with me noticed on the floor some dried wisps of papyrus, a plant now extinct in Egypt. The chambers thus far found are so filled up that one cannot stand erect in them, and a door at the end of the third chamber is blocked by large stones. Over all lies an enormous mass of detritus whose removal by Arab diggers is now in progress. I had the pleasure next day of carrying the news of Mr. Petrie's find to the gentlemen of the Egypt Exploration Fund at Beni-Hassan, and of witnessing their unaffected delight over it.

Mr. Petrie was good enough to make me acquainted with some of the results of his season's work at Maydoom. They continue for the Fourth Dynasty the observations which he began at Kahun for the Twelfth Dynasty regarding the use of stone implements in Egypt, and are of the first importance for the connection between the "bronze culture" and the age of stone implements in Egypt. Mr. Petrie is the first to make systematic or important observations on this head, as his publication of 'Kahun' sufficiently shows. As it is his habit to publish every season the results of his work for the given season, I will not attempt to anticipate his matter as regards detail.

I am, sir, respectfully yours,

WM. HENRY GOODYEAR.

KENEH, UPPER EGYPT, March 17, 1891.

Notes.

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS have in press 'The Peace of the Church,' six lectures by the Rev. W. R. Huntington; 'The Water Devil, and Other Stories,' by Frank R. Stockton; 'Money: Its Use and Abuse,' by W. Cunningham, in the University Extension series of manuals; and 'Marie Louise, the Return from Elba, and the Hundred Days,' from the French of Imbert de St. Amand.

Forthcoming from the Messrs. Harper are 'Pharaohs, Fellahs, and Explorers,' by Amelia B. Edwards, being the substance of her lectures in this country; 'Recollections of President Lincoln and his Administration,' by Lucius E. Chittenden, formerly Register of the United States Treasury; 'What to Eat and How to Serve It,' by Mrs. Christine Terhune Herrick; and 'A Box of Monkeys, and Other Farces,' by Grace Livingston Furniss.

G. P. Putnam's Sons will publish 'Practical Landscape Gardening,' by Samuel Parsons, jr.; 'A Year in Portugal,' by Dr. George B. Loring, late United States Minister to that country; and 'Recollections and Impressions, 1822-1890,' by O. B. Frothingham. They have also in press a fifth edition of the Rev. J. W. Chadwick's 'Bible of To-day,' with new prefatory matter indicating the advance of criticism since the publication of the first edition in 1878.

'A History of Sicily,' by Edward A. Freeman, and Seyffert's 'Dictionary of Classical Antiquities,' translated by Prof. Nettleship, are announced by Macmillan & Co.

D. C. Heath & Co., Boston, will shortly issue an 'Introduction to Modern French Lyrics,' by Prof. B. L. Bowen of Ohio State University.

Mr. Thomas Willing Balch is about to publish, through Porter & Coates in Philadelphia, a translation of a book published in French by his father, the late Thomas Balch, in Paris, in 1872, 'The French in America during the War

of Independence of the United States, 1777-1783.' It is an account of the part taken by the French corps under Rochambeau, largely drawn from hitherto inedited material. Miss Balch printed in the *Magazine of American History*, in 1877, a translation of an unpublished memoir by the Prince de Broglie, who was here with Lauzun; and her brother proposes following his translation of his father's book with another volume giving the accounts written by Duretit Thouars and others, and a curious collection of Loyalists' Letters, thus adding to our knowledge of the other side in the struggle for independence.

'Ring Riding,' a collection of movements and commands designed for the use of riding-schools and riding-clubs, by Henry W. Struss (D. Appleton & Co.), is a beautifully printed and illustrated little volume. It is exactly what its name implies—a collection of commands—and is not, therefore, a book for reading. But the author has shown admirable judgment in the directions which he has given, both at the beginning and at the end. These are few, but they are plain and simple, and show good sense and a thorough knowledge of his subject. The volume is dedicated to the New York Riding Club, of which the author is a member. The plates illustrating the different movements, 142 in number, are so clear that no one need have any difficulty in seeing for himself how the different evolutions will appear in actual performance. Altogether, the whole thing is thorough, and the paper and style of printing leave nothing to be desired.

Prof. W. G. Hale's 'Art of Reading Latin: How to Teach it' has found an admirer in Prof. J. Keelhoff, professor in the Athénée Royal at Tongres, Belgium, who has obtained leave to translate it. It now appears as 'L'Art de lire le Latin: Comment il faut l'enseigner' (Mons: Hector Manceaux). Prof. Keelhoff pays the further tribute to the Cornell professor of Latin by regarding this little treatise as of real value in the unequal combat the study of the classics is now waging with the modern spirit. In one of his numerous footnotes he mentions the fact that Prof. Hale's 'The *Cum* Constructions' is about to appear in a German translation (Teubner).

Dr. Karl Krumbacher, Privatdocent of Modern Greek in the University of Munich, has published a volume entitled 'Geschichte der byzantischen Literatur von Justinian bis zum Ende des oströmischen Reiches, 527-1453,' in which he gives an admirable sketch of a hitherto rather neglected period of literary history. One is inclined to think of Byzantine literature as chiefly theological and decidedly polemical in character, and consisting, for the most part, of the controversial writings of iconoclasts and iconolaters, who vie with each other in venting sectarian bitterness and personal abuse. But this is true only of what might be called the Byzantine dark ages, extending from the middle of the seventh to the beginning of the ninth century, and followed by a renaissance which bore its richest fruits in the twelfth century. The man who contributed most to this revival of letters was the statesman and courtier Michael Psellos, a writer of keen intellect, remarkable versatility, and vast learning, but excessively vain and utterly selfish and servile—a combination of great and mean qualities, says Krumbacher, which we find five centuries later incarnated anew in Lord Bacon. Krumbacher is exceedingly enthusiastic in praise of Romanós, whom he characterizes as "the greatest sacred poet (*Kirchendichter*) of all ages," and thinks that this foremost place will be assigned to him by "the literary history of the future." The two best manuscripts of Romanós's sacred lyrics are preserved in the library of St. John's cloister on the island of Patmos, where they were copied by Krumbacher some years ago with the intention of publishing a complete edition of his poems.

The *Mittheilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens in Tokio* (Band v, Heft 45, Feb., 1891) contains an interesting and scholarly article by Dr. Ludwig Riess on the "Aufstand von Shimbara, 1637-1638." This was a tragic uprising of Japanese Christians against their persecutors, the heathen rulers. Shimbara had been the centre of Christian life in Japan during the last years of the sixteenth century and the early part of the seventeenth century. After enduring many oppressions the Christians revolted. They were besieged for several weeks in Shimbara. At length, in April, 1638, their stronghold was captured. The rebels were slain without mercy, the order having been given that "no Christian should be left alive, neither man, nor woman, nor child, nor sucking babe." In all, 20,000 Christians lost their lives during this rebellion. The besiegers lost about 3,000 men. The suppression of this revolt was the death-blow to Christianity in Japan; it also occasioned the rigid exclusion of the foreign element from Japan's inner life for more than two centuries. Professional narrators ("hanashika") still recount the history of this uprising to the people in the halls of Japan. Dr. Riess gives us the first full critical account of the remarkable event.

Dr. Geo. E. Ellis's "Recollections of Round Hill School," in the April number of the *Educational Review*, convey the impressions made on a boy of twelve by the two principals, Messrs. Cogswell and Bancroft, with a decided preference for the former in the relation of a teacher. One can hardly differ from Dr. Ellis's conclusion that the opposite temperaments and constant variances of these partners had more to do with the school's failure than anything else: Cogswell "always intent on his duty," and Bancroft "apt to be engrossed in some book of his own," near-sighted and hence the target for school-room and even vegetable-garden missiles, distraught and hence eccentric in dress—"the Crittur," in the familiar speech of the pupils.

Prof. Felix E. Schelling issues in the Publications of the University of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press) a paper about 100 pages in length upon the 'Poetic and Verse Criticism of the Reign of Elizabeth.' It is conceived in the style of a German monograph and characterized principally by its fulness of research. The volumes dealt with are not many, but they are more or less obscure, and the questions raised in them regarding the fitness of English for classical measures and the validity of the old English habits of metrical composition are interesting to the student. The main subject, that of the experiments of Gabriel Harvey, Spenser, and Sir Philip Sidney, has often been treated, and its features are generally well known to students of our literature; but in this volume there is a convenient résumé of the remarks on English versification by Gascoigne, Webbe, Puttenham, Campion, and Daniel, with some notes on Gosson and Lodge in connection with Sidney's 'Apology.' The paper shows more capacity for learning than for literary criticism, but, within its range, is thorough, painstaking, and scholarly. The lack of any table of contents, or headings to the divisions of the text, or index of contents is an inexcusable blemish in a work which might otherwise be useful for reference.

Mr. Henry F. Waters's "Genealogical Gleanings in England" in the April number of the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* deal with the wills of benefactors of Harvard College. The Holworthy connection is developed in Mr. Waters's characteristic manner by means of abstracts of wills of sundry merchants, gentlemen, and knights of the name, as well as of collateral Mans, Kitchens, Colstons, Pitts, Havilands, Fowneses, and Launces. Other benefactors thus brought to view are Pennoyers, Disbrowes, Hobsons, Foords, Bridgeses, Hultons, and Holdens.

We have on our table the first number of *Engineering*, a popular illustrated monthly magazine "devoted to industrial progress" and published in this city. Its contents are decidedly readable. Ten signed papers by contributors are followed by summaries of current intelligence under the headings Civil Engineering, Architecture, Electricity, Mining and Metallurgy, Mechanics, and Popular Miscellany. We acknowledge also the April number of Mr. Stead's *Review of Reviews* in the American issue edited "coöperatively" by Mr. Albert Shaw. The mechanical execution appears to be better than in the case of the English edition.

The April number of *Sun and Shade* (N. Y. Photo-Gravure Co.) has for its most noticeable plates a portrait of Gen. Sherman, and three very interesting and truly picturesque views of positions held by both sides in the battle of Gettysburg.

Prof. A. de Gubernatis's 'Dictionnaire International des Écrivains du Jour' (Florence: Louis Niccolai) comes to an end with the nineteenth *livraison*, which has a considerable list of additions and corrections, and another of the writers who have died during the progress of the work. We have not been able to praise this dictionary as we could have wished, but, with all its imperfections, it is still, if only in virtue of its recent date and its inclusiveness, a book of reference which most libraries will feel bound to procure and which will be of great convenience to journalists.

The Russian Empire is twice mapped in the twenty-eighth part of the new Stieler's Atlas (Westermann); once by itself and once as a portion of the Asiatic continent. The third plate represents the Ægean Sea and Archipelago.

The departure of Sir Henry Loch, the High Commissioner of South Africa, and Mr. Rhodes, the Premier of Cape Colony, who have been consulting with Lord Salisbury in regard to the relations of Portugal and Great Britain in South Africa, and of the South African colonies to the mother country, enables the London *Times* to summarize the outcome of the negotiations. There is reason to believe that no compromise or concessions will be made to Portugal, and that the abortive agreement of August 20, 1890, will remain in force until it lapses on May 20, "except that the 33d degree east of Greenwich has been laid down as the limit on the Manica side, with the exception of a patch at Massi Kessé." To this arrangement the Portuguese ambassador is ready to agree, but, so far, the Lisbon Ministry have declined to give their assent. It is very distinctly intimated that if Portugal should endeavor to prevent the passage of miners and settlers through her territory to Mashonaland, it will be of no avail, and that within two years a railroad to connect this country with the east coast will be well on the way, with or without Portugal's consent. Nothing definite can be said yet in regard to the gold resources of this region, as stamping ma-

chinery has not been put in operation. But other enterprises, as sheep and cattle-raising, have been introduced, with every prospect of ultimate success, as much of the plateau is fine grazing land. South of the Zambesi the country is under the jurisdiction of the High Commissioner. Northern Zambesia, as far as the German sphere of influence and the Congo Free State, Mr. H. H. Johnston, the well-known traveller, will administer as an imperial officer.

Macmillan & Bowes, Cambridge, England, send us Part A of a 'Catalogue of Books Printed at or Relating to the University, Town, or County of Cambridge,' which they have been collecting for nearly twenty years and would now prefer to sell *en bloc*. As far as it goes the list has been made bibliographically full so as to be valuable for its own sake. There are 347 numbers.

A Summer School of Applied Ethics is to be held for six weeks, beginning in July, at some summer resort in New England or New York, not yet designated, with a view to the "wants of clergymen, teachers, journalists, philanthropists, and others." The dean of the school is Prof. H. C. Adams of the University of Michigan, with address at 1602 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, who will have charge of the Department of Economics, delivering eighteen lectures himself. Prof. Toy of Harvard will preside over the history of religions, and Prof. Felix Adler over ethics. The outlook for solid intellectual profit is, considering the collaboration (which we cannot specify here), extremely promising.

—We said last week, apropos of the piracy of Bryce's 'American Commonwealth,' that "Funk & Wagnalls have . . . come out in competition with Sergel & Co.," the Chicago marauders. This is true, but in a sense different from what we intended, for our better information shows that the New York firm is pushing a cheap *authorized* edition by an arrangement with Mr. Bryce's publishers. It is needless to say that we regret our error, but our readers are well aware of the reasons which made it both possible and natural to think Messrs. Funk & Wagnalls capable of the action imputed to them.

—Nearly one-half of the April number of the *Quarterly Journal of Economics* is given up to the Residualists. These are a class of economists (they can hardly be called a school as yet) who seek to weigh and measure rent, wages, interest and profits as the mathematician arrives at the value of three or more unknown quantities, by elimination. Ricardo led the way in this field; and his conclusion, that wages and profits are the leavings of each other, is perhaps the least satisfactory of his theses. To Gen. Walker belongs the credit of starting the modern class of Residualists, and it is a peculiarity of the class that most of those who have entered it have applied themselves to the task of overthrowing the positions of its founder, while following his methods. A few people may understand these discussions, but fewer, we think, can enjoy them. We are very sure that political economy gains nothing in popular appreciation by them. In the "Notes and Memoranda," Mr. Hugo Bilgram complains of Prof. Giddings's obscurity of language, and Prof. Simon N. Patten complains of his own, which he ascribes to the paucity of economic terms. No such difficulty presents itself to Prof. John B. Clark, who concludes his paper on "Distribution as Determined by Rent" with these words:

"Here again we are nearing deep water. We can see that the sacrifice of deferring enjoyment is, like that of labor itself, a second basis for measuring values. Every subjective utility has its equivalent of the one kind as well as of the other; and the psychological currency that ultimately measures all values is inherently bimetallic. It is composed of two disutilities, both of which are distinctively social, or of two sacrifices made, in each case, not by particular men, but by an entire social force. What all laborers sacrifice in supplying the minute fraction of the day's work that lies just within the line of equilibrium that we have traced, also what all capitalists sacrifice in submitting to that final bit of abstaining or waiting that lies just within their own collective line of equilibrium—these constitute the subjective double standard on which all measurements of value rest."

Here Prof. Patten may see that the terminology of the science is not so meagre as he had imagined. Of Prof. Clark it may be said that all is rent that comes to his net. Rent is rent, wages is rent, interest is rent, and profit is rent. Both production and consumption are rent if rightly considered.

—In a different style is Dr. Adolf Wagner's critique of Marshall's 'Principles of Economics,' in which not a paragraph can be found that requires a second reading in order to comprehend its exact import. Dr. Wagner awards high praise to Marshall, and in so doing administers some raps on the knuckles to those members of the German historical school who adopt a condescending tone towards Adam Smith, Malthus, Ricardo, and Mill. Perhaps the most notable part of Wagner's paper is that in which he upholds in the main the cost-of-production theory as the determinant of value, while conceding something to the later opposing views of Jevons, Menger, and Boehm Bawerk. Dr. Charles Gross's 'The Gild Merchant' receives hearty commendation from Mr. Wm. Cunningham of Trinity College, Cambridge.

—In 1884 the Massachusetts Legislature authorized the preparation of a topographical map of the State jointly with the United States Geological Survey; the State to pay $40,000 for its share of the field-work, and to be at no expense for engraving, but to have the right to reprints of the map sheets at cost. The State was represented by a commission consisting of President F. A. Walker of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Mr. H. L. Whiting of the United States Coast Survey, and Prof. N. S. Shaler of Harvard College. During the progress of the survey, it was found that the definition of town boundaries throughout the State was so imperfect that an additional appropriation was secured to establish them in more permanent form. The field-work was finished a year or more ago, and now the entire atlas of fifty-four sheets is issued at the extremely moderate cost of six dollars, with index and portfolio cover. If bought singly, the sheets cost fifteen cents a piece. It may be had at the office of the Commissioners, Commonwealth Building, Boston. Massachusetts is thus the second of the Eastern States to provide a map of some topographic accuracy, obtainable at low price, and in form adapted to very general use. New Jersey is ahead in this respect; its atlas includes a shaded relief map of the entire State, and a colored geological map on single sheets, the whole consisting of twenty large sheets, costing but five dollars. A reduction of the Massachusetts map has been prepared at Washington on four sheets with contours, on a scale of about four miles to an inch; but this is without shading to indicate relief and it is not included in the State atlas.

—The single sheets, of which fifty-four cover the State, each embrace an area of about a hundred and twenty square miles, being bounded by even quarter-degree lines of latitude and longitude, following in this respect a scheme that will eventually be extended over the whole country. The scale is 1-62,500, or close to an inch to a mile—a very useful, sufficient, and intelligent scale for general purposes, although not large enough for the needs of the more exacting students or experts in various lines of professional work. The topographic relief is indicated by brown contour lines at twenty-foot intervals, except on the Williamstown sheet, where the bold slopes of Greylock required the omission of every other line—an unfortunate necessity, as it gives a deceptive impression when the maps are joined together. The general plateau-like quality of western Massachusetts is clearly brought out by a survey of this kind, and the contrast is strongly drawn between the open valley of the Connecticut and the gorges of the Westfield or Deerfield Rivers. Water is printed in blue; boundaries, railroads, towns, and names in black. The map should have a large sale in a State as intelligent as Massachusetts, and when its value is thus widely perceived, we trust that there will be a demand for a shaded relief-map of the State as a whole, on a smaller scale, and that every school in the State will be supplied with this relief map and with its own local sheet at State expense. In this connection, it may be mentioned that similar surveys have been completed of Connecticut and Rhode Island, and that the published sheets of those States may be soon expected. A neat account of the Connecticut survey, with elementary description of its methods, has been prepared by one of the Commissioners of that State, Dr. J. H. Chapin, and published lately by the Scientific Association of Meriden, Conn., in its Transactions, with an outline map, showing the triangulation and the division of the State into map-sheets. It may doubtless be obtained for the asking by those who are interested in this line of our advance in civilization.

—M. Salomon Reinach contributes to the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* a most interesting dissertation on one of the treasures of the Museum of the Louvre, the Victory of Samothrace. This marvellous statue, which can only be classed with the so-called Venus of Melos, and which possesses the same quality of intense perception of sensuous beauty, must distinctly be assigned to the same artistic movement if a little later and further removed from the severity of the Phidian standard. Like the Melian statue, it will serve for long discussions and antagonistic theories which may never find an authoritative solution. Unlike it, however, it is draped to the throat, and in the subtle and masterly modelling of the body under the drapery it suggests the little Victory of the temple of Nike Apteros, who stoops to untie her sandals, showing the entire figure through the stuff of her robes. Its discovery in 1863 was due to one of those active, quick-witted consuls whom France, under all régimes, has always sent to Eastern ports, and who seem always to have an eye on the Louvre. Found in fragments, lacking still the head and arms, it has been put together skilfully, and later researches on the locality where it was found have identified the remains of the monument to which it belonged. Its reconstruction on one of the landings of the *escalier d'honneur* of the Louvre on the original pedestal, the reproduction of the prow of a galley, gives it a romantic interest which the mystery surrounding the original home of its elder sister of Melos does not compensate for. The con-

jecture that it is the monument erected by Demetrius Poliorcetes to commemorate his victory over the fleet of Ptolemy, the son of Lagos, in the waters of Cyprus, has been advanced, but the date of 306 B. C. seems too late for a work which approaches so nearly in its character to the school of Scopas, and which in several respects is surpassed by nothing we possess of Greek art. The heliogravure illustration to the article in the *Gazette* is excellent, with the grave fault of all the plates of Dujardin that he paints out the background of the figure instead of photographing it against a whi'e screen; the painting out, however well done, impeaching, if not falsifying, the outline of every figure and destroying the roundness and relief of the photograph in any case. This gives it the effect of being cut out in tin. A photograph with a painted-out background or sky ceases to be a scientific document.

—We owe also to M. Reinach a catalogue of the Museum of National Antiquities at S. Germain-en-Laye, quite worthy the Museum itself, one of the best organized and most instructive in Europe. The catalogue, by the fulness and lucidity of its descriptions, comments, and annotations, becomes a hand-book of the prehistoric and Roman archæology of France. The thoroughness of the work may be judged from the fact that the catalogue of 202 pp. has an index of 27. The excellent idea of establishing, side by side with the antiquities of Gaul proper, a hall for comparisons in which may be studied objects from other countries analogous to the former, has been most effectively helped out by the commentations of the catalogue; and fifteen pages are given to the collection of text-books referring to the collection, and of utility to the student of it, in the library of the Museum.

—The Journal of the Historical Society of the Imperial University of Japan, in Tokio, has reached us, and its fourteen numbers are furnished with an index which shows at a glance the richness of the contents. In a supplementary number are included the names of members with their addresses. Among the most prominent are those of the President, Professors Shigéno Antaku and Kato Hiroyuki, President of the University, the Japanese Minister to Austria, the editor of the *Economic Magazine*, and a number of Japanese graduates of American colleges and European universities. Among the foreign names we find those of one or two Americans, and the total membership is one hundred and eighty-one. There are few or no drones in the hive, for we notice that every number has articles, proofs, verifications, authorities, queries, or miscellaneous matter, by which many names are represented. Of the four departments the first is devoted to addresses, etc., the second to old writings or history proper, the third to criticism, and the fourth to contemporary politics and economics. Not a few of the articles are of interest to dwellers in what we may now call palæo-Christendom, in distinction from the neo-Christendom which is the growth chiefly of this century. In illustration of the general theme of the Roman Catholic Missions in Japan in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are essays, narrations, and many official and other old documents never before published. Among these papers are Christian Inquisition in the time of the Bakufu (or Shogunate), Letter of Daté Masamuné to Philip III. of Spain, and the Rebellion at Shimabara. Other interesting papers treat of the origin of Japanese letters, of Toyotomi Hidéyoshi, of the Japanese race and language, of the burning question of extra-territoriality, of castle buildings, of the decisive battle of Sékigahara in 1600, which settled the destinies of Japan for a quarter of a millennium; the origin of the *eta*, or pariahs, restored to citizenship by the Mikado in 1872, besides many interesting questions and answers. The flourishing state of this historical society is both a cause and an effect of the great interest in the study of history now so noticeable in Japan. The critical age, and the time of reconstruction as well as of demolition, has come. Certain it is that Japanese history is written in a manner almost totally different from the style in vogue for centuries, when the making either of dry annals or the romances called history occupied those who passed for historiographers. Even the works accepted as classic are now being scrutinized, and among the most interesting papers in the Society's Journal is one on the errors and omissions of the 'Tai Héi Ki,' a standard work describing the middle ages in Japan and the great Héi or Taira family. It is to be hoped that a selection of the best papers of the Society will be published in English.

GROSS'S GILD MERCHANT.

The Gild Merchant: A Contribution to British Municipal History. By Charles Gross, Ph.D., Instructor in History, Harvard University. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Macmillan. 1890.

MUNICIPAL history in Great Britain, as elsewhere, until recently has largely been in the hands of the antiquarians. The historians of the classical school preferred the broader field of national life, while the institutional historians of the last half century have for the most part devoted their investigations to tracing the growth of the living and conspicuous features of modern states. But as the animating spirit and method of modern science take a larger hold on historical students, the almost unexplored field of local institutions, dead and living, the deep foundations of the modern social system, will be subjected to critical and detailed analysis. Until this is done our constitutional histories, however carefully elaborated, must be tentative. The antiquarian's studies have been too often dominated by an honest zeal to prove that his town is of "Roman origin," or "a very ancient borough," and by an enthusiasm for genealogies and epitaphs rather than by the aims of true scientific inquiry. Consequently the accounts of institutions in the conventional local history are often both vague and erroneous. It is a source of legitimate pride that an epoch-making work in this field should come from the hands of a young American scholar.

Dr. Gross's inaugural dissertation, 'Gilda Mercatoria,' published eight years ago, was generally recognized from the first to be the best existing discussion of this feature of English town life in the Middle Ages. That pamphlet of one hundred pages was based chiefly upon printed sources. Several years of painstaking research in England have enabled Dr. Gross to reissue it in an enlarged form, incorporating the results of extended study of manuscript records, with a rich collection of documents as proofs and illustrations and a number of valuable essays on collateral topics. The list of authorities appended to the earlier work contains a few more than two hundred titles, while the list of 'The Gild Merchant' contains more than nine hundred. In connection with this, Dr. Gross has compiled a comprehensive bibliography of British municipal history of about four thousand titles, accompanied by a critical survey of the whole literature, which will be printed if sufficient interest is elicited. These facts indicate vividly the range of study and patient investigation of the years of the development of the 'Gilda Mercatoria' into 'The Gild Merchant.'

Brentano and his followers trace the origin of town government to the frith-gilds, which, in their view, comprised the whole body of the citizens. The regulations of this protective association became the law of the town. From this gild developed the later municipality. As the towns became commercial, the gild assumed the character of a merchant gild; with the expansion of the town, the primary gild became exclusive, and rival ones were formed; but, these finally fusing with the old fraternity, the united body governed the town and formed the basis of the later burghal constitution. Thus the Gild Merchant is viewed as practically identical with the borough. This conclusion Dr. Gross completely overthrows with a wealth of evidence that is almost embarrassing. He has discovered the existence of the Gild Merchant in 102 towns in England, in 30 towns in Wales, and in 38 towns in Ireland. The history of ninety-three of these Gilds Merchant is more or less fully illustrated by the documents in his second volume. The essential feature of this organization is well brought out in these words from one of the Harley MSS. relating to Chester: "A Guylde Marcatorie, viz., a brotherhood, of which companie whosoe were not could not use trafficke or trade within ye Cittie." In brief, it was that department of the town administration which controlled its commercial life and kept a careful eye upon the preservation of its monopoly of trading rights. Within the Gild equality of rights prevailed, outside it, no rights of trade existed. The institution cannot be definitely traced back of the Conquest. In the reign of Henry I. it appears in several charters, as one of the franchises included under the more general title, a "free borough." As the privilege of *firma burgi* commuted for a definite payment tolls, court perquisites, and dues owed to the feudal lord, so the grant of a Gild Merchant transferred the control of the trade of the town from its lord to a body of the citizens. Before the grant all traders paid dues to the lord; after it all citizens who engaged in trade were members of the Gild Merchant. As such they generally enjoyed free trade after meeting their assessments, while all traders not citizens could trade, apart from special occasions like fairs, only by securing licenses and upon the payment of heavy dues to the Gild Merchant.

All traders, citizens or aliens, were, as traders, under the jurisdiction of this body. It was not identical with the town government, for not all the burgesses were members of it, and on its rolls were to be found the names of non-residents. It was, however, an inseparable part of the town administration, and in some towns seems to have been the predominant element in the government. Membership was heritable, or could be acquired as a gift from a friend, subject to the approval of the body; but the ordinary method was election. The Gild Merchant exercised its rights of monopoly, and tried the experiment of developing trade by restriction to the utmost. It did not stop with the protection of its members from outside competition, but suppressed all speculation within. The attempt was made to abolish middlemen, and to create perfect equality of conditions for every member. In Dublin and elsewhere some of the features of the modern Trust are foreshadowed in the rather elaborate pooling of all business. Dr.

Gross attributes the decay of the ancient trading towns and the early growth of Birmingham, Manchester, and Leeds, which had no monopoly, to this stifling policy. So late as 1766, the authorities of Chester attempted to enforce the old monopoly, and to restrict all retail trade to citizens "free of the said city."

A few particulars of Gild action from the many to be found in the "proofs" may be cited. In Bristol and some other coast towns foreigners could retail from ships in the harbor. The Bristol Gild Merchant made liberal appropriations to the public works of the city. In Coventry the Gild, among its other functions, plays the part of a loan association and aid society. To unfortunate but deserving members it would lend money without interest for a year or two. In Dublin, members were forbidden to sue each other at law, and all grievances must be submitted to a committee of arbitration. In Guildford in 1361 the Gild paid the members of Parliament. At this time the regular rate was two shillings per day, but Bishop Stubbs tells us that constituents sometimes bargained with members to do it for less. Guildford may be an instance of such frugality, for the Guildford members received only twelve pence.

The indications that in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the Gild and borough were not identical have been mentioned, but, as time goes on, a tendency to amalgamation is observable. The same men control both organizations, and the borough gradually absorbs the functions of the Gild, which finally becomes the mere skeleton of a dead institution. The process is so marked in the fourteenth century that it is not strange that some writers have identified the two bodies in their earlier history. To their early relations Dr. Gross devotes a chapter, and clearly shows that Brentano and others who identify the bodies, have been misled by too great reliance upon the Continental analogies and the assumption that London was a typical English town. Behind this assumption were the two others, viz., that the Cnihten Gild of London was a Gild Merchant, and that it was the governing body of London. Our knowledge of this Cnihten Gild is vague, and we can be certain of no more than that the Cnihts were burgesses and their body an influential fraternity. The existence of a typical Gild Merchant in London cannot be proved, and in some other respects the municipal history of London is anomalous.

The origin of the borough, according to Dr. Gross, lay in "expansion of a township or the union of two or more townships," whereby the larger community secured a jurisdiction of its own which mere townships, being subject to the courts of the hundred and the shire, did not enjoy. "The Gild Merchant in early times had no connection with the borough motes (courts, leets, etc.)," which were the essence of the original municipal polity. In most towns holding of a bishop, abbot, or baron, the courts were under the control of bailiffs appointed by the lord. In such towns the citizens, looking for some organ for their citizenly activities, not having the courts under their control as did citizens of royal boroughs, naturally turned to the Gild Merchant, which would thereby become the centre of civic life. The prominence of the Gild Merchant in such cases, owing to especial conditions, has lent a fallacious support to the theory that the Gild was the basis of the borough. The influence of the Gild is to be seen not in the origin but in the development of the municipal constitution. As one of the chief privileges of the *Liber Burgus* of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, "it aided in evolving the later legal idea of technical municipal incorporation, but was never actually equivalent to the latter." In the earlier period artisans were admitted into the Gild Merchant, but in striking contrast to the state of things on this continent, we find no struggles between the artisans and the merchants resulting in the extension of democratic principles. In England the development of municipal life was towards oligarchy, and instead of the power passing from the merchant burgesses to the artisans, it passed from the burgesses to a "select" body. There are instances of contests between this governing council and the citizens at large. As the towns increased in size, it became usual for the artisans to organize subsidiary bodies or craft gilds which in their development drew the life out of the Gild Merchant. The older body, therefore, retained its power longer in smaller towns. Dr. Gross conjectures that the absence of a Gild Merchant in London may be explained in this way. The rapid growth of the city had produced a network of craft gilds earlier than elsewhere, and so the field of the Gild Merchant was occupied before the period of its organization opened.

Some writers have confused the later mercantile companies with the Gild Merchant. There seems to be no genetic connection between them, although there is a similarity in their functions, particularly as regards the monopoly of trade. The new companies were restricted to merchants proper, while the older body included artisans and farmers as well. As late as 1771 we find the Grocers' Company of Alnwick trying to enforce their monopoly by prosecuting two persons for using the art or mystery of grocer. The later companies of Merchant Adventurers are still more sharply to be distinguished. Their field was exclusively foreign trade. Reviewing the history of the Gild Merchant, it is seen to divide naturally into three periods: during the first it is probably a private society; during the second it is an important and constituent element of burghal government; the third period is one of absorption into the burghal organization, and begins in the fourteenth century.

Nothing thus far has been said of Scotland. As the municipal life of Scotland followed the line of Continental rather than of English development, Dr. Gross found a separate discussion advisable. We can only give his most important conclusions. He has found traces of the "Gildry," as the body is called in Scotland, in sixty-six towns, in forty-three of which either the Gildry or its chief officer still exists. This survival of the Gildry "as a separate but constituent part of the burghal administration down to the present day," and the prevalence of conflicts between the Gildry and the artisans, are the most striking differences between it and the English Gild Merchant. Traces of conflict between the Gildry and the artisans are found in more than twenty towns.

The Gild Merchant of the Continental cities is briefly discussed, and found to correspond "to the later civic mercantile fraternities of England established either for f reign commerce or to regulate a particular part of the local trade monopoly." Leading scholars are abandoning the view that on the Continent the Gild and borough were identical. Illustrative documents are given of the Gild in twelve cities. We note an error in explaining the regulations of St. Omer. In the sentence, "Si quis scacchas aut patinos in gildhalla attulerit dimidiam unciam argenti dabit," etc., the word *scacchas* is defined in the glossary as 'chess,' and one is left to wonder why chess and clogs were forbidden in the same sentence. The word for chess is properly *scacci; scaccae* means either crutches, stilts, or skates. The corresponding French words are *échecs* and *échasses*. *Scaccae* is the Latin of the Flemish *Schaetse* and the English "scatches." To illustrate the Gilds of Florence, Dr. Gross quotes from Macchiavelli's History, book iii., chapter xii, attaching the date 1378. This is a notable exception to his uniform practice; elsewhere the date is that of the document, and the document is contemporary. In this instance the date 1378 is merely the date of certain events which led Macchiavelli into a digression on the Florentine Gilds. The essential features of the Gilds as he describes them date from 1266 and 1282 ff. As Macchiavelli is in no sense a contemporary, we see no reason for quoting him rather than Capponi or Perrens. In Capponi's second volume, on the other hand, p. 483, there is a document of the year 1378 with definite references to the "Consiliarii Mercantie et Universitatis Mercatorum," and to the "Curia Mercantie et Universitatis Mercatorum," which throw more light, dim though it be, on the Gild Merchant than Macchiavelli's description of the crafts. As far as they are concerned, in the same volume of Capponi, p. 524-5, is a passage from Goro Dati containing a contemporary account of the *arti* early in the fifteenth century which would be preferable to Macchiavelli's.

Dr. Gross devotes a short appendix to the term *Hansa*, which appears frequently in charters in connection with the Gild Merchant, as *gildam mercatoriam cum hansa* (or *et hansam*). Pauli seems to have met with it only four times, and Merewether and Stephens confound it with the Teutonic Hanse of Germans trading in England. Dr. Gross gives a list of forty-five charters containing the expression, which appears to mean an exaction imposed as an entrance fee, or upon non-gildsmen as a license fee for trading. *Gilda Mercatoria cum hansa* probably meant that the Gild Merchant was granted the right to levy fees from Gild members as from non-gildsmen for trading in town. Sometimes *hansa* seems synonymous with *Gilda Mercatoria*.

In an appendix of about forty pages, Dr. Gross throws a flood of light upon a most interesting feature of mediæval town polity, the affiliation of boroughs in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. If a village desired the franchise of a borough, its first step was to look among its free neighbors for a model constitution. Finding one suited to its needs, it offered its lord a payment for the grant of a similar charter. In 1199 Gloucester paid the King 200 marks for the liberties enjoyed by Winchester. An already free borough might change its charter for one of a more developed type. Dr. Gross has tabulated with exact references about 190 cases of affiliation. London was the parent town or model directly for 28 towns in different parts of the kingdom, Winchester for 23, Bristol for some 31 in Ireland, Hereford for 18 in Wales, and Newcastle for 7 in Scotland. It thus appears that there were centres of radiation in the expansion of municipal rights. The indirect relationships were more complex: Bristol and Winchester were affiliated to London, while Hereford and Dublin, a parent of ten Irish towns, were affiliated to Bristol. When a town had secured the liberties of any given borough, it promptly sent to its "metropolis" for specifications of its rights. Subsequently, in cases of disputed interpretation, reference was had to the records of the mother town for an authoritative interpretation. Favorable circumstances might have developed this kind of consultation into regular appellate jurisdiction,

but the mother town in England never became anything more than a court of consultation. It had no powers over the daughter town.

On the Continent, however, the relation developed fully and logically, and the mother town became a regular court of appeal. In France the most important mother towns were Beauvais, Rouen, Laon, and Beaumont, each having about a half dozen *filiales*. In 1303 Bruges was the *hoofd*, or parent, of twenty-seven towns. In Germany, Cologne, Magdeburg, Soest, Lübeck, and Frankfort had a wide range of dependencies—Lübeck more than one hundred, and Frankfort some three hundred. The principal *Oberhöfe* in Germany lasted into the sixteenth century, but finally gave way to the tribunals of the ruling princes in matters of appeal, and to the law faculties of the Universities in matters of consultation. Lübeck acted as *Oberhof* for the last time in 1721. Affiliation was prevalent also in Spain. The most picturesque instance in history occurs in 1338, when Rome sends to Florence to ask the Commune for "gli ordini della giustizia." The pro-slavery fanatics in the Kansas Legislature of 1855 little thought that, in adopting *en bloc* almost the whole body of Missouri statutes, they were following an ancient precedent, universally prevalent in the Middle Ages, which had been of inestimable service in the extension of constitutional rights.

In this review of Dr. Gross's work it has been possible to notice but a small portion of the interesting material that he has collected. The notes to volume first are exceedingly valuable to the student, and contain a mass of digested information, while the documents of volume second form a collection indispensable to all students of mediæval English town life. In the charters we find Latin used as late as 1686 (Berwick), and English as early as the fourteenth century (Winchester), with Latin greatly predominating. French, "after the scole of Stratford atte Bowe," appears occasionally, and notably in the long body of rules of the Southampton Gild of the fourteenth century. The use of the word "Capitolium" for "le Guilde Hall" in an Ipswich document of the fifteenth century is a rather interesting parallel of the modern Americanism, "capitol." These two volumes, in fine, with their apparatus of notes, bibliography, glossary, and index, form a monograph of the highest value, and exhibit the modern critical study of institutions at its best. Dr. Gross is eminently sober and cautious, he has no vagaries, his position is based on and defended by contemporary documents, and he demands the same rigorous proofs from others. He has little patience with Brentano's confident generalizations, which often rest on a "probably" of Madox. We sincerely hope that he will be able to prosecute his studies for many years in the field of British municipal history, which he has made peculiarly his own, and in which he has securely established himself as one of the very first authorities.

THE BELKNAP PAPERS.

Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Sixth Series. Vol. IV. Boston. 1891.

The Massachusetts Historical Society, in 1877 and 1878, published two volumes of "Belknap Papers" from manuscripts found in its cabinets, consisting mainly of letters between the Rev. Jeremy Belknap, D.D., of Dover, N. H., the author of a history of New Hampshire, and Ebenezer Hazard of Philadelphia, Postmaster-General under the old Confederation, and editor of the historical collections known by his name. Though these letters grew out of the historical and literary projects of the writers, they throw much light upon a great variety of subjects between 1779 and 1798.

On the recent celebration of the centennial of its formation, in which Dr. Belknap had the chief share, the Society published a third volume supplementing the former volumes, and covering the period 1766–1798, containing letters (with some other documents) written to Dr. Belknap by many people of distinction, among whom were John and Abigail Adams, the Rev. Joseph Buckminster, Mathew Carey, Dr. Manasseh Cutler, Ebeling of Hamburg, Dr. John Eliot, Dr. William Gordon, Dr. Moses Hemmenway, Gen. Lincoln, Dr. Jedidiah Morse, Dr. Ramsay, Dr. Rush, Noah Webster, Sir John Wentworth, and Paine Wingate.

The earlier volumes give the Belknap-Hazard correspondence substantially complete, though the two parts of it were not brought together until more than fifty years after they were written. But few of Dr. Belknap's letters appear in the present volume, for he seldom kept copies, and the originals are now too widely scattered, even if they exist, to be recovered. This is regrettable, since anything from Dr. Belknap's pen would be of value. For while he is hardly to be classed with great men, or even with great historians, yet as an all-round man he had few superiors in New England, and with a suitable theme and more favorable opportunities he might have written a great history. As it was, De Tocqueville said of his 'History of New Hampshire,' that the reader would find in it "more general ideas and more strength of thought than are to be found in the American historians even to the present day [1848]"; and modern writers, after thorough investigation, find little that is essential to add to Belknap's third chapter, on the Puritans of New England, or to his twenty-third, on the controversy with Great Britain in 1775.

Jeremy Belknap was born in Boston in 1744, sat under Thomas Prince in the Old South, graduated at Harvard College in 1762, was settled at Dover, N. H., from 1767 to 1786, and over the Federal Street Church in Boston from 1787 until his death in 1798. Besides his 'History of New Hampshire,' he published two volumes of 'American Biography,' and was author of 'The Foresters,' essentially an historical work, and of numerous printed sermons and pamphlets. Dr. Belknap's adult life covered the war of the Revolution, the Constitution-making period which followed, and that of the reorganization of society to meet the new order of things. People began to have new thoughts on a great variety of subjects, such as slavery, temperance, theology, and social life, and a new literary life was developed in New England. In all these matters Dr. Belknap made his influence felt, and no one earlier than he burst the bands of provincialism which bound his section of the country; and on all, something will be found in this volume. It may also be said that it is the peculiar value of these letters that they were neither partisan accounts of transactions by officials engaged in them, nor idle gossip between friends, but were mainly written by those whose aid Dr. Belknap had sought in his historical work—intelligent men who, whether communicating facts or their own opinions, wrote with a sense of their responsibility for the truth of history. And as a result, in this volume is found more authentic information on a great variety of interesting subjects concerning the period and section of the country it covers, than is often contained in volumes of correspondence.

Students of our Revolutionary history desire to learn—and get little satisfaction from general histories—just how reasonable men on both sides, Whigs and Tories, regarded each other, and what were the questions on which people once friendly, and perhaps of the same family, finally divided into bitterly hostile parties; and in the correspondence of John Wentworth, the last of the royal Governors of New Hampshire, with Dr. Belknap, will be found something to their purpose. The Governor was a dutiful servant of the Crown, but a man of good sense and right feeling. By throwing open family papers and in other ways, his assistance to Belknap was invaluable. And Dr. Belknap, on the other hand, with a just sense of his obligations to the Governor, was a stanch Whig, who always kept his colors in sight. In the impending conflict the Governor made every effort to moderate and conciliate both parties, and not without hope at one time. But in December, 1774, Sullivan and Langdon led an attack on Fort William and Mary in Portsmouth harbor and seized arms and ammunition in the custody of Crown officers, which ammunition was said to have been returned the next spring at Bunker Hill. The die was cast; and, shortly after, Wentworth writes, "that the late confusions give me great pain, indeed, not for myself, but for a people whom I love equally; such a precipitate movement upon (now) known false rumour working deplorable consequences. . . . It grieves me to my soul, thus driven from my favorite stronghold of favorable representation [to the British Ministry] by the mad intemperance of a few indiscreet individuals, who seldom want followers in folly." When the war was over, Dr. Belknap, collecting materials for that part of his History which related to it, wrote to Gov. Wentworth, then Governor of Nova Scotia:

"I do most sincerely wish that I could converse with you on some of these various topics [the Governor's administration when the war broke out], because it is my intention and desire to give as candid an account of things as is consistent with truth. It is true, I always was and shall appear in this work to be an advocate for the American side of the question which was so long in debate with Great Britain, and which is now determined by the Supreme Arbiter. But there were some things done by my countrymen which I did not approve at the time, nor has the length of time which has elapsed altered my opinion."

To this the Governor replied:

"I now declare to you in private friendship, that on a review of all my public conduct to this day I acted with honest zeal for the King's service and the real good of his subjects, which I always did and do now think were inseparable; nor did I ever know any intention to impose arbitrary laws on America, or to establish any system repugnant to British liberty, and I verily believe had the true, wise, and open measures been embraced on both sides, that this union would have been many years established and their prosperity wonderfully increased."

This correspondence puts both parties to it in an amiable light; but both probably were mistaken, and William Livingston more nearly right, when he said in 1768, "No conduct of Great Britain, whether wise or imprudent, no possible temper of hers, whether kind or cross-grained, will put a stop" to independence. It was inevitable.

Perhaps the most interesting series of letters in the volume is that of Dr. John Eliot, between 1774 and 1798. He was a son of Rev. Dr. Andrew Eliot, who remained with his people in Boston during the siege. His opportunities for knowing what was going on during that time, and observing the conduct of prominent men on both sides, were unsurpassed; and as a friend to Belknap, whose wife was his cousin, his communications to the latter in his remote home in New Hampshire were frequent

and minute, though, unhappily, not all have been preserved. In December, 1774, a few months before the war broke out at Lexington, the patriots, who relied much upon the sympathy and political aid of their friends in England, were particularly anxious in respect to the effect on the state of parties of the violent destruction of the tea in Boston Harbor the year before, and, doubtless with a sense of relief, Eliot was able to write Belknap that "Dr. Cooper, in his sermon at the lecture today, among other things, mentioned that he was well informed the minds of people were more favorable towards us on the other side of the Atlantic. It is generally supposed he has received a letter from Dr. Franklin," then in London. But clouds and darkness were about to gather around them. "Heaven protect us," he writes, "in these parts from the equally dangerous extremes of a blind submission to the lawless power of the tools of state, or the greater tyranny of factious demagogues." And a few weeks after:

"The most hostile appearance is on both sides. I dread the result of the military preparations. . . . I can't imagine what way matters can be compromised to the honor of the Crown and the security of our rights. The Congress has drawn a line which will never be submitted to while British blood flows in the veins of Englishmen. Our people will never be contented with less, though wading knee-deep in maternal blood, or deluging the land with our own, may be the consequence. . . . I have conversed with many gentlemen of the [Royal] army who seemed much averse to encounter with their fellow-subjects, but think the Congress by their late resolves have declared war against them."

Much to our regret, Eliot writes nothing about Lexington, Bunker Hill, or the siege of Boston, after which the war rolled off towards New York, and news came back slowly. "We have been left," he says, "to gain our knowledge entirely from the private letters of partisans or the more tainted medium of public prints." This is remarkable, since his letter, dated January 12, 1777, relates to Howe's landing on Long Island and the events at New York nearly six months before.

Six months before the date of this letter, independence had been declared, and one of the strongest reasons for it, as John Adams claimed, was that it would lead to the active interference of France in the war. Eliot asks: "What think you of the consequence of Independence? Last winter great bets were laid that France would openly assist the United States in less than three months after the Declaration, that they would send a large fleet and army immediately upon their hearing of it. What are our prospects?" But, after all inquiries, it came to this: "Revenge must actuate the French to hostility against Britain, and it is their interest that America should be independent," and, from two hours' conversation with John Adams on this subject, Eliot got no additional light save "that the present minister of France was a person who delighted in war."

Eliot's letters throw some new light on the treatment of the Tories, or, at least, show how in doubtful cases the line was drawn between them and the Whigs; and apparently it was by popular vote, often manipulated, as was supposed, to promote private malice or interest. The evils of paper money and its counterfeits are better known than the fact that the scarcity of food in and about Boston was alarming at times even after the departure of the army.

Next in interest, perhaps, to the political revolution which, beginning in Massachusetts, finally separated the thirteen colonies from the British Crown, was the more quiet revolution which divided the Established Church in Massachusetts, and led to the spread of dissenting opinions throughout New England, if no farther. Belknap and Eliot, like some other clergymen of good orthodox standing, sympathized with those who were known, or soon came to be known, as Unitarians and Universalists; and there are letters in this volume which indicate that their views had gained some acceptance among the laity. But even a man like Dr. Samuel Cooper, one of the boldest of the patriots, "excuses his own conduct in concealing his sentiments from the people under his charge, as well as the world in general," by what "our Saviour said to his followers; 'I have many things to tell you, but ye cannot bear them now.'" Nevertheless, old associations and old prejudices were strong, and the new men with the new views were looked upon askance. In 1775, Eliot writes, "I have seen Mr. Relly's piece, but never read it. Mr. Murray is a gentleman excelling more in brilliancy of imagination than strength of genius." Mr. Relly was a Universalist preacher in London, and Mr. Murray the founder of Universalism in America. "Mr. Murray has made a great noise in Boston, and most of the libertines of the day attend him. I heard him once. What he said was *small*, but his friends agreed in affirming this was his worst discourse." A mysterious manuscript by Dr. Chauncy was passed about some years among the younger clergy, in which, it was hinted, he treated the unpardonable sin in a way to rob it of something of its terrors; but at length, in 1784, Eliot writes: "Dr. Chauncy's MS. is in press. Not the critical remarks; only just a part, which is a mere castrated edition of the whole work. It will be anonymous." But Universalism was spreading among the younger clergy in a way that alarmed their orthodox elders. Meanwhile Dr. Hemmenway of Maine, to whom Belknap had made known some of his difficulties, wrote a most able, clear, and convincing argument, perfectly satisfactory to those who adhered to the old doctrine, but not altogether so to Belknap.

Liberalism in Church and State policy did not keep pace with liberalism in doctrine; for when the third article of the Bill of Rights in the new Constitution of 1780, making obligatory the public maintenance of worship and requiring all people to attend it, was under discussion in the Boston town-meeting, the Universalists and Baptists strenuously opposed it; but those of the Orthodox Church, and many, both clergymen and laymen of distinction, who not long after avowed Unitarianism, supported it, and Eliot's account of the debate is one of the most amusing things in the volume.

We have no space left for the letters of Dr. Rush, full of interesting matters touching almost every department of reform; or those of Paine Wingate, who kept Belknap well informed of what was going on—especially with regard to copyright law—in New York or Philadelphia under the newly formed Government, and the various conflicting interests to be adjusted by Congress; or letters of Franklin, John Adams, and others which are well worth reading. The volume has been admirably edited by Mr. Charles C. Smith of the Publishing Committee, and, with the other two volumes, together with the other writings of Dr. Belknap, forms the largest and richest body of original material extant for tracing the origin and illustrating the progress of that school of historians, of which Belknap was the first, who have added lustre to the literary renaissance in New England which marked, and, as it now seems, culminated in, the first half of the present century.

The Correspondence of William Augustus Miles on the French Revolution, 1789–1817. Edited by the Rev. Charles Popham Miles. 2 vols. Longmans, Green & Co. 1890.

It is undeniably interesting to learn that the editor of these letters can record conversations in which his father took part one hundred and twelve years ago, and that his half-sister went to school in Paris before the destruction of the Bastille; but these are perhaps the most interesting facts to be found in these volumes. The publication of the writings of a contemporary observer upon such a colossal event as the French Revolution is usually something of an event itself. The subject is too large to have been yet exhausted, and too fascinating to be ever neglected. Mr. Miles, however, was already known to students of the history of that time, and they will not suffer from the disappointment that is here prepared for the public. For, after a patient examination, we have been unable to discover in these letters any facts of importance not already known, or any judgments of men and things that have any material value. They record the activity of one of the most irrepressible meddlers that ever writ himself down an ass, and are on that account occasionally amusing; but they are in the main intolerably verbose, repetitious, inflated, and inept.

Mr. Miles was affected by the scribbling disease in its most aggravated form—that which leads to the publication of letters to prominent persons in the form of pamphlets and letters in the newspapers under such signatures as "Tiberius Gracchus," "Civis," "Amicus Justitiæ," etc. He was even more unfortunate than this. The age was propitious beyond precedent to social philosophers of the *a-priori* school, and Mr. Miles was not only convinced of his own superlative wisdom and the ineffable folly of those to whom the conduct of affairs of state was intrusted, but he actually felt an overwhelming personal responsibility for the proper direction of these affairs. Having been once employed by Pitt as an unaccredited diplomatic agent at Liége and Paris, he could never afterwards express himself otherwise than in language becoming an ambassador extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary, or, more frequently, appropriate only to the head of the Government. His diplomacy, however, was of the order which flourished most in coffee-houses and barber-shops, and he was incapable of understanding that the policy of Ministers might be determined by considerations of which he was not informed.

He conceived the idea, while stationed at Liége at the beginning of the disturbances, that it should be the policy of England to encourage revolution there and in the Austrian Netherlands, which he supposed would have prevented not only the opening of the Scheldt, but also any advance of the French in that direction. All cause of discord between England and France being thus removed, there would, as he thought, have been no war between those countries. Having been sent to Paris on a secret mission for the purpose of stirring up discontent with the family compact between France and Spain, he felt it incumbent upon himself to arrange an alliance between England and France. Not being supported by his Government in this wholly unauthorized undertaking, he devoted himself, in the unofficial career to which, in spite of his repeated endeavors, he was thenceforth condemned, to writing letters to the press, to his friends, and to Pitt himself, showing how all subsequent calamities were due to the failure to adopt his suggestions. Some of his reflec-

tions will indicate the probable merit of his plans:

"My great anxiety in the first years of the Revolution was to preserve Mr. Pitt from error." "I had communicated enough with Mr. Pitt, and with those immediately in his confidence, to convince me that he was very ill-informed in foreign politics, and very unequal to the task of conducting a war novel in all its circumstances, as well as in its origin and objects, and which had nothing in common with former contests but the carnage, misery, and devastation inseparable from all wars." "My unavailing efforts in favor of oppressed humanity, my fruitless anxiety for the freedom and felicity of mankind, and the little attention paid to my hitherto verified predictions, incline me to believe that the amelioration of the hard condition of the great mass of the people forms no part of the duty of Kings and Ministers."

Immediately after the overthrow of the French monarchy, Mr. Miles assumed the task of reëstablishing friendly relations between France and England. Imposed upon himself by some irresponsible French agents, he came near imposing upon Pitt, who in disgust pointedly requested him to abstain from further attempts at directing the foreign policy of his country. This grievance supplied him with additional material for voluminous letter-writing. The following is a specimen of his schemes and of his plaints—an epitome at once of the man and of his activity:

"My wish was to avert the calamities which have since ensued—for wars multiply and engender crimes—nor was I without hope of seeing accomplished at a future period an alliance between the two countries. It is what I have long had most seriously at heart. If the man then at the head of the Foreign Department in France, whose necessities I had relieved, and for whom I solicited in 1786 and 1787 an allowance from the Secretary of State, had been either honest or discreet—if he had even kept his word with me—I would have defied the English Cabinet, however disposed it might have been to crush the infant liberties of a rising empire, to have gratified a wish so impolitic. In the last letter I wrote to Le Brun I traced so explicitly the route he had to follow, that if his vanity and irregular ambition, mixed perhaps with some degree of personal resentment at the disappointment he received in 1787, had not blinded him to his true interests, as well as to all sense of duty to his country, the war would certainly have been avoided. I was well known in Paris and in other parts of the Continent, where despotism, falling under the pressure of its own weight, had annihilated itself. It was understood that my mind, independent in all its operations, disdained the shackles of party, and that, influenced by a love of liberty and of justice and uncontaminated by considerations of personal interest or ambition, I always judged for myself from facts and the best evidence I could obtain. It was with this stock of reputation in advance, and conscious of being right, that I conceived the project of preserving peace between the two nations. . . . If my suggestions had been attended to by those who swayed the councils in both countries, the ruinous contest in which they are engaged, and the sad consequences of which I predicted at the time, would not have happened."

One more effort was made by Mr. Miles to restore our distracted planet to its orbit. A French officer, La Colombe, of royalist proclivities, approached him with the suggestion that if England would declare that she would be satisfied with a limited monarchy in France and would procure the release of Lafayette and his companions, they would at once proceed to Auvergne and raise an army there of 25,000 or 30,000 men with which to oppose the Convention. For the production of this army La Colombe offered the security of his head. Mr. Miles at once hastened to the Foreign Office with this proposal, with the mortifying result of finding it entirely ignored. Probably Pitt "liked not the security." From this blow Mr. Miles never recovered, and he spent the rest of his days in expatiating to every one who would listen to him—and to some who would not, for after repeated snubs he persisted in writing to Pitt—upon the disastrous consequences of the neglect of his advice. Yet though cast down he was not crushed, if the *mens sibi conscia recti* has any sustaining power.

"Thrown upon the world to explore my way through its dark, intricate, and dangerous mazes, my own master before I had attained the age of eleven, I have escaped the contagion of the bad example with which I was surrounded; and with passions as violent, and with a mind as ardent and volatile as ever swayed the human breast, I have not allowed myself, in my intercourse with men, to be seduced or intimidated from the love and practice of right. It is this inflexible attachment to right that consigns me to my voluntary exile."

This "voluntary exile" was his retirement to the country in a fit of the sulks over the rebuffs which his meddling brought him. We see no reason to believe that his country suffered from his exile. It is possible that the letters from Paris, written to Pitt by Mr. Miles in 1790–'91, which are lost, may have been more interesting than those which have been preserved; but a perusal of the latter does much to console us for our loss. It is just to add that Mr. Miles's efforts at *la haute diplomatie* seem to have been pecuniarily disinterested, and that he declined employment by Government as a paid writer for the press. Mr. Miles certainly had opportunities. He was a member of the Jacobins, and he predicted the rise of Robespierre. He corresponded with men in high position and acquainted with the secret springs of events. But his overweening conceit made his abilities unavailable. He is a most impressive illustration of the wisdom of the advice to a youthful diplomat—*Surtout, pas trop de zèle.*

Capt. Francis Champernowne, the Dutch Conquest of Acadie, and Other Historical Papers. By Charles Wesley Tuttle, Ph.D. Edited by Albert Harrison Hoyt, A.M., with historical notes. With a Memoir of the Author by John Ward Dean, A.M. Boston. 8vo, pp. 426.

THIS handsome volume is the tribute of affectionate friends to one of the most diligent and careful of our antiquarian writers. Charles W. Tuttle, of noted New Hampshire origin, was a student all his life, and fortunately his tastes led him to give much time and care to investigating the more obscure portions of our local history. He displayed in his youth a great aptitude for the study of astronomy and mathematics, and was for several years connected with the Observatory at Cambridge, where he proved to be "an eminently capable assistant." At the age of twenty-five he was obliged to relinquish this study, and proceeded to qualify himself for the bar, being admitted to practice in 1856. From this time onward he relieved the hard work of his profession by earnest and successful researches in the field of genealogy and history. He contributed many articles to the *Historical and Genealogical Register* and the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society. In the present volume are reprinted his essays on "Capt. Francis Champernowne," "Conquest of Acadie by the Dutch," "Indian Massacre at Fox Point," "Provincial Government of New Hampshire," "Hope-Hood," "Christopher Kilby," "Hugh Percy," "Court of Vice-Admiralty over America," "Edward Randolph," "Cutt and Elliot Families," and numerous shorter papers.

It is impossible to speak too highly of the merit of these essays. Not only are they evidence of the author's complete mastery of each subject, but they abound and overflow with those details which show that he held in reserve much that a less severe judgment would have hastened to display. The text is ample and well-considered, but at every page the footnotes tempt the reader to stray into fascinating details which display the industry of the antiquary and the discretion of the collector. The biographical essays—Champernowne, Randolph, and Kilby—are especially to be cited as models for imitation by future writers. We shall not attempt to make citations from these essays, for they deserve to be read in their completeness, and they will remain as standard authorities on these topics, with hardly a possibility of future alteration or addition.

Mr. Tuttle died in 1881 at the age of fifty-one years, after a life of happy usefulness such as is granted to very few. He was fortunate in his family, his friends, and in that appreciation and fellowship of which he was naturally sensible. Of a generous and amiable nature, he made and retained friends, while he was singularly free from the disputatious and aggressive side of the literary character which antiquaries proverbially possess. He was always ready to impart information, however laboriously acquired, without the despicable desire of retaining it for his own literary renown. His wife was a fitting helpmeet, and, surviving him some six years, she made provision for the publication of this book as the best tribute to his memory. The pious task has been well performed by Col. Hoyt and Mr. John Ward Dean, both distinguished workers in the same branch of literature, and eminently fitted also by a long and intimate acquaintance with the author.

Although Mr. Tuttle's work was of less ambitious proportions than that of Palfrey or Prescott or Parkman, it was of equally good material and finish. He stands very high among a class of writers like Winthrop, Deane, Ellis, and others of lesser note, who have found time, amid the pursuits of active business, to make careful and intelligent research into sections of our history. By not attempting too much they have attained a completeness otherwise unattainable, and the aggregate of their labors is beyond the powers of the most gifted single historian. It is to be hoped that this earnest love of the past will not die out with the present generation, and that the young men of wealth and education, now coming forward in less admirable competitions, will yet see that such pursuits as this are peculiarly their most honorable and desirable opportunity.

Rambles in the Black Forest. By Henry W. Wolff. Longmans. 1890.

ANY ONE who on a summer's day has to wait for an hour or so at the railway station at Appenweier, opposite Strassburg, is apt to fancy himself at some large watering-place. Here he sees, promenading up and down the spacious covered platform, or lounging on the seats, countless Germans, but more Englishmen and Americans. Away to the west is the dim outline of the Vogesen, and if he look sharp, he can easily make out the spire of the cathedral at Strassburg. But if he turn to the east, he will see spread out right before him the whole beautiful panorama of the Black Forest. It is this that has attracted so many tourists, he thinks to himself, and he fancies that the next train up the valley of the Reuch will be boarded by most of those about him; but he is mistaken. A very few do go up the Reuch,

see the beautiful falls at Allerheiligen and climb up to the enchanted Mummelsee. But the great majority turn a cold shoulder on the Black Forest and make haste to reach the Alps and Italy. Every one must see the Alps, and no fault can be found with that. But to one who has been awed by the cold grandeur of those colossal peaks, nothing can be more satisfactory than to be once more among the pine-clad hills of the Black Forest. Here he feels at home and not like a stranger in a land of giants; all that is about him seems to have human sympathies, and he would hardly feel surprised to see a wood-sprite pop out from behind a tree and offer to do him a kindness.

It is surely a charming country, with its dark-green forests, bright meadows, picturesque cottages, and, above all, its dashing mountain streams. Who could ever forget the refreshing drink a Black Forest spring had given him? Mr. Wolff is thoroughly at home in the Black Forest, and knows all its charms, but it is not only its natural beauties that he tells us of. He has been there often enough and lived there long enough to get perfectly familiar with the people, their homes, their dress, their every-day life, and their very habits of thought. He takes us into their houses and he tells us all about them; for he has not regarded this peculiar people with the eyes of a tourist, but they have learned to let him see what they would keep from such a one, and he has observed them in all seasons and under all circumstances. He has also made a careful study of their social and industrial condition—an entirely different study from that made by the hasty traveller, who takes a glance and asks a question or two and then writes a column. He has investigated the local records, the history, and the archæology of town and valley, and gives us the results of his study in a charmingly modest way. Mr. Wolff speaks the language of the Englishman, but his head and his heart are German, as his ancestry doubtless is. It is safe to say that the more his book is read the more people will go to the Black Forest, and they can have no better guide.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Westcott, B. F. Essays in the History of Religious Thought in the West. Macmillan & Co. $1.75.
Wichert, E. The Youngest Brother. Chicago: Laird & Lee.
Wilkins, Mary E. A New England Nun, and Other Stories. Harper & Bros.
Willard, E. Julius Cæsar. Philadelphia: Horace Willard.
Williams, F. H. Atman. Cassell Publishing Co. 50 cents.
Woolsey, T. D. International Law. 6th ed. Charles Scribner's Sons. $2.50.

APRIL

EDUCATIONAL REVIEW.

Edited by NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER, Ph.D., assisted by E. H. COOK, Ph.D., WILLIAM H. MAXWELL, Ph.D., and ADDISON B. POLAND, Ph.D.

Articles: Art Education in the Public Schools, James MacAlister—The Pedagogic Value of Zoölogy, S. A. Forbes—Recollections of Round Hill School, George E. Ellis—Adolf Diesterweg, Henry Cassel—James' Principles of Psychology, J. Mark Baldwin.

Discussions: State Councils of Education, Addison B. Poland—The Legal Definition of a School, C. W. Bardeen—The Movement for an Einheitsschule in Germany, L. R. Klemm—The Department of Superintendence, William H. Maxwell—The Brooklyn Institute Geographical Exhibit, James Cruikshank.

Editorial: The Reorganization of Higher Education in America—The Fayerweather Bequests to Colleges—The University Extension Movement—Public Libraries and Reading-Rooms in Schoolhouses.

Reviews: Spalding's Education and the Higher Life—Steele's Rudimentary Psychology—Gordy's Lessons in Psychology—Belton's Literary Manual of Foreign Quotations—Hodgkins' Arnold's Sohrab and Rustum—Bird's Elementary Geology—Flower's Quintus Curtius—Monteith's School and Family Atlas—Eisenhans' Psychologie und Logik—Rosetti's Shelley's Adonais—Frye's Brooks and Brook Basins—Notes on Recent Pedagogical Literature.

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, APRIL 16, 1891.

The Week.

THE President has issued the usual annual proclamation warning all persons not to enter "the dominion of the United States in the waters of Bering Sea" for the purpose of violating the provisions of section 1956 of the Revised Statutes. The issuance of such a proclamation "at a timely season in each year" is required by the act of March 2, 1889, "to provide for the protection of the *salmon* fisheries of Alaska." The history of this act is rather curious. It was introduced February 25, 1889, by Senator Stockbridge of Michigan, who said that it was urgently recommended by the Fish Commission. It was referred to the Committee on Fisheries, and reported favorably on the 28th of the same month and passed without calling the yeas and nays. It contained only two brief sections, one prohibiting the erection of dams in the rivers of Alaska which should prevent the salmon from reaching their spawning grounds, the other providing that the Fish Commissioner should institute an investigation into the habits of the salmon of Alaska and make a report recommending to Congress such additional legislation as should be needful to preserve the salmon fishery there. The bill reached the House the same day, February 28, and was immediately put on its passage. Mr. Dunn of Arkansas offered an additional section as an amendment, declaring "that section 1956 of the Revised Statutes of the United States was intended to include and apply to all, and is hereby declared to include and apply to all, the waters of Bering Sea in Alaska embraced within the boundary lines mentioned and described in the treaty with Russia dated March 30, 1867." Section 1956 Revised Statutes is the one which forbids the killing of any fur seal "in the territory of Alaska or the waters thereof." The effect of Mr. Dunn's amendment was to give a legislative interpretation to the phrase "the waters thereof," so as to make those waters include the whole of Bering Sea east of the boundary mentioned in the treaty. It was adopted by the House without a division, and the bill was passed without even an amendment of the title, which spoke only of salmon fisheries.

The bill came back to the Senate the same day and the amendment was read. Senator Edmunds remarked that the amendment raised a very important and difficult question. He did not know whether it was intended to apply to American citizens only or to foreigners as well. If it applied to Americans only, it was a very curious discrimination. He moved that it be referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations. Senator Hoar said: "The amendment raises the great question whether the United States propose to assert the doctrine of *mare clausum* in regard to a sea larger than the Mediterranean, and the gateway to which is 450 miles wide." The bill was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, and was reported back the next day by Senator Sherman, with the recommendation that the Senate disagree to the amendment of the House. Mr. Sherman said that the amendment involved a grave principle of international law which the Committee had had no time to consider carefully, that it was not germane to the bill, and that it ought to be abandoned and considered more carefully hereafter. The Senate disagreed to the amendment and asked a committee of conference, and appointed Senators Sherman, Edmunds, and Morgan as its conferees. The House agreed to the conference, and a report was made on the following day (March 2) striking out the House amendment, and substituting for it a declaration that section 1956 includes "all the dominion of the United States in the waters of Bering Sea." The House conferees submitted a statement in writing that "the effect of the amendment is to leave out of the House amendment *the words that are descriptive of the boundaries of the waters of Alaska.*" This supplies presumptive evidence that no President and no Cabinet officer has ever issued an order directing our revenue cutters to seize vessels, either American or foreign, engaged in taking seals more than a marine league from the shore, and leaves us to infer that such orders, if any exist, were issued by subordinate officials at the instance of the Alaska Commercial Company.

The welcome announcement comes from Washington that, just before starting on his vacation, the President gave directions that a portion of the Indian service be placed under civil-service rules. It is explained that the new order will apply to superintendents of schools, teachers, matrons, physicians, and farmers—about twelve hundred employees in all. The system can be extended to cover these by executive order, whereas it cannot be applied to the Indian agents without authority from Congress. There is no part of the civil service where the reform system is more imperatively demanded than in the Indian Bureau, and the extension just ordered by the President is cause for rejoicing on the part of all good citizens.

Senator Morrill of Vermont is evidently opposed to the nomination of Blaine and in favor of the renomination of Harrison by the Republicans next year. In an interview published by the *Times* he said that "Harrison was almost the only one prominently talked of by the Republicans now." Also, that he believed that Mr. Blaine was loyal to Harrison, and that Mr. Blaine did not seem to be in perfect health, although his mental faculties were as keen and vigorous as ever. Mr. Morrill further declared himself opposed to reciprocity with Canada. Putting all these facts and fancies together, it would appear to a worldly-minded person that the dividing line in the Republican party is the McKinley tariff; that Mr. Harrison supports that measure and means to be a candidate for reëlection on that issue; that Mr. Blaine is opposed to the McKinley tariff, and means to whittle it down by reciprocity treaties as much as he can. Whether Mr. Blaine is loyal to Harrison or not is a matter of indifference to those who shout for Blaine, as the Boston Republican Club did the other day. These men are moved in part by personal attachment, and in part by the belief that McKinleyism will be fatal to Republican success in 1892. They look upon Blaine as the only man who can undo the mischief of last year, whereby a small but safe Republican majority in the House of Representatives was converted into a Democratic majority of 150 members. By nominating Blaine they can hold out the bait of a repeal or modification of the McKinley Bill without actually promising anything in that particular. We apprehend that Blaine's loyalty to Harrison will not operate as an embarrassment to any Republican who is much attached to the former, or to any who was terrified by the returns of the election last November.

The tone of the speeches at the first banquet of the newly organized Republican Club in Boston last week indicated a conviction, in the minds of some of the speakers at least, that the time has arrived when the party must "pander a little to the moral sense of the community," if it is to expect a future. The President of the Club, Mr. Wolcott, struck a keynote in his opening speech, which was not only full of charity for Mugwumps, but also full of very unorthodox views of eminent Republican leaders. "No word of mine," he said, "shall ever be uttered to depreciate that virile independence in politics which holds country and honor above party, which, while acting within party lines, ever strives to secure the best in men and measures, and, often buffeted and defeated, never ceases to wage war upon dishonesty and chicanery, using party as a weapon, but never wearing it as a yoke." As if to illustrate what he meant by acting within party lines and "waging war upon dishonesty and chicanery," Mr. Wolcott went on to denounce the "menace to the cause of free government embodied in 'blocks of five,'" and to say of the Chairman of the National Republican Committee—

"The Republican party must make its appeal, as of old, to the intelligence and patriotism of the country. It must rally to its standard the recruit and drum out the mercenary. The loss of thousands of votes in this State was due to the Pennsylvanian who is still Chairman of the National Committee. The kind of personal politics that seeks and requires what is called 'vindication' is always

at the expense of party, and is a blunder when it is not a crime. The standard of political rectitude must be made more exacting, and it must be remembered that the nation, and not the self-imposed candidate, has the only 'claim' upon every office in its gift."

Secretary Tracy, who was the chief guest of the evening, followed the President of the Club, and devoted his speech mainly to an exposition of the need of putting the navy-yards of the country within the jurisdiction of civil-service rules. "For fifty years," he said, "the employment of labor at the navy-yards has been the one weak spot in navy administration," adding:

"Whatever the party in control of the Government, it seems hitherto to have been powerless to exclude political influence in the employment of navy-yard labor. It is not enough, apparently, that the mechanics and workmen in the Government shops should be Republicans or Democrats—they must wear the collar of the ward bosses who run the local political machine. The practice is a source of demoralization to any party that attempts to use it, destructive to the Government services, and debauching to local and national politics. It is an ulcer on the naval administrative system, and I propose to cut it out."

Nobody who has followed the Secretary's extraordinary course in regard to the employment of labor in the Brooklyn Navy-yard, will deny that it has constituted an "ulcer" which has "debauched both local and national politics" in Kings County, as thoroughly as similar conduct by his predecessors in office debauched the same politics for fifty years. If he has decided that reform is necessary, a distinguished convert to the cause of civil-service reform has been gained. He will have to keep an eye on the President, however, for there is no telling when the latter may become convinced that the bad deeds of the Democratic party in the South and in Congress make it his duty to set civil-service-reform rules and pledges aside, as he did in both the Boston Custom-house and the Boston Post-office.

There is, we dare say, something in the theory that the impatience shown by many of the younger Republican Senators from the West at what they stigmatize as the "dictation" of the "old fogies" from the East, had its share of influence in hastening Mr. Edmunds's withdrawal from public life. There is no doubt of the existence of a strong and growing sectional feeling of this sort throughout the West, without regard to party lines. It finds expression in the increasing frequency of the remark that there is really not half so much in common between the West and the East as there is between the West and the South, and that an alliance between the two latter sections would be of far greater advantage to the West than further submission to what is denounced as the "tyranny of the East." The younger Republican Senators from the West are so full of this idea that they hardly conceal their intention to make trouble for the Eastern "fossils," as they call them.

It should not be forgotten that the nation owes Senator Edmunds hearty thanks for much-needed assistance in defeating the Force Bill. When the proposition to change the Senate rules and introduce the Reed régime was brought forward by the advocates of the Force Bill during the first session of the Fifty-first Congress, the Vermont Senator took a firm stand against it, and thus was largely responsible for carrying the matter over to the short session. Towards the close of the controversy in the second session, Mr. Edmunds's partisanship was so much aroused that he was understood to have changed his position on the question of the rules, and to be ready to consent to the introduction of the previous question. Happily, it was then too late to be of any avail. It is a serious blunder on the part of the Burlington (Vt.) *Free Press* to cite, as an evidence of Mr. Edmunds's statesmanship, the fact that "he reported and had charge of and carried through the great civil and political rights act which now forms the principal body of the law on that subject," and to add that "the importance of his services in regard to this measure cannot be exaggerated." That Mr. Edmunds reported and carried through the act in question is true, but it ceased to be "the principal body of the law on that subject" from the day when the Supreme Court, consisting entirely of judges appointed by Republican Presidents, said of it: "On the whole, we are of opinion that no countenance of authority for the passage of the law in question can be found in either the Thirteenth or Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution; and no other ground of authority for its passage being suggested, it must necessarily be declared void." A more severe rebuke of a Senator could hardly be imagined than was thus administered to Mr. Edmunds by the highest judicial tribunal in the land, all the members of which then held commissions signed by Presidents of the party to which he belonged. Mr. Edmunds has rendered the nation great services, notably in carrying through the Electoral Commission scheme of 1877; but he is a very injudicious friend who revives the memory of his connection with the Civil-Rights Act.

The judicial election in Michigan last week resulted in a majority for the Republicans of not far from 7,000. Some of the party organs have treated the result as a great victory for the Republicans on national issues. The Philadelphia *Press* is more sensible when it says: "There is no State in the Union in which the people are better able to judge of the merits of parties and policies than are the voters of Michigan. They defeated the Republican party last fall because it presented an unworthy candidate for Governor, and they defeated the Democratic party last Monday because it has used its temporary power in the Legislature to perpetrate some of the most despicable tricks ever perpetrated by a political organization." So far as national issues are concerned, the fact that the Republican majority was no larger last week when the Democrats so richly deserved an overwhelming defeat on State issues, would indicate that in a fair fight between the two parties Michigan would be doubtful.

A bill to distribute the direct-tax money refunded by the Federal Government to the State of New York has been introduced into the Assembly and referred to the Committee of Ways and Means. It provides that said moneys shall be apportioned among the several counties of the State by the Comptroller, and paid to the County Treasurers of the several counties of the State and to the Chamberlain of the city and county of New York in proportion to the total equalized valuation of property for purposes of taxation of said several counties for the year 1861, upon which the State tax of 1862 was levied. We trust that no such bill, or any other county refunding bill, will pass. If the money is left in the State Treasury and applied to that portion of the State debt which is yet unprovided for ($1,677,887), and the balance used for other State purposes, it will apportion itself among the counties satisfactorily. It may not go in the exact ratio that the apportionment of 1861 would provide, but it will answer all the ends of justice, and spare a deal of squabbling among the county supervisors, who will be asked to apportion it among the towns.

A bill has been introduced in the Minnesota Legislature prohibiting any foreign insurance company—that is, any company whose home office is outside the United States, or the majority of whose stock is owned or controlled by parties not citizens of the United States—from doing business in the State until it has deposited with the State Treasurer not less than $200,000 invested in Minnesota securities. The pretended reason for this is, that the deposit shall be held for the benefit of the policy-holders, although the policy-holders are already amply secured against any possible failure of these foreign companies by the provisions of the Federal law which require each of them to deposit with the Treasurer of the State wherein is its principal office in the United States, securities amounting to $200,000 and trust funds in the hands of trustees to the amount of $300,000 more—or half-a-million dollars in all. If, in addition to this, each State in the Union is going to demand an additional deposit of $200,000 more, this would be equivalent to a requirement that each foreign company make an aggregate deposit in the different State Treasuries of about $9,000,000 for the privilege of doing business. The St. Paul *Pioneer Press* exposes the absurdity and injustice of this scheme in an elaborate article which is introduced by this feeling remark: "We have had a good many mischief-making Legislatures before the one now in session, but none half so fertile and ingenious as this in concocting measures which are deliberately designed to inflict every possible injury upon every possible business interest." Unfortunately for the rest of the States in the Union, Minnesota is not much worse off in this respect than they are.

The new ballot law which the New Hampshire Legislature has enacted, and for which the Governor's approval is assured, is, in all essential respects, similar to the Massachusetts law. It does not, like the Maine law, provide for the arrangement of candidates' names by party groups upon the ballots, but in alphabetical order under each office, with the politics indicated after each name. In case a candidate is nominated by means of petitions or nomination papers, the words "nom. paper" must be added after the political appellation. This will assist the voter in deciding whether a candidate is "regular" or not. A new feature, in laws of this kind, is a provision requiring the use of ballot-boxes "with a bell and mechanical device for receiving, registering, and cancelling every ballot deposited therein," but specifying that "no such box shall record any number or mark upon any ballot by which said ballots can be distinguished from each other." There is no obvious reason for the adoption of boxes of this kind, except that the owners of some patented device succeeded in inducing the Legislature to make use of it. Every New England State has a ballot-reform law now, and all of them, except Connecticut, have thoroughgoing ones. The number of States throughout the country with such laws now stands at twenty-three, with the prospect of Illinois and Ohio soon swelling it to twenty-five.

The renewal of gold exports of considerable amount ought to direct public attention again to the law which requires the Government to buy 4,500,000 ounces of silver per month. This product of American industry is peculiarly well fitted for export. The demand for it is as steady as ever, but the Government steps in just as it reaches the seaboard and takes the whole, or nearly the whole, output of the mines, pays gold for it, and then locks it up. Then the exporters, who were about to send the silver abroad to pay our debts with, send the gold instead. That is the explanation of the present exportation of gold. We may expect this draft on our gold to continue until prices of other exportable commodities are lowered so that foreigners will take our goods rather than our money.

The newly discovered counterfeit two-dollar silver certificate shatters the belief expressed three years ago by the House Committee on Treasury expenditures, in their report opposing the use of steam-presses in the Bureau of Engraving and Printing. They contended that, while these presses might reduce the cost of printing, yet this economy would be counterbalanced by "the increased expense of maintaining the secret division of the Treasury Department, which must be incurred so long as the obligations and securities of the Government can be readily and successfully imitated—an expenditure that can be reduced as soon as the Government shall be able to print its securities or obligations in so perfect a manner as to make it impossible to counterfeit them; and when this degree of excellence in printing our notes and securities shall be reached, there will be the further saving of the expense attending the prosecution of captured counterfeiters." Nearly two years have passed since the steam-presses were thrown out to give room to the hand-presses which would enable the Government "to print its securities or obligations in so perfect a manner as to make it impossible to counterfeit them." Yet we have heard of no movement to abolish the Secret-Service Bureau, or even to reduce its force and expenditures. The fact is, that even if there were no counterfeiters of our gold and silver coins, the secret service could not with safety to our currency be abolished or crippled. So long as there are Government obligations and securities to be counterfeited, there will be persons to attempt to imitate them; and it will make no difference whether they are printed on hand-presses or steam-presses, if they be printed well.

It was not the imperfect printing that disclosed the character of the counterfeit; it was imperfect engraving—the mistake in the check-letter and the signature. The art of printing securities presents no serious difficulties to the counterfeiter; even the distinctive paper, thought by so many to be an important safeguard, he has imitated with almost perfect success. It is the engraving that taxes his skill, ingenuity, and capital. He finds it exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, to engrave a plate that will be the equal in every part of one turned out by the Bureau of Engraving and Printing. He cannot engrave with equal excellence the portrait, the border, the signature, the lettering, and other features of a note, each of which is always intrusted to one man skilled in doing that particular thing. He does not possess the lathes and other machinery of the Bureau, nor is he familiar with its system of check-marks and numbers that add to the security of the work. To say, therefore, that the excellence of our notes and certificates depends entirely on the machine printing them is absurd.

Mr. Platt's home organ, the Owego *Times*, asks: "Why is it that the Democratic press is generally silent regarding the fact that, under the McKinley Tariff Law, sugar, is at present two cents cheaper than before this bill became law?" The impression we have gained from a pretty large exchange-list is, that the Democratic press is by no means generally silent on the subject, but, on the contrary, indulges in uproarious mirth over this clearest of demonstrations that the tariff is a tax, and the accompanying consternation among the better-informed Republicans. Off comes the tariff, down goes the cost; this is the lesson that the sugar provision of the McKinley tariff teaches in every household of the land. McKinley platform speakers have taught that the tariff is no tax; that it is a tax, but one that is paid by the foreign exporter, etc., etc. Along comes the McKinley change in the sugar rates and shows that the tariff was all tax and all paid by our own citizens, and that the price goes down just so soon and just so much as the tariff is reduced. It would, indeed, be very singular if, in regard to this clear argument that touches every pocket, the Democratic press were to be generally silent.

The last number of the trade newspaper *Hardware* has a continuation of the history of the Axe Trust, the beginning of which was published in the same journal last year. The American Axe and Tool Company, which undertook to monopolize the business, did not succeed in getting all the factories consolidated, but it made an arrangement with the outside concerns by which uniformity of prices should be maintained. Then it made a heavy advance in the price of axes, and went on swimmingly until a lot of old factories that had been closed in the previous struggle of the "survival of the fittest" were encouraged to reopen. This led to negotiations to bring in the outsiders, who were nothing loath. While the negotiation was in progress, the Trust sent out its agents to make secret contracts with the trade, offering a heavy rebate on the former agreed price if the jobbers would agree to buy exclusively from the Trust. But the jobbers were too smart. They refused to make such contracts, and then the double-dealing of the Trust became manifest, to the amazement of the outside manufacturers. An old-fashioned fight ensued and is still going on, to the joy of the jobbers and the consumers, who are now paying for axes what they can be produced for by the most skilful and best-equipped concerns.

That was a bad case of "journalism" that broke out in Rome last Friday, when the American newspapers were advised that if the United States Government did not answer the Marquis Imperiali's note by Saturday, the American Minister to Italy would be ordered to bundle himself out of the country. This news was preceded by the usual "it is reported," and the reporter has ever since been searching for the source of the report, but thus far without success. On Saturday he said that the rumor that had been "put in circulation" was the principal topic of conversation in political and official circles, because the report had come "with startling suddenness." A lurking disposition was manifested to let it go, however, in the remark that "it is not summarily dismissed as incredible." Its origin was ascribed to "a prominent member of the Chamber of Deputies," but his name was prudently withheld. A reassuring paragraph was added, to the effect that no American need fear to travel in Italy. Further assurance was conveyed the following day by a paragraph from the *Opinione* of Rome, that if the American Government could afford to wait, Italy could do so "serenely, and without lamentation or threats." This was a flat contradiction of "the report," but the unknown author of it is not yet willing to part with it, as appears by the latest despatches.

THE PROPER SIEVE FOR IMMIGRANTS.

THE New Orleans massacre of Italians has made more prominent than ever the question of restriction on immigration, and the act of Congress for the exclusion of persons of bad character and infirm or diseased persons is being enforced more rigidly than before. The Union League Club of this city, at a meeting on Thursday evening, called on the general Government for more stringent legislation to prevent the influx of criminals and paupers and to restrict naturalization. One finds expressions of opinion of the same sort in speeches and articles all over the country. There is no doubt that the belief that the tide of immigration generally, whether the people composing it are criminals or paupers or not, ought to be arrested or diminished in some manner, is steadily gaining ground; but we nowhere find any adequate discussion of the means by which the desired end is to be accomplished.

The nature of the problem has been extremely well described in a book on 'Emigration and Immigration,' published last year by Prof. Richmond Smith of Columbia College. We cannot hope at present for a fuller account than he supplies of the history of emigration to the United States, and of its moral, social, economical, and political effects. He is evidently of opinion that we have reached a point of economical development when we can supply our own wants, so far as unskilled labor is concerned, with the aid of machinery, and maintains the desirableness of some degree of exclusion, on the general ground that every nation is bound to see that its own civilization does not suffer from an attempt to absorb foreigners in a lower stage of civilization. But neither he nor any one else who has treated the subject deals with the *modus in quo*. What we want to hear now from some quarter is an answer to the question, By what process shall we sift the desirable from the undesirable immigrants either here or abroad?

The lunatics, paupers, and cripples are easily weeded out. All we have to do as regards them is to send enough doctors on board when the ships come into port. Even if they slip through, their presence here is merely a question of the expense of taking care of them. But how about the question of character, which concerns the workings of our institutions? To get at the character of one hundred natives living in the next street is, as every one knows, no easy matter. But by what sort of visitation or scrutiny would it be possible to get reliable information about the morality and antecedents of the 200,000 ignorant and obscure Italians, or of the 100,000 Germans, or the 40,000 Austro-Hungarians, who came to us in 1889?

Prof. Smith mentions the late Mr. Eugene Schuyler's plan of requiring a consular certificate of good character and self-maintaining capacity from each emigrant, but he sees the obvious objection to it that it would give the consuls far more work than they could do, and would make them dependent on the local police for nearly all their information. He might have added that no consuls are less fitted for such task than American consuls, under our present system of appointment. They rarely know the language of the country in which they are stationed, and rarely keep their places long enough to acquire any intimate acquaintance with the manners and customs of the people. Consequently their 1,000,000 yearly certificates of character would not be worth the paper on which they were written, even if they put one dollar each in the consular pocket. We have, in fact, no civil service, either at home or abroad, fit for the application of moral tests to foreigners.

We do not pretend to be wiser on this subject than any one else, but if it be decided that unrestricted immigration, as at present carried on, is dangerous to American institutions and ideals, it is very odd that the value of language as a political and moral test of fitness should be overlooked. Nearly all the really secure or progressive modern States are based on community of language—France, England, Russia, Germany, and Italy. The only two in Europe about whose future there are serious doubts are the polyglot States of Austria and Turkey. All European nationalities have in fact been built up on language. As a cohesive force there is nothing that can compare to language. How a democratic state governed by opinion expressed through universal suffrage could last for any considerable length of time without community of language, it is hard to conceive, for it is through community of language that men are able to feel and think the same way about public affairs, and cherish the same political ideals. Every immigrant who comes to this country speaking or understanding the English language becomes, from the day he lands, exposed to all the moral and social influences and agencies on which we rely for the maintenance and preservation of the American nationality. Everything he hears every hour helps to make him a good citizen. Every man who lands ignorant of English, on the other hand, if an ignorant man generally, is absolutely shielded for an indefinite period against all the instrumentalities of American civilization. No American ideas reach him. American persuasion does not touch him. He remains a foreigner in spite of himself, outside all the great currents of popular thought and sentiment. To feel the pulse or tap the chest of such a man, therefore, in order to ascertain his probable value as a citizen, when he does not know one word of the medium in which the national life, in all fields of activity, is carried on, seems an absurdity on its face.

Moreover, the test of language would be more easily applied than any other. Every immigrant who got in without ability to answer a question in English would be a witness of the inspecting officer's dishonesty, for any one could apply the test. Of course, it would have to be applied under various restrictions. It would hardly do to cut off the relatives and friends of non-English foreigners now resident in this country. Nor would it do to treat ignorance of English as a disqualification in the case of skilled or educated foreigners, for they would be sure to acquire the language promptly after settling here. But, taken for all in all, this test would shut out more of the undesirable element in immigration, and would be easier of application, and would have more practical advantages, than any other that could be devised. It is true, it would to a great extent confine immigration to English, Scotch, and Irishmen, but why not, if the restriction be really undertaken in the interest of American civilization? We are under no obligation to see that all races and nations enjoy an equal chance of getting here. This legislation, as we understand it, is to be for the benefit of the United States; and if the United States is desirous of admitting some Europeans, but only those easiest of absorption, the ones to choose are those who, when they land, can at once enter into intellectual relations with the community at large.

CORRUPT-PRACTICES LEGISLATION.

THE Legislatures of several States are considering measures for the publication and limitation of campaign expenditures, but thus far no law on the subject has been enacted this year. Mr. Saxton's amendment to the New York statute of last year, extending its provisions to campaign committees and their officers, has passed the Senate, but has not yet been acted upon in the Assembly. A bill prohibiting the contribution of money in any form by any person, agent, committee, company, association, or corporation to any person or organization of any kind for use in elections, and forbidding the receipt of such contributions by anybody for such use, has been passed by one house of the Rhode Island Legislature. Two of the most comprehensive measures of the kind which have appeared since the agitation of the subject of legislation of this kind began a few years ago are now under consideration in the Legislatures of Massachusetts and Minnesota. In totally different ways they aim to meet and overcome the evil of the undue and corrupt use of money, and are obviously the outcome of such intelligent and thoughtful study of the problem that they deserve careful consideration.

The Massachusetts bill, though following somewhat the lines of a measure which passed the lower house of the Legislature in 1889 and was defeated in the Senate, is in many respects an original piece of legislation. It requires that all committees and organizations of any kind assisting in the nomination, election, or defeat of any candidate for political office shall have treasurers, and shall cause to be kept detailed accounts of all money, securities, and equivalents of money received or promised to them, and of the manner in which the same have been expended, and of all payments, liabilities, or promises of payment made by them. Within four weeks after election, all treasurers must file sworn statements of all transactions in which they have been engaged during the campaign, giving itemized accounts of all receipts and of all disbursements. Every member of a committee or organization who

receives or disburses money or its equivalent in any form is required to make a detailed statement to the treasurer, who must include it in his sworn return. Every candidate before any caucus or convention, or at any election, must also file sworn statements in detail of all receipts and disbursements of which he has personal knowledge. Every payment of a sum exceeding five dollars to any one person for expense in election must be vouched for by a bill stating particulars and by a receipt.

There is no limit placed to the expenditures candidates may incur, but blank forms are specified which must be filled out in the sworn returns, and which make it necessary to set down the exact amounts spent on printing, hall and headquarters rentals, stationery, clerk hire, canvassers, and other familiar campaign items. An entirely novel feature of the bill is the bestowal upon the Supreme Judicial Court and the Superior Court of full equity powers to compel any person who fails to file his sworn statement, or files a statement which does not conform strictly to the provisions of the act, to comply with the law. Such equity proceedings may be begun on petition of any candidate voted for in the election, or on petition of ten qualified voters in the same election. The courts are also empowered to advance cases of this kind upon their dockets in order that they may be tried and decided with as little delay as possible. No person testifying in such cases shall be liable to criminal prosecution for anything concerning which he may testify, except for perjury.

The Minnesota bill has no resemblance whatever to the Massachusetts measure, but aims to stop the use of money for corrupt purposes by methods similar to those which have been used with so much success in England under the Corrupt Practices Act of 1883. It limits the expenditures of all candidates for United States Senate, Congress, and State offices to $1,000 each; those of all candidates for county offices to $500 each; those of all candidates for offices in cities of over 15,000 inhabitants to $500 each; and those for all candidates in all other places to $250 each. It forbids the use of any of the money allowed by law for any save the legitimate expenses of election. It defines lawful uses, and specifies a long catalogue of unlawful uses, which includes entertainments of all kinds, defining undue influence, in fact, with almost as great minuteness as the English statute does. It forbids the use of money by candidates or by anybody else, and also the contribution of it to be used to influence in any manner the vote of any person. In this respect it is drawn with much the same care and fulness as our New York statute. It also forbids betting of all kinds on the results of an election, and forbids bulldozing, intimidation, and violence by anybody, whether individual or corporation. Sworn statements in detail of all receipts and expenditures are required within ten days after election from both candidates and campaign committee officers. Penalty for violation of any of the provisions of the act is made a misdemeanor punishable with imprisonment for not less than three months nor more than one year, in addition to forfeiture of office in case of election.

This is a very stringent bill in every way, and is notable as being the first American adoption of the English idea of putting a maximum limit to campaign expenditures. It has passed the Senate and is yet to be acted upon by the House. If it shall become a law, its working will be watched with great interest. The English act has, as we have pointed out on former occasions, succeeded far beyond the most sanguine expectations of its authors. They feared, as did all commentators on their work, that they had placed the maximum limits too low, but experience has shown that they were really a full third too high, since in no election under the law has the total expenditure exceeded two-thirds of the total maximum allowed by law; the fact being that sworn publicity has made it impossible to expend the maximum amount without violating the provisions of the law.

THE ITALIAN MONARCHY.

An article in the last number of the *Contemporary Review*, signed "A Continental Statesman," is exciting a genuine sensation in Europe. No guessing at the author appears to have been thus far successful, but that he is what he calls himself, and that he writes as a man who has been behind the scenes in the foreign politics of the Continental States, there appears to be little doubt. That he is either a Frenchman or an Italian also appears to be very certain, and most probably a Frenchman. He talks as an avowed champion of "Latinism" as opposed to "Germanism," and, unless he is taking great pains to disguise himself, he is a foreigner, but a respectful and sympathetic one, to the Italians.

His position is that the Italian monarchy is on the edge of an abyss, and that unless there is a complete change of policy, both foreign and domestic, within a very brief period, the House of Savoy will cease to reign and will be succeeded by a republic. He opens by recalling Mamiani's prediction in 1849 that "Rome must belong either to the Pope or Cola Rienzi," and Mazzini's still more pregnant one, that "Crispi will be the last Minister of the Italian monarchy." He then goes on to give the reasons why, in his opinion, the danger of their fulfilment is rapidly increasing. The House of Savoy should, after the foundation of the Italian kingdom in 1870, have thrown in its lot formally with France, not as a matter of gratitude for past assistance, but because France, as Latin and democratic, is the natural ally of Italy, which is also Latin and democratic. Instead of this the House of Savoy threw the French alliance overboard, and, although the origin of the monarchy was revolutionary, allied itself with that of Germany, which stands for divine right and is the hereditary foe of the Latin races. This would have been unfortunate, considering the great recuperative powers of the French people and the value of their trade and friendship to the Italians, even if it had entailed no immediate burdens or sacrifices. But it led before very long, almost inevitably, to the formation of a military alliance directed against France. This compelled Italy, before the new kingdom had been fairly consolidated, the Administration reformed, the finances regulated, or the population educated (or, as regarded a portion of it, civilized), to set on foot an army and navy about twice too expensive for its means, and begot a colonizing rivalry with France which plunged the kingdom into the deplorable Abyssinian adventure. As a consequence of this, the finances have been thrown again into disorder. Here is now the situation:

> "In the year 1881, the last year of the policy of political neutrality, the expenditure, ordinary and extraordinary, of the kingdom was 1,229,578,938 lire (little more than £49,000,000 sterling). In 1889, the eighth year of the policy of alliances, the ordinary and extraordinary expenses were 1,740,578,938 lire (nearly £70,000,000 sterling). The treasury is therefore actually burdened with an outlay of over £20,000,000 sterling more than when Italy did not swerve from her neutral policy, and thus the policy of alliances has augmented the charge on the taxpayers by 40 per cent. In 1881 the policy of neutrality enabled the Government to announce a surplus of 51,000,000 lire (£2,000,000); in 1888–89 the system of alliances added to previous deficits a new one of 230,000,000 lire (£9,000,000)."

This was followed by the abrogation of the Treaty of Commerce with France, and the adoption of the policy of high protection in 1887. Ever since then the exports and imports have been diminishing. The public credit has been well-nigh ruined. Italian paper is no longer negotiable in the French money market, and the stoppage of a great number of industries dependent on the accommodation given by French discount banks has thrown vast bodies of people out of employment. The taxes in the meanwhile grow in the inverse ratio of the ability of the people to pay them.

All the great modern revolutions have been caused by taxation—the English Revolution of 1640, the American Revolution of 1776, and the French Revolution of 1789. The present situation in Italy cannot last. The burdens of the Triple Alliance are intolerable. They would not be borne patiently much longer even in a country in which the monarchy was rooted in the soil. They are sure not to be borne indefinitely in a country in which the monarchy is of recent and revolutionary origin. Even if the popular attention should be distracted from domestic troubles by the outbreak of a war between France and Germany, sure relief could not come of it. In truth, one danger would be substituted for another. The Italian army might suffer a crushing defeat in the field, and a monarchy of revolutionary origin, like that of the Bonapartists or that of the House of Savoy in Italy, would be swept away on the morrow by a wave of popular rage and disappointment. Nothing but a republic would or could, in a democratic and by no means homogeneous country like Italy, take its place.

The "Continental Statesman" also lays great stress on the failure of the new kingdom to come to terms with the Pope. The Papacy, he says, cannot restore the temporal power, but it cannot be reconciled with the

monarchy. With a Federal Republic he thinks it could be reconciled. The moral power of the Pope, as the one potentate of the modern world who has envoys in every foreign village, he still thinks enormous, and one against which no Catholic State can afford to contend indefinitely; but this part of the article is a piece of politico-religious speculation of which it is difficult for an outsider to estimate the value. The impressiveness of the purely political part every reader must feel.

MAFFIA, CAMORRA, BRIGANDAGE—ALIAS CRIME.

LONDON, March 28, 1891.

IN 1861 the chief aim, one might say, of all patriots who had assisted in the political liberation of Italy was to extirpate crime. I remember on the first day of Garibaldi's entry into Naples that old Mignogna, one of the most devoted patriots and conspirators that could be found the country over, presented to us a splendid specimen of a Neapolitan gentleman, Signor Mele, saying, "Our friend here wishes you to be the guests of his wife. He has a beautiful house at St. Lucia. I have consented to second his wish on condition that he promise to accept a high position in the new police which must be organized immediately." We were amazed: the police in Italy, even in the northern provinces, is not a department into which educated men care to enter. But Mignogna, taking us aside, said, "You ought to insist on this. Mele is the sworn enemy of the Camorra, and he knows more about their haunts and method of action than any one else who belongs to our national party and who cares for unity and independence. The Bourbons [he really said Francischello] will now be enrolling the very worst of the crew; we must be on the alert, for though we are in Naples we are by no means masters of the provinces."

Well, we became the guests of the family of Signor Mele, and spent there all the time not engaged with the wounded. Once I remembered that Mazzini came there, though even he, knowing little of the social conditions of Naples, was surprised to find himself in the house of an "active inspector of police." From Mele we learned the true nature of the Camorra, though he did not trouble himself with its supposed political origin, or with its so-called historical antiquity. It is, he said, a band of malefactors who enlist the young to steal, to commit crime, to do their dirty work, to wound, to commit murder. All are ready to sell themselves to the highest bidder; and as the ramifications of the Camorra extend everywhere, and, one may say, have their centre in the prisons, exceptional measures, as they are called, are useless. We must not make martyrs of the leaders, but isolate them as much as possible, and, above all, inspire confidence in the honest citizens of all classes—make them feel that a national Government is strong enough to protect them even against the Camorra. And all the time that Garibaldi remained in Naples Signor Mele waged a constant, relentless war against the Camorristi, never threatening, nay, often warning them: "Don't do this; don't attempt that. The days for such things are over and gone. Better seek a trade and settle down to honest work." And Mele had enrolled a very able, active, and honest police force, which, alas, like many things Garibaldian, was dispersed and destroyed after the inauguration of the moderate governors and rulers in Naples.

Silvio Spaventa was appointed Minister of Police. From 1849 to 1860 he had passed his life in the galleys with Poerio and the other victims of Bomba. He was a constitutionalist, an anti-Garibaldian; he thought that the Camorra could be rooted out by expelling all who had taken part in the revolution and inaugurating a rule of iron. Mele differed with him, but they were old friends and worked each in his own way. Towards the middle of the year 1861, Mele had made great progress in getting at the chiefs of the Camorra, which, after Garibaldi's departure, reappeared in force. He knew that the papers of the sect were hidden at Pozzuoli; he went there, arrested a number of Camorristi, and seized all the papers. On his return to Naples he called for his little son, then at a day school—called him by name, and the boy answered from a window. A beggar woman asked for alms. Mele turned to give her something, and a young fellow cut his throat across. Mele fell dead; the assassin and the woman rifled his pockets of all the papers, leaving his watch, chain, and purse, and then escaped. The city was in a state of the wildest excitement, which the Camorristi fomented, spreading the rumor that Spaventa had persecuted Mele as a Garibaldian! Spaventa had to fly for his life, but the murderer was secured by Mele's friends, and, being a lad not eighteen, was condemned not to death, but to the galleys. After this, brigandage, fomented by the Bourbon and the priests, the Camorra in the city of Naples, and the so-called Maffia in Sicily, raised their heads again triumphantly.

The Government, especially in Sicily, resorted to horrible measures of repression. In Sicily, where conscription had hitherto been unknown, the priests aided the conscripts to evade the law; they hid in sulphur mines and in the mountains; whole districts were placed in a state of siege, and yet no headway was made. It was said that all the police were Maffiosi, that the guardians of the rural districts were the protectors of the association; many of these were changed. Then Parliament decreed an "inquiry," and members of all parties were chosen to go through the provinces and report. Aurelio Saffi was one of the members; Massari, Cavour's adorer and biographer, was the reporter for the Commission. Its chief use was to bring home to the Government and to the public a true picture of the abject misery, the inconceivable ignorance of the masses, the total absence of any care or thought for them by the proprietors of the soil. In Sicily, for many successive years, there were periodical revolutions, so called, which meant that the malcontents recruited brigands and malefactors to get up an occasion for rapine, plunder, and revenge.

After 1876, when Nicotera, the present Minister of the Home Department, first assumed that office, a radical change took place for the better. In Naples the Camorra was severely handled and the prison system changed. Education has done something, but not as much as the conscription. At this assertion the adversaries of standing armies will stand aghast; but it is a fact that the enrolling and taking from their miserable dens of vice, misery, and oppression of thousands of young men of twenty years of age, their sojourn in other parts of Italy with men of their own class (as the peasants furnish at least 80 per cent. of the entire army), but with quite other manners and customs and hopes and ideals, combined with strict discipline, good food, and daily instruction, has worked wonders both in the island of Sicily and on the Neapolitan continent. Brigandage as it used to be understood is exterminated. The Camorra in Naples, though it still exists, is very much diminished. Criminals there are, as everywhere, but the *galantuomini*, as they are called, to distinguish them from the lazzaroni, no longer stand in awe of them or pay blackmail to protect their lives and their persons.

In the island of Sicily the late Government bent all its efforts to the elevation of the masses by education and by offering inducements to the best class of civil servants and elementary school-mistresses and masters to go and remain in the island. Many infant schools have been set on foot, and it is a fact that there *is* progress everywhere. In the present Cabinet there are two members who have distinguished themselves in the fight with these special products of centuries of misrule, of superstition and neglect — Nicotera, of whom I have already spoken, and Pasquale Villari, who has devoted a considerable portion of his life to seeking the causes of the degradation of the southern masses, and in propounding and asking others to propose remedies. Di Rudini was Mayor of Palermo during one of the most terrible rebellions, and he suppressed it thoroughly. As a large Sicilian proprietor, he probably knows as much as any other man what the Maffia really means. In his last useful and most interesting pamphlet, Signor Bodio gives, under the title 'Di alcuni indici misuratori del Movimento Economico in Italia' some very sad statistics concerning crime in Italy, in which, though he tells us it is diminished, Italy still ranks second, after Spain, in Europe. Taking all the crimes reported to or discovered by the authorities in the kingdom, he classifies them, and shows the annual average for ten years (*i. e.*, between 1879 and 1889) for 100,000 inhabitants. First on the list stands murder—"simple murder, or murder with robbery." The Italians call all murder homicide. Highest on this black list stand Calabria, where every year 1,416 murders for every 100,000 inhabitants are committed; Sicily comes next, with 1,020; Sardinia, Rome and the Roman province, the Abruzzi, Campania, Molise, and Basilicata follow, all with their terrible four figures. The Marches and Umbria, Tuscany, which surprises one, come next, but with a vast diminution to 13 and 10 per 100,000. Liguria shows 9, Piedmont and Emilia 7; and Venetia is lowest on the scale, having but 5⅓. Thefts are highest in the Island of Sardinia and in the Lazio or Roman province, and again lowest in Venetia and in Piedmont. Immorality (or such crimes of that class as come under the action of the law) is least in Sicily, Emilia, and Piedmont; greatest, in a marked degree, in the old priest-ruled provinces of the Lazio and again in Calabria.

It is a gloomy picture after twenty years of unity and independence, but it is a great gain that the Italians do not shrink from their researches after crime, nor try to hide the hideous facts from the public. At the same time, their very earnestness in the repression of crime when it is met with, and the proof given even by these late statistics that it is vastly on the decrease, will account in great measure for their excitement and horror at the late tragedy in New Orleans. Ever since the bad old times of political oppression, the United States have been the favored and favoring asylum of the Italians, and their record on the pages of all the States has been one of a hard-working, sober, abstemious, and non-meddling immigration. Even the last report speaks well of them. With the exception of the Irish, with whom they do not generally sympathize —perhaps on account of the strong *pro-tempo-*

ral proclivities of the former—the Italians have never come into open hostility with any section of the Americans. During the Civil War, of course, all the Garibaldians were intensely Northern. If in 1860 Garibaldi had accepted the offer of the Federal Government, two-thirds of his volunteers would have accompanied him to fight for the liberation of the slaves. But he was needed at home, and so nothing came of the project. Since 1870 the commerce between the two countries has increased gradually and greatly, as has also the emigration, until perhaps the last two years, when large numbers have emigrated in preference to the Argentine Republic and Brazil. The Sicilians have always had a preference for New Orleans, and their colony there is regarded with pride and hope at home. They have there ten patriotic and benevolent societies, with $20,000 reserve. Only last January they sent home to their families in Sicily 300,000 lire ($60,000), depositing other $20,000 with the Consul. Their houses and steamers are well known; we have a list of some of the best names in Sicily. If we take the imports and exports of the island, we find that the United States are by far their largest consumers.

When the first news of the murder of Mr. Hennessy reached Italy, all the Italian press gave prominence to the fact; but assuredly it was not believed that the Italians had been the murderers. It was never thought for a moment in Italy that the murder was the deed of an association, because it was not believed that the Maffia, which is a home production, had been exported to New Orleans. When the trial came on, it was shown that money had been subscribed for the defence of the accused by the first American advocates, and, as far as we can see, there was not an Italian among the jury. Then came the news of the acquittal of six, the condemnation of three, the non-agreement of the jury for other three. Had the following news been of a second trial, *pazienza!* But a fiendish, cold-blooded murder of prisoners safe in prison, by American citizens, can no more be understood in Italy than would be the revival of the stakes and tortures of the Holy Inquisition. How is it possible, they ask, that, in a population of nearly 300,000 souls, a jury of twelve honest men and true could not be found? Is it credible that they could all stand in awe of a handful of miscreants, even admitting that there be an association of such? And when once they doubted of the justice of the verdict, why not arrest the jurors—why not have demanded a new trial?

It is evident that miscreants and malefactors *have* taken refuge in New Orleans. These are the clandestine emigrants who evade the police and the mayors because they want to escape the conscription or the law itself. It cannot be difficult for the large colony of wealthy, industrious, law-abiding Italians in New Orleans to establish a police of their own, to ascertain the name of every Italian in the State, his profession or occupation, his past, present, and probable future. Without committing any crime or even espionage, they can easily get rid of all would-be delinquents, as another colony of Italians have done in a large city annexed by another country.

J. W. M.

TALLEYRAND'S MEMOIRS.—III.

PARIS, April 1, 1891.

TALLEYRAND became Minister of Foreign Affairs at a moment when there was a general vague desire for a change in France. The words liberty, equality, fraternity were inscribed on all the walls, but the things which these words expressed were nowhere. Everything was violent and arbitrary. Gen. Bonaparte was filling the scene, and he was full of ambition and of genius. When he started for the expedition to Egypt, Talleyrand confided to him that he was going to resign. Bonaparte asked for him the embassy to Constantinople, feeling that he might need him as a negotiator in the East. Talleyrand resigned and waited, in the country, for coming events.

When the revolution of the 18th Brumaire took place after Bonaparte's return, Talleyrand immediately accepted the Foreign Office. The battle of Marengo, June 14, 1800, made the First Consul a true sovereign of France as well as the master of Italy. By the peace of Amiens, France found herself reunited to all the great Powers. A concordat was signed between France and the Holy See, and Talleyrand took a great part in this reconciliation. Bonaparte obtained from the Pope a brief for Talleyrand's secularization. (It was dated June 29, 1802.) After the conspiracy of Dumouriez, Pichegru, and Moreau, Bonaparte changed his title of Consul for life to that of Emperor. Talleyrand says but little on the question of the execution of the Duc d'Enghien:

"The violent and inexplicable death of Pichegru, the means employed for obtaining the condemnation of Moreau, might be put to the account of policy; but the assassination of the Duc d'Enghien, accomplished merely in order to secure the alliance, by placing himself in their ranks, of those whom the death of Louis XVI. made fearful of any power not conferred by their hands—this assassination, I say, could be neither excused nor pardoned, and it never has been. Bonaparte was therefore reduced to boasting of it."

The Duc de Broglie tells us in a note that Talleyrand wrote a special chapter on the assassination of the Duc d'Enghien, but it will appear only in one of the forthcoming volumes. We will therefore not dilate on an event in which the part of Talleyrand has not yet been clearly defined.

It was not enough for Bonaparte to have been proclaimed Emperor of the French, not enough to have been consecrated by the Pope; he assumed the iron crown at Milan, and, instead of calling himself King of Lombardy, took the name of King of Italy. Napoleon formed a camp at Boulogne and threatened to invade England. He suddenly turned his army towards the Rhine. Talleyrand received orders to go to Strasbourg and accompany the headquarters. The day of the Emperor's departure for Strasbourg, Talleyrand dined alone with him; he says that he was much alarmed because after dinner the Emperor had a fit, the convulsions lasting a quarter of an hour. Half an hour after, Napoleon was on his way to Stuttgart. On arriving in that city, Napoleon wrote to him: "I am well. The Duke of Würtemberg came to greet me outside of the first *grille* of his palace; he is a sensible man." In a second letter, written the same day, he said: "I have news of Mack; he is marching as if I guided him myself; he will be caught in Ulm, like a *vilain*." And so it was; the capitulation of Ulm was followed by the triumph at Austerlitz. During the negotiations, Talleyrand did all he could in favor of Austria: "You made for me at Presbourg," wrote Napoleon to him some time afterwards, "a treaty which much hampers me." The Emperor, however, gave him a mark of his satisfaction in naming him Prince of Benevento. Talleyrand never saw this Duchy of Benevento, one of the ugliest parts of Italy, between Naples and Foggia, on the crest of the Apennines, but he kept it till the time of the Restoration.

Talleyrand was all along opposed to the revolutionary policy of Napoleon in Europe, to his annexation of provinces and kingdoms to France, to his distribution of crowns to members of his family. He was by nature a Conservative, and he saw in Austria a necessary remnant of the old Empire and a bulwark against the ambition of Russia. Napoleon, who was the armed representative of the Revolution "se fit un jeu des sceptres et des lois," to cite a verse of Béranger's. He knew no obstacles, he respected no tradition and no treaty. He effected one conquest after another; he could not stop in his destructive career. After Austerlitz came Jena; when Prussia was at his feet, he turned suddenly on Spain, and swore to destroy the Spanish branch of the House of Bourbon. "And I," says Talleyrand, "I swore to myself internally to cease, at whatever cost, to be his Minister as soon as we should be back in France."

Talleyrand was a sort of philosopher and moralist; his observations are often curious: "What a singular spectacle it was to see Napoleon, on coming out of the cabinet of the Great Frederic, where he had been writing a bulletin for his army, enter the dining-room and dine with Möllendorf, who was his prisoner, and Müller, the historian of the Prussian monarchy; offering them their salary, which they accepted, then entering his carriage and starting for Posen." Talleyrand negotiated the peace of Tilsit, after the famous interview which took place on a raft on the Niemen between Napoleon and the Emperor Alexander. The conditions imposed on Prussia were excessively harsh. "How," said one day Napoleon to Queen Louise of Prussia, "with such feeble means as you had, did you dare to make war on me?" "I will tell your Majesty: the glory of Frederic II. had deceived us as to our own power." "This word glory," says Talleyrand, "so happily placed, and at Tilsit, in the salon of the Emperor Napoleon, seemed to me very grand." Talleyrand showed many attentions to Queen Louise, and when he conducted her for the last time to her carriage, "Prince of Benevento," said she to him, "there are but two persons who regret that I should have come here—you and I. You are not sorry, are you, that I should carry away this opinion?"

The efforts of Queen Louise had been vain; Napoleon was inflexible. He flattered himself also that he had made a dupe of Alexander of Russia; "but time showed that the true dupe was himself." After a whole year spent in Germany, Talleyrand returned to Paris, with the title of Vice-Grand Elector. He left the Foreign Office immediately; he did not agree with Napoleon on the subject of Spanish affairs. Napoleon avenged himself by choosing Valençay, which belonged to Talleyrand, as the prison of Ferdinand VII., his brother, and their uncle.

When the Emperor Alexander and Napoleon saw each other at Tilsit, they promised each other to meet again. It was a promise which Napoleon did not care to keep; but, after the disasters of the French in Spain, he was afraid that Austria would take advantage of the situation, and he felt the need of drawing nearer to Russia. The second interview took place at Erfurt. The Emperor Napoleon, though his relations with Talleyrand had already become very frigid, wished him to accompany him. He had persuaded himself that it would be useful to him, and that was

enough. The chapter of the Memoirs on the interview at Erfurt is an historical page of the first importance; it is, so far, the masterpiece of the work; it is a picture which is truly admirable. Napoleon moves in it, speaks, acts, as if he were alive. His wonderful genius, extending to everything, is painted in the most vivid colors. Talleyrand is sincere; he does not detract anything from Napoleon, though he already considers him a sort of public enemy, a curse to the world; his admiration is not diminished by his foresight and by a sort of curious antipathy which he, a representative of the past and of the old régime, feels instinctively for the *parvenu*, for the upstart who takes pleasure in the humiliation of the old dynasties. Talleyrand also appears in this chapter as a great writer; he has made for himself a style, not very correct, perhaps, but very personal, marked by extraordinary shades and delicacies, by attenuations and circumlocutions which all have their importance. I will give an instance of this style:

"I am tempted to believe, and the thought of it came to me at Erfurt, that there are secrets of flattery which are revealed only to princes—not to such as have been dethroned, but to those who have placed their thrones under a threatening protectorate. . . . There is a reason for this. . . . The small princes wish that their courts should conceal the narrow limits of their power. Everything is magnified and puffed up about a petty sovereign—etiquette, attentions, flatteries. It is by the flatteries specially that he measures his greatness; he never finds them exaggerated. This way of thinking becomes natural to him, and he does not change it when fortune changes. If victory brings into his states, his palace, a man before whom he is himself no more than a courtier, he falls as low before the conqueror as he wished to see his subjects before him. He cannot form another idea of flattery. . . . I did not see, at Erfurt, a single hand pass nobly over the mane of the lion."

This page would not be out of place in La Bruyère or Pascal. It has often been said that at Erfurt, when Napoleon invited all the sovereigns and princes who had come there to greet him to the gala representations at the French Theatre (he had sent Talma and the whole troupe to the little German city), he had a *parterre de rois*. I forgot who said, "A *parterre?* you mean a *platebande!*" a joke which explains itself if you separate the word platebande in two, and which is meant to express forcibly the attitude of all the princes who were at Erfurt.

Talleyrand speaks at length of the conversations between Napoleon and Goethe, and, in his account, the greatest of all German writers loses nothing. The poet and the Emperor talked and discussed literary points with perfect ease. Napoleon told Goethe that if he wrote anything about the interview at Erfurt, he ought to dedicate it to the Emperor Alexander. "It is not my habit. When I began to write, I made it a principle never to compose a dedication so as never to repent of it." "The great writers of the century of Louis XIV. were not like that." "It is true, Sire, but your Majesty could not feel sure that they never repented of it." "What has become of that rogue Kotzebue?" "Sire, they say he is in Siberia, and that your Majesty will ask the Emperor Alexander to pardon him." "Well! do you know he is not my man?" "Sire, he is very unfortunate, and has much talent." "Good-bye, Mr. Goethe."

Napoleon chose with much care the plays which were to be represented before the sovereigns. He would have Corneille's "Cinna" because there are in it verses which absolve the crimes committed by a great man who seizes the crown:

> "Et dans le sacré rang où sa faveur l'a mis
> Le passé devient juste et l'avenir permis.
> Qui peut y parvenir ne peut être coupable."

"It is excellent," said he to Rémusat, "for these Germans who still talk of the death of the Duc d'Enghien; we must widen their morals. I don't refer to the Emperor Alexander: such things seem nothing to a Russian. It will be good for the men with melancholy ideas who fill Germany."

Correspondence.

A NEW ATTACK ON COMMERCIAL FREEDOM.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: The people of the United States have heretofore been engaged in fighting for their rights as citizens of one country under the so-called commerce clause of the Constitution. That alone secures a pretty large class of those rights which people think are natural, and therefore suppose need no protection. The enemies have been the States which theoretically are foreign to each other. We are now meeting a new phase of the efforts to destroy the freedom of intercourse within the United States for the purposes of trade. The famous oleomargarine legislation is a specimen. Another is seen in the case of Bremer vs. Robinson (128 United States 78, January 19, 1891), where the Legislature of Virginia is convicted of an evasion of the Constitution by prohibiting the importation of fresh meat, under the device of an inspection duty of one cent a pound. And when we recall the numberless instances in which traders from other States have been sought to be excluded, it is no exaggeration to say that loyalty to the great principle of the Constitution—the unity of the people of the United States for purposes of trade—does not exist, and is enforced by the power of the Supreme Court only.

We have now to meet statutes that violate the rights of a State's own citizens. Will not the community be surprised to learn that any State has the power to make it criminal for one of her citizens to make any contract with a citizen of another State? About this the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania *have no doubt whatever* (Com'th vs. Biddle, 27 Weekly Notes of Cases 289). A mill-owner, by letter and check drawn in Philadelphia, insured his mill in a Massachusetts corporation. He was convicted and fined as for a misdemeanor. The Supreme Court, declaring there was no doubt as to the power of the Legislature to make this act criminal, discharged the defendant because, and only because, they thought the law did not mean to make it criminal in him, but only in the insurer or his agent, to make such a contract.

It appears to me that this suggestion to the unscrupulous of a mode of compassing their ends is one of the most dangerous that have as yet been made. The rights of citizens are most carefully protected against discriminations in favor of citizens of other States by section 2 of article ii. Did it not occur to the framers of the Constitution that it might be necesssary to secure them against discrimination in the form of prohibiting dealings with persons out of the limits of their own State? Consider what this means. To foster domestic resources, it may be made felony to invest out of the State. A sentence that recognizes this power certainly deserved more consideration than it appears to have received. For if we consider the *ratio decidendi* as the decision (which, as a guide to inferior courts, it must be taken to be), it is a distinct decision that a contract by letter with a foreigner, unless he is licensed to deal by the Sta e in which the letter is written, may be made criminal in the writer.

The only refuge lies in the commerce clause of the Constitution of the United States. Who of us have been aware of this? That it is ample, I have no doubt. The only thing in the way is an epigrammatic sentence of Mr. Justice Field, in Paul vs. Virginia—that insurance is not commerce. For the purpose of that case it may be perfectly correct, but it has the vice of all generalizations. The way to test this is to ask, Could any one conduct commerce if forbidden to insure? It would be possible, certainly, but practicable, certainly not. A person thus hampered would be in the same position as one prohibited from buying on credit or drawing bills.

The subject deserves an essay; but to those who can appreciate the consequences that are involved in such a dogma, sufficient has been said to attract attention to the subject.

R. C. McMurtrie.

Philadelphia, April 15, 1891.

THE CANADIAN ELECTIONS.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: I read with interest and pleasure the editorial paragraph, upon the result of the late general elections in Canada, which appeared in your issue of March 12, and with a certain degree of surprise the animadversions upon that paragraph, by Mr. A. Ferguson of Ottawa, published in the *Nation* of the 26th ultimo. Looking at all the circumstances of the case, you were justified in saying that the elections had "resulted in a practical defeat of Sir John Macdonald and the Conservative party," and you were—without any qualification—correct in the statement that "although they have secured a numerical majority, they have met very serious losses."

The Government went into the conflict with a majority of 49 and came out with a majority which Mr. Ferguson places at 33 or 35, but which will probably be found to be less than 30. They had at the time of the dissolution 57 members from Ontario, as against 35 supporters of the Liberal party. Now they have 47, as against 44. In Quebec, where the Government had a majority of 5, the Opposition now count 37 members against their 28. The very serious losses, in the two great central provinces, indicated by those figures, are not made up for by the gain of five seats in the eastern maritime section of the Dominion. Mr. Ferguson tries to break the force of this showing by going back to the elections of 1887, when Sir John Macdonald was kept in power by a comparatively narrow majority, instead of comparing his strength after the recent elections with his strength immediately before. When we look at the tremendous influence wielded through the whole length of the Dominion—from Nova Scotia to British Columbia—by the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, and know that it was exerted to the utmost on behalf of the Government; when we are made aware that the Conservatives controlled an enormous campaign fund obtained from the protected manufacturers, from contractors, and from other sources; and when we consider the fact that the false cries of "Treason" and "Annexation" were deliberately raised against the Liberal party to prejudice them in the eyes of

a loyal people, and that, owing to the shortness of the campaign, those cries were successful in a greater degree than would naturally have been expected, we cannot fail to see that Sir John and his party have, as you said, met with a "practical defeat." Had the result of the elections indicated the true sentiment of the voters on the respective policies of the two parties, the defeat would have been absolute and decisive.

You were also, in my humble opinion, perfectly correct in saying that the result of the elections betokened "the early breakdown of protectionism in the Dominion." Ontario and Quebec were the strongholds of the National Policy, as protection is absurdly miscalled in Canada: there are few manufactures in the Lower Provinces, and almost none in Manitoba, the Northwest Territories, or British Columbia. Outside of Ontario and Quebec, the overwhelming majority of the people have always been in favor of a low tariff. The result of the elections has been to leave the Government, which went to the country with a majority of twenty-seven in those two provinces, in a minority of six. To the ordinary mind this change would indicate an early breakdown of the protective policy. As a matter of fact, prominent Conservative papers have admitted that the elections have shown that the existing tariff needs reform in the way of reduction; and the Rev. Dr. Grant, the distinguished Principal of Queen's University at Kingston, Ontario—himself a Conservative—tells us that "The National Policy in its present shape has won its last victory. Trade restrictions against the whole world cannot be maintained. . . . We must extend our trade relations with the United States or with the rest of the world."

It is somewhat singular that Mr. Ferguson should now claim that, instead of, as you had said, rebuking Sir John Macdonald for putting forward the pretence that the Dominion would, under reciprocity with the United States, lose the power of self-control, "the electors by a large majority rebuked the Opposition leaders for embracing the unpatriotic policy of unrestricted reciprocity," whereas during the campaign neither Sir John nor, so far as I am aware, any of his followers discussed the merits of the policy of unrestricted reciprocity at all. Sir John, in his manifesto to the electors, deliberately confounded unrestricted reciprocity with commercial union, and then claimed that such a policy would lead to annexation; and his example was followed with great zeal and energy during the campaign, in the press and on the platform, throughout the country by his lieutenants. It may be mentioned in passing that in Nova Scotia the Liberals were further credited with the intention of handing over the inshore fisheries to your fishermen, when, as a matter of fact, their policy did not profess to deal with the question of fishing rights.

You will perhaps allow me to explain briefly the origin and nature of the much maligned Liberal policy of unrestricted reciprocity. The so-called National Policy had failed to make every one rich and happy as it had been guaranteed to do, and the stronger the grip of the policy upon the country grew, the stronger grew also the feeling of dissatisfaction of the many who were being legally plundered for the benefit of the few. The only remedy suggested by the Government party was the proverbial hair of the dog that had bitten—more protection; higher duties on goods already protected, and duties upon farm products and other articles as yet untaxed. Our experience in this respect has been the same as yours, although our present tariff falls considerably short of the perfection of Major McKinley's masterpiece. The Liberal party, remembering the great benefits conferred upon both the United States and the British North American provinces by the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854, thought that the best remedy for existing evils was to be found in a renewal of that treaty, either in the original or in some modified form. There was every reason to believe that the United States would not agree to a renewal of the Treaty of 1854, or to any treaty which did not include the manufactured as well as the natural products of the two countries. In the session of 1884, Sir John Macdonald, speaking in the House of Commons upon a resolution in favor of reciprocity, introduced by Mr. Davies, a Liberal member from Prince Edward Island, used the following language:

"Unless the United States will come at some time or other to the conclusion that they would be willing to enter upon a reciprocity treaty not only for our natural productions, but for our manufactures as well as our natural products, we will never have a treaty. I am quite satisfied the United States will not agree, the country will not agree, the voice of the country will be against a repetition of the treaty of 1854. Then, sir, the only question is this: 'Can we have a treaty on a larger basis?'"

The feeling of the Republican leaders in the United States at a somewhat later date could be gathered from a passage in a speech made by Mr. Blaine at Lock Haven, Pa., in October, 1886:

"Some time ago," said Mr. Blaine, "one of the eminent men in Canada asked me to use what little influence I possessed to urge upon our people the propriety of a reciprocity treaty which it was understood, he said, our Minister was then negotiating at the Court of St. James's. I asked how it would do to make a clean thing of it and let into the United States free of duty everything they produced, everything we produced to be let into Canada free of duty. . . . I said, 'Will you let in our cotton and our products of leather, iron, steel, and the thousand and one others of our products?'"

The Liberals (in 1888, if my memory is not at fault), seeing no chance of obtaining reciprocity in natural products alone, decided to adopt the course indicated by Sir John Macdonald and Mr. Blaine, and to advocate reciprocity in manufactured as well as natural products; and accordingly, in the session of 1888, Sir Richard Cartwright introduced a resolution in the House of Commons favoring what is now known as unrestricted reciprocity. I may remark that, at a gathering of the Liberal members at Ottawa held shortly before to consider the fiscal policy, commercial union was disapproved of by an overwhelming majority, on the grounds that the United States customs duties are much too high, and that, under that system, Canada would lose the power to frame her own tariff as to the world outside herself and the great Republic. The Liberal policy differed from the Conservative in offering to add manufactures to natural products, as to which both parties were substantially agreed. I do not propose to deal with the difficulties which might arise in the practical working of the scheme of unrestricted reciprocity, if it was agreed upon by the United States and Canada; but the statesmanship of the two countries could, I think, be trusted to find means to overcome them. If the United States declined to enter into a treaty providing for reciprocity, the Liberal policy would be, not annexation nor commercial union, but such tariff reform as would lighten the burdens of the farmers, lumberers, miners, fishermen, and all classes of the community outside the factory-owners, while leaving enough incidental protection to enable any manufacture suited to the country to hold its own against foreign competition.

This fiscal policy of the Liberal party, so just, reasonable, and patriotic, was described by Sir John and his followers as being identical with commercial union and as leading necessarily to annexation. True, the treaty of 1854 had not tended in that direction, and one could see no reason in the nature of things why the addition of manufactures to the free list should bring about so marked a change in results; but that was the ground taken by the Conservatives. As our Canadian comic paper, *Grip*, put it, free trade in natural products was exuberant loyalty, while free trade in manufactures was rank treason. The Liberal policy had been before the country for three years, and had been discussed at length in Parliament, and to some extent in the press and on the platform, and its disloyalty was not made an issue until the premature dissolution. Clearly then, Mr. Editor, you were perfectly right in saying that the Conservatives "raised the cry of annexation to frighten the timid."

Allow me also to express my entire concurrence in your declaration that the result of the elections did not "betoken any near approach to annexation." There are, as far as I know, but few annexationists in Canada, and there is no party favorable to annexation. We can admire the manifold greatness of your country and the numerous good qualities of her population, and even realize that the Dominion would reap considerable material benefit from a political union with the republic, without feeling tempted to abandon our present connection with the mother country, our substantial independence, and a constitutional system which we prefer to that which you esteem so highly. We Liberals are as loyal as our Tory neighbors, but we think that loyalty alone is not a life-sustaining food, and that we in Canada could, without hurting it, indulge in reciprocal free trade with the United States—even without restriction—to the great advantage of our people.

May I be permitted to add that, even though unrestricted reciprocity might be the most desirable thing for the United States as well as for Canada, a limited reciprocity would also be good, although in a less degree, and good for both parties? Free trade is like mercy: "It blesseth him that gives and him that takes"; and although the general opinion in your country is that the balance of advantage under the treaty of 1854 was decidedly with the British Provinces, my impression is—speaking without book—that the increase in our importations from the United States was in pretty nearly the same ratio as that of our exports to that country. It is, therefore, to be hoped that, even should unrestricted reciprocity be for the present out of reach, owing to the objections of the Imperial or the Dominion Government, your Administration and Senate may see their way to a loosening of the bonds which now impede the natural circulation of the life-giving current of trade between Canada and the United States. Two such countries as those should be able to treat electioneering speeches and newspaper bluster as so much froth or fog which hides for the time being the true character of the stream that rolls beneath. Whatever visionary theorists or interested politicians or monopolists may say, the good feeling and common sense of people on either side of the boundary line declare that the greater the intercourse between the two countries, the better it will be for both.

Your obedient servant, L. G. POWER.

HALIFAX, NOVA SCOTIA, April 4, 1891.

ARCHIEPISCOPAL ENGLISH.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Among the tests of a strictly correct style, it must be admitted that uniformity in assigning the adverb *only* its due position is one of the most trustworthy. In other words, when predicable of a writer, it may be considered as affording a presumption that he has learned to conform to the most approved precedents; and it also gives evidence, in a small way, of a sense of logical exigency. Very few authors of note have been so heedful in this matter as Lord Macaulay. On the other hand, very few, in days recently gone by, have been more conspicuously the reverse than the late Archbishop Trench. From the seventh edition, published a short time ago, of that prelate's 'Select Glossary,' quotations in support of this contention, with the proper collocation of *only* indicated by brackets, here follow:

"Enormous. Now *only* applied [ ] to that which is irregular in excess." P. 95.
"Which, indeed, is *only* agreeable [ ] to the proper meaning of the word." P. 99.
"In English, we *only* retain the word now in [ ] the second of these uses." P. 130.
"Which, however, is *only* fully intelligible [ ] by a reference to the Greek." P. 141.
"The connotation of moral baseness *only* accrued to the word [ ] by degrees." P. 172.
"The more honourable use of 'officious' now *only* survives [ ] in the distinction," etc. P. 194.
"He is *only* to be perfectly understood, [ ] when we keep in mind," etc. P. 212.
"At present we *only* 'prune' [ ] trees." P. 222.
"Women are intended to be wives, and *only* find the true completion of their being [ ] when they are so." P. 301.
"Debate . . . was *only* true to its etymology (débattre) [ ] so long as," etc. P. 66. See also pp. 12, 61, etc.

That any one who could print, and year after year go on reprinting, the like of this should, in many other respects, fall short of being exemplary in his manner of expressing himself, while it can occasion no surprise, might almost be expected. And here are some samples of Dr. Trench's peculiarities, all of them taken from the little book cited above, making it clear that, however diligent he was in discoursing on our mother-tongue, he was, in employing it, by no means a master:

"I am *persuaded* [convinced] that, in the decomposition, word by word, of," &c. Preface, p. vi.
"The compensations which we look for are most *capable* of being found." *Id.*, p. vi.
"Witnessing for the good, or for the evil, which *have* been unconsciously at work." *Id.*, p. viii.
"Under one aspect or *another*." *Id.*, p. viii. Also in p. ix.
"According to the desynonymizing processes *ever* at work in a language." P. 71. Also in pp. 192, 302.
"'Drench' and 'drown,' though desynonymized in our later English, were once perfectly *adequate* to one another." P. 85.
"'Ecstasy' . . . is no longer used as an equivalent *to* madness." P. 89.
"Having *gotten* this application of the word from the Vulgate." P. 108.
"From the *seldom* use of it." P. 147.
"It *needs hardly to say* that a 'Jacobin' was once a Dominican friar." P. 152.
"It formerly implied *a great deal more and worse* than it implies now." P. 162.
"The two businesses were very closely *joined*, would often run *in, to* one another." P. 165.
"There lies ever, in 'obsequious,' at *the* present, the sense," etc. P. 192. Also in p. 211.
"As it is written three times out of the four *on which* it occurs." P. 197.
"We have *forfeited* the full force of the statement, 'God is no respecter of persons.'" P. 205. Also in p. 289.
"*He* was 'popular' once, *not who* had acquired, *but who* was laying himself out to acquire, the favour of the people." P. 213.
"Terms of *extremest* scorn." P. 221.
"Which once conveyed *intensest* moral reprobation." P. 252. "In which all *chiefest* excellencies," etc. P. 289.
"Once it *did but express* [expressed only]," etc. P. 250. "Words which at first *did but express*," etc. P. 286.
"It conveyed, also, of old, a much deeper moral reprobation than [it does] now or in the Middle English it did." P. 252.
"Men will be content, *for long*, to confuse," etc. P. 256.
"He . . . whose stupor and folly *is* connected with," etc. P. 258.
"Having now no other *but* a literal sense." P. 285.
"Almost all nations regard with disfavour and dislike that which is *outlandish* [foreign]." P. 286.
"Perverted wisdom on *his part to whom* it was given." P. 304.

Anything, in these quotations, to which attention is directed by italics and otherwise, would be marked, I suppose, by a competent teacher, as a blemish, if it occurred in a composition by a lad of sixteen or eighteen.

According to Mr. T. L. Kington Oliphant, "Dr. Trench is a good Teuton, and is, therefore, heartily abused by professors of fine writing." Of such professors and their doings I know nothing; but I think I know what sort of English is approved by persons of rational and cultivated taste, with their disrelish for fatuous fads, conceited eccentricities, and unscholarly carelessness. Be this as it may, if the characteristics of "a good Teuton" are found in such affectations, insipid archaisms, contortions, pomposity, violations of idiom, and false grammar as have been instanced in this letter, it will be allowed, most assuredly, that the less we have of so repulsive a thing as Teutonism, the better.

It is common to see our language, as contaminated by Americans, made a subject of derision. No apology, then, need be offered for having shown that its use even by eminent Britons is not lightly to be accepted as secure from adverse criticism.—Your obedient servant,

F. H.

Marlesford, England, February 15, 1891.

Notes.

Longmans, Green & Co. will publish directly a Life of Charles Macklin, by Edward Abbott Parry, for William Archer's series of "Eminent Actors."

Gebbie & Co., Philadelphia, have in course of publication 'The American Continent and its Inhabitants before its Discovery by Columbus,' by Annie Cole Cady, with illustrations by Henry N. Cady and others. Eight of the twenty-five monthly parts have already appeared. The narrative is addressed to a group of boys and girls, and begins with the formation of the earth.

Prof. George F. Wright's 'Ice Age in North America' is about to appear in a third edition, with a supplementary chapter, from the press of the Appletons.

A third edition of Sanborn's 'Life of John Brown' is on the point of being issued by Roberts Bros., Boston.

Mr. H. T. Finck's 'Pacific Coast Scenic Tour' has reached a second edition within five months of its first publication by the Scribners, and has evidently found favor with tourists.

Mr. Charles Dudley Warner's recent contributions to *Harper's Magazine* on Southern California make a volume of very entertaining and instructive reading, in which scenery, society, and statistics are pleasantly mingled. All the conditions of living there affecting the invalid, tourist, or permanent resident are discussed with a great variety of detail touching climate, soil, natural resources, methods and effects of irrigation, practical results of fruit culture, houses, homes, and the general advance of civilization. One of the most notable chapters describes the author's visit to the Grand Cañon of the Colorado. These interesting papers have now been published by the Harpers in a book of very attractive appearance, amply and beautifully illustrated, and bearing the title of 'Our Italy.'

The anti-pirate edition of Bryce's 'American Commonwealth' (Macmillan) is offered at an incredibly low price, which brings it within reach of every one who buys a book, viz.: $2.50 for two volumes. It is the plain duty of every intelligent citizen to possess himself of this work, and to buy only the author's edition.

P. Blakiston, Son & Co. have nearly ready 'A Handbook of Local Therapeutics,' by many competent hands.

An 'Advanced Geography,' with seven full-page relief maps, besides many others, has been prepared by Miss Eliza H. Morton for John E. Potter & Co., Philadelphia.

Griffith, Farran & Co., London, announce 'Younger American Poets, 1830–1890,' edited by Douglas Sladen, with an appendix of Younger Canadian Poets, by G. B. Roberts of St. John, N. B.

A 'History of British Guiana' has been undertaken by Mr. James Rodway, F.L.S., the librarian of the Royal Agricultural and Commercial Society of that colony. The work will be in three volumes, and will cover the period from 1668 to the present time. It will be printed and published by the *Argosy* Press, Georgetown, Demerara. Volume i., bringing the history of the colony down to the end of the last century, will be issued during the course of the present year. Mr. Rodway has also undertaken to edit for the Hakluyt Society Capt. Lawrence Kemys's account of his voyage to Guiana in 1596, for which he was "set forth" by Sir Walter Raleigh. As we have already announced, Mr. im Thurn, now Government agent of the Northwest District of British Guiana, is editing Sir Walter's 'Discoverie'; the edition published by the Hakluyt Society in 1850, and ably edited by Sir Robert Schomburgk, being now out of print.

Under the title 'West Indian Yarns by X. Beke' (alias ex-Magistrate), the same *Argosy* Press has just issued an amusing collection of stories of West Indian life. It is no secret that the author of the work is Mr. George Hammond Hawtayne, who holds a high official position in that colony. The writer being a man of much humor, with a fund of anecdote, his book is one to be read.

The late Arthur Middleton Reeves published for his second book (through Sampson Low, 1890) 'Lad and Lass,' a story of life in Iceland, which he had translated from the Icelandic of Jón Thordarson Thoroddsen—'Pittur og Stúlka,' as it is called in the original, which appeared as far back as 1850. It is still the best Icelandic work of fiction, and Mr. Reeves's translation is on the whole the most readable in any tongue, without disparagement of the excellent German version by Poestion. There have been two Danish versions, one of which was feebly rendered into English, under the title 'Sigrid,' in a New York edition. Mr. Reeves completed his translation soon after his return from Iceland, but with some diffidence and only after urging.

The Popular Edition of Sir Walter Scott's Journal just issued by the Messrs. Harper makes a single duodecimo volume of about 600 pages in fair type. The binding is a sober brown and quite presentable. Substantially

the public is as well served by this as by the more costly and elegant edition.

Students of zoölogy are under lasting obligations to Professor Lankester for bringing together in a handbook the 'Zoölogical Articles contributed to the "Encyclopædia Britannica"' (Charles Scribner's Sons). To his own essays on Protozoa, Hydrozoa, Mollusca, Polyzoa, and Vertebrata, he has added the Sponges by Sollas, the Planarians by Von Graff, the Nemertines by Hubrecht, the Rotifera by Bourne, and the Tunicata by Herdman. Each of the writers is an authority of the first rank in his special field. The longest chapters are the Mollusca, of sixty-three pages, and the Protozoa, of thirty-eight. As the articles are concise, profusely illustrated, and handsomely printed, the book is well adapted to the needs of such persons as seek a general knowledge of animal life, and it will prove a great deal more helpful to teachers than the ordinary manual of zoölogy on which so many of them depend.

Mr. Charles Bird's 'Elementary Geology' (Longmans) is an English book not adapted to use in this country. It is the printed form given to a series of lessons in geology by an English teacher, arranged to fit his own opportunities with English rocks. Whether it will be more useful to other English teachers than such books as Geikie's or Green's, is open to question. In this country there can be little need of it. Few references are made to American examples, and the most important of these are not satisfactorily illustrated. The view of the Cañon of the Colorado is from an old drawing, long superseded; the "valley showing signs of former glaciation" is an unfortunate and somewhat notorious example of the effect of exaggerating a photographic original, taken in the Rocky Mountains, although its locality is not mentioned here; and the little outline of the delta of the Mississippi is set upside down in the text. The only good that may come from the advertising of these foreign and geologically provincial books in this country is, that our own teachers may be tempted to prepare books suited to our own geological province.

It may be a matter of taste more than of judgment, but our own preference is not for books in the style of 'Through Magic Glasses,' by Arabella B. Buckley (now Mrs. Fisher), which is published by the Appletons. It is intended to give an account of the discoveries made by telescopes, microscopes, spectroscopes, and so on. Manifestly a wide range of reading has been traversed in its preparation—not shallow though wide, nor yet deep. The facts selected for description or explanation are interesting; they appear to be generally correct in statement; but heterogeneous is the very shortest word to describe their relationship, and they are artificially presented through much of the book in a series of imaginary conversations between a teacher, who calls himself a magician, and his scholars. This story part of the book with its quotation-mark style is tiresome; the direct form of statement in 'Life and Her Children,' by the same author, is preferable, and, as tested by actual home experiment, is more attractive to young people.

'Artistic Homes in City and Country, with Other Examples of Domestic Architecture,' by Albert. W. Fuller and William Arthur Wheeler, architects (Boston: Ticknor & Co.), is the fifth edition, considerably amended, of a collection of examples which are exclusively the work of its authors, and so one of a class of books which are in a way professional advertisements; and it is one of the best. Its seventy plates show a certain progress in style that is interesting, and contain exteriors and plans of all degrees of excellence, from the stateliness of plates 1–3 to the shabby-genteel of 36–38, which is perhaps one of the "other examples." American houses are, very likely—to the particular persons who live in them—what the authors here assert, the most comfortable and convenient in the world; and it is quite possible that they are the most "healthful." These specimens show more of their good qualities than do most that we see published, but they exemplify some of the bad, and in particular cling tenaciously to one of the worst, the wretched American trick of putting the water-closets in the bath-rooms.

We have already reviewed Guillemard's 'Life of Ferdinand Magellan' in the English edition. It has just been brought out for this market by Dodd, Mead & Co.

'The Portuguese on the Northeast Coast of America, and the First European Attempt at Colonization There: A Lost Chapter in American History,' is the title of a paper by the Rev. George Patterson, D.D., read before the Royal Society of Canada and printed in its transactions as well as issued separately to a small extent. It offers much evidence to show that the Portuguese were probably foremost in the sixteenth century in exploring the coasts of Labrador, Newfoundland, and Nova Scotia; that they first made known the true configuration of the Bay of Fundy and the shores of New England, and that, possibly before Cartier, they sailed up the St. Lawrence to Montreal and gave it its name. Many of the Portuguese names are still retained in these regions, and a list of them is given in an appendix. In regard to the colony sent out in 1521 from Vianna in Portugal, Dr. Patterson believes that certain traces of it have been found at St. Peter's in Cape Breton. Here are earthworks much older than those which the French built at the same place, and in one angle of them has been discovered a hooped cannon of the kind used in the sixteenth century. Several reproductions of ancient Portuguese maps illustrate the paper.

The principal article in the last number of *Petermann's Mitteilungen* is an orographic sketch of the Kapaonik Mountains, a range which forms a part of the southern boundary of Servia. In the course of it the author, Dr. W. Götz, remarks on the extraordinary sparseness of the population in this part of the country. "One can go on beaten paths," he says, "for half-a-day without meeting a human being or seeing a village, in spite of abundance of water and trees." The scientific results, especially botanical and entomological, of several Danish expeditions to the west coast of Greenland in the years 1889–1890 are given by H. Rink. It appears that the movement of one of the glaciers was seventeen feet in twenty-four hours. The map of the number shows the region explored by Maj. Wissmann and Dr. Wolf in the southeastern part of the Congo Free State, and is accompanied by cartographical remarks by Dr. B. Hassenstein.

A recent number of the London *Times* calls attention to the fact that Belgium is seeking not only to obtain a monopoly of the trade of Central Africa, but to absorb the territory also. By the Berlin Conference the northern boundary of the Congo Free State was fixed at 4° north lat. But one of its officers, Capt. Van Gele, has recently made a treaty with a powerful chief whose possessions are in 5° north lat. This movement northwards is to be supplemented by a formidable expedition, consisting of 300 soldiers and 5,000 carriers, under the command of Capt. Van Kerkhove, which left Stanley Pool early in February last, it is said, "to reach the Bahr-el-Gazelle and to annex in the King's name the Nile Valley." Over all this country, however, Egypt still retains her rights, and in order to reach it the Belgians will have to pass through territory allotted by the last Anglo-German agreement to British influence. The *Times* concludes by saying that King Leopold "ought to realize that the line of action which is being pursued by the administration of the Congo Free State will inevitably lead to its break-up and its ultimate partition among those European Powers that cluster round its borders."

A late issue of the London *Athenæum* reproduces, from a recent acquisition of the Department of MSS. in the British Museum, a letter written in Italian by the painter Rubens, on June 29, 1628, in which he confidentially communicates tidings of the discovery "ultra Tropicum versus Austrum" of "un gran paese per non dire nouum orbem," referring to Australia, the existence of which was kept secret by the Dutch East India Company.

A 'Biographical Notice of Maria Mitchell' appears as an off-print from the xxvth volume of the Transactions of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. It is from the pen of her brother, Mr. Henry Mitchell, whose long and distinguished service in the Coast and Geodetic Survey is well known. Mr. Mitchell's scientific training stands him in good stead as a writer, manifesting itself in great lucidity and directness of style and in a restraint of eulogy which is most wise in a case where the simplest statement of facts is the most effective praise. The glimpse that one gets from his pages of the family life of the Mitchells at Nantucket is wholly charming.

The will of Mr. Barnum, most famous of showmen, proves that his public benefactions are to be extended. The amiable and philanthropic side of his character is well shown in a portrait published in July, 1889, by *Sun and Shade* (New York: Photo-Gravure Co.).

The *Classical Review* is to give much space in the next few numbers to the recently discovered treatise of Aristotle, and will welcome contributions of emendations or of notes from American scholars.

We have received from M. Édouard Rouveyre, 76 rue de Seine, Paris, six numbers of the pocket guide to present values of fine and rare books, etc., 'Petit Manuel du Bibliophile et du Libraire, donnant la valeur actuelle des livres anciens et modernes, recherchés et appréciés,' etc, edited by B. H. Gusseron. There will be twenty-four parts annually, indexed at the close by authors and titles.

The American Economic Association has awarded prizes for essays on Women Wage-earners to Miss Clare de Graffenried of Washington, D. C., and Mrs. Helen Campbell of New York. Miss Graffenried's essay will probably be published by the Association.

—John Jay, wrote the renegade minister and spy, John Vardill, to his employers, "is possessed of a strong understanding, tho much perverted by a study of the law, joined to a temper naturally controversial. You can sooner gain him to your opinion by submitting to be confuted by him, than by a direct attempt to convince him. He is obstinate, indefatigable, and dogmatical; but by his courage, zeal, and abilities as a writer and speaker, has much popularity, and leads the other delegates in Congress." That Vardill's estimate was not unfair, is proved by the contents of the second volume of the 'Correspondence and Public Papers of John Jay' (Putnams). The two long reports to Congress of his mission in Spain, and his first report from Paris, occupy one-half of

the volume, and are known through the Sparks edition, which Prof. Johnston has closely followed. They paint a dreary picture of the incidents of a hopeless mission. Misled by the too sanguine Arthur Lee, Congress blundered into constituting a mission that was distasteful to the Spanish Government, and, by giving no opportunity for an expression of opinion, forced that Government to neutralize the error by methods that savored strongly of trickery. Jay was heavily handicapped from the first. He was a beggar for money and supplies, and these were grudgingly promised and doled out with exasperating and insulting conditions; and yet he was expected to secure what Spain was determined never to part with —the navigation rights of the Mississippi. Under these circumstances, to threaten was out of the question; to assert positively, was dangerous; and Jay had no resource but to dance attendance upon a minister who was everything but frank and open in his dealings, and whose politically sensitive health (and his secretary was similarly affected) forbade him to touch upon the American business. Wearied with delay, and keenly feeling the humiliating absurdity of his position, Jay welcomed his summons to Paris, and carried with him suspicions of bad faith on the part of both France and Spain which exerted great influence in the peace negotiations.

— As in the first, the absence of notes by the editor is the conspicuous feature of this second volume, yet even to one familiar with the history of this unfortunate mission the record needs further illustration. This could be given without touching the hotly disputed question of Jay's real weight in the ultimate negotiations for peace. In only a single instance has the editor used the opening offered, and he has then inserted what we suggested properly belonged in the first volume. The correspondence of the French and Spanish Governments would have supplied a curious commentary of the text. There are many new letters from Jay, but only one (to Egbert Benson) of importance. Letters from Benson, Livingston, and Morris, and a few more letters from Mrs. Jay and Kitty Livingston, form the positive contributions of interest and value. The sombre tone of the letters is rarely lighted up with so much as a pretence to humor. Margaret Livingston boasts that she was able to raise some melons "by ye meer dint of watching every morning to kill the buggs"; and Mrs. Izard confesses that late suppers are not good for her. Even Jay slyly remarks that the French Ambassador appeared fatigued and worn down by business, looking "as I have seen some members of Congress look after two years' attendance." The proof-reading is not so accurate as it might be, and errors are frequent. The printing of Thompson, as Secretary of Congress, is inexcusable, and the use of the dollar sign ($) is an anachronism, for it did not come into use till after the Revolution.

—In his 'Life of Washington,' written for the "American Statesmen" series, Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge infers that Washington was, at the time of his appointment to negotiate with the French Governor with respect to the encroachments upon British rights on the Ohio, of good reputation. A correspondent who has lately been delving among the state papers preserved in the Record Office, London, writes as follows:

"Mr. Lodge says: 'He was a young man for such an undertaking, not yet twenty-two, but clearly of good reputation' (vol. i, p. 64). Mr. Lodge will be glad to know that Washington's reputation, even at that time, was, in fact, one of distinction. Writing to the Lords of Trade on the 17th of November, 1753, Gov. Dinwiddie said: 'I have sent out a gentleman of distinction to the French camp, on the Ohio, with my letter to the Commanding Officer, to know the reasons and by what authority he invades His Majesty of Great Britain's territories, in the time of a solid peace subsisting between the two Crowns.' In another despatch of the same date, the same Governor writes: 'I have commissioned Mr. Washington, a Major and one of the Adjutants of the Militia of this Dominion, to proceed to the French camp,' etc., etc. (See the papers in the Public Record Office, London, *America and West Indies, Colonial Office*, 667, *Virginia*, 1750 to 1780.) A copy of Washington's journal of his mission is preserved in the same bundle of documents. It was with reference to his proceedings on that occasion that he wrote to Gov. Dinwiddie on the 25th of April, 1754: 'I hope my proceedings in these affairs will be satisfactory to your honour, as I have to the utmost of my knowledge consulted the Interest of the Expedition and good of my Country, whose Rights, while they are asserted in so just a cause, I will defend to the last remains of Life.' This last utterance became the Father of his Country. May one suggest to those in search of fresh information as to Washington's early history, that facts might possibly be gleaned from the official papers in the Record Office, and especially from the despatches of those under whom Washington served?"

—The letter H fills still another volume, the twenty-sixth, of the 'Dictionary of National Biography' (Macmillan). It has already required two and a fraction, and it is not yet out of the third vowel. The Royal Henrys of England and Scotland, beginning with Henry II., take up a quarter of the volume; the Herberts 69 pages, the Hills 42. The longest article (11 pages) is devoted to Bothwell (James Hepburn), without disturbing the common reputation of the man. So Mr. Lee identifies Pembroke with the "W. H.," begetter of Shakspere's Sonnets, and Mary Fitton with the "dark woman." So Rowland Hill is credited with the invention of penny postage, though the son of a rival claimant is stirring up the press to transfer the honor. The influence of relatively obscure lives is shown in the case of Prof. Henslow, who was the scientific sponsor of Darwin, and secured him the post on the *Beagle* which determined his life-work. The endeavor of the Dictionary to keep up to date (though not obliged to this course by its original scheme) is shown in the case of the Earl of Carnarvon, who died last year. Henry William Herbert ("Frank Forester") is a connecting link between the two English-speaking nations separated by the Atlantic. A list of his more important works accompanies the sketch of his life. Sir Francis Hincks is another American figure. Sir James Hillyar commanded the *Phœbe* in the waters of Valparaiso when, in 1814, he fought the *Essex* under Porter. He was then only a captain, but he died rear-admiral, as Farragut, midshipman on the *Essex*, died admiral, first of the grade in our American navy.

—The question of the authenticity of the Talleyrand Memoirs, which was raised by M. Aulard in the *Revue Bleue*, and, upon other grounds, by M. Henri Welschinger in the *Monde*, has drawn from the Duc de Broglie a brief, smooth, almost evasive note, which appears in the *Revue Bleue* of March 28. The Duke says that he has already answered M. Aulard's question in the preface to the Memoirs; that the published text is the only one left by M. de Bacourt; that its exactness has been certified by the persons to whom Talleyrand bequeathed all his papers; that the scrupulous delicacy of M. de Bacourt has never been put in doubt; and, lastly, that as soon as the publication of the Memoirs is complete, the text from which they are printed shall be put in some public depository for everybody to see. Upon this, M. Aulard returns to the charge with fresh vigor. M. de Broglie has answered but one of his questions, he says, and that indirectly—though the question is a most important one. He does admit, though he plays a little with the word "text," that he has not the original Memoirs of Talleyrand, but only a copy of them. No shadow of suspicion rests upon the honor of the Duke, but the duties and responsibilities of the editor of a "text" sit but lightly upon his shoulders. As to M. de Bacourt, M. Aulard smites him hip and thigh, recounting the truly piteous, as well as pitiful, story of the mutilation and betrayal of Mirabeau in Bacourt's edition of the correspondence between Mirabeau and Lamarck. Just as he constructed a conservative and anti-revolutionary Mirabeau, so now he may have felt it his duty to cut out of Talleyrand's Memoirs everything that showed him to have been a friend of the Revolution, and to supply instead some stupid interpolations—a piece of trickery easy to be seen by everybody except the man who should have been the first to see it, the Duc de Broglie himself. And M. Aulard ends by asking the Duke, not whether the original manuscript is in his possession, since obviously it is not, but whether he has himself collated the copy from which he prints with the original, and assured himself of its exactness. Until this question is answered, M. Aulard says, it will be proper not so much to call in question the authenticity of the Memoirs as to affirm certainly that they are not authentic.

—Soon after his note to the *Revue Bleue* was written, the Duc de Broglie sent a communication to the *Moniteur*, in which he says that the will of M. de Bacourt mentions only the copy of the Memoirs, and says nothing of the original manuscript. On the other hand, we have, in the *Paris*, an interview with the Comtesse de Martel, a grandniece of Bacourt's, who is better known, perhaps, to most readers as "Gyp." She says she well remembers the Talleyrand manuscripts, and her uncle's extreme care of them. They were contained in three large chests, and she saw them taken away by MM. Andral and Chatelain after her uncle's death, together with "quatre livres, *reliés en peau*," her uncle's copy. She believes the published Memoirs not to be authentic, from her memory of the originals, or complete, since her uncle told her there would be fifteen volumes of them. Her suspicions point to M. Andral as the mutilator of the manuscript. In much that she says she is corroborated by the testimony of her sister, Mme. de Mirabeau, and of her cousin, M. H. de Bacourt.

—In Senator Stefano Jacini, who died on March 25, Italy has lost one of her ablest and most disinterested patriots at a moment when she can ill afford to do so. Jacini was born in 1827 in Casalbuttano, in the province of Cremona. His first work, entitled 'La Proprietà Fondiaria e le Popolazioni Agricole in Lombardia,' won the first prize given by the Society for the Encouragement of Science and Letters in Milan, and he was appointed member of the Lombard Institute of Science in Milan. When the scarcity of crops almost produced a famine in Lombardy, the Archduke Maximilian begged him to study the question, and he then wrote "a genuine indictment of Austrian rule in Italy," 'The Economic Conditions of the

Valtellina,' which was translated into English, and, though it brought him much censure for having anything to do with the hated *Straniero*, in reality did as much as more noisy patriots to secure his downfall. After the Crimean War, Cavour begged Jacini to draw up a report on the position of the Austrian Government in Venetian Lombardy, and this report was translated into various languages and served Cavour at the Paris Congress. After Cavour's death Jacini was made Minister of Public Works, and to his initiative and extraordinary persistence Italy owes the St. Gothard Railway, on the completion of which he was created Count. The war of 1866 was for him, as for many, a complete disillusion. He refused to return to Parliament, and wrote his famous pamphlet, 'Sulle condizioni della cosa pubblica in Italia dopo il 1870.' He was, above all, an enemy of centralization, seeing the necessity of national unity, but maintaining that the different provinces would be far better under a sort of federated government. He maintained that this system would be more economical, that it would develop latent and local talent, and that it would be found impossible long to govern the nation from the congested Parliament, first in Florence, then in Rome. Jacini would have had much more weight and influence in Lombardy and the rest of Italy had he not been such a stanch opponent of the transfer of the capital to Rome. On this point, Dante himself, could he return, would not be listened to. When the Liberal Government set on foot the inquiry into the conditions of the rural classes, Jacini was Chairman. His enormous wealth and life spent in these studies made him most competent for that post, and even to-day his writings on this subject would be well worth publishing not only in Italy, but in all countries where the agricultural classes form part of the social problem. Indeed, his writings published altogether will form a valuable addition to the history of the Italian *Risorgimento*.

—Astronomical bibliography has received a marked addition in the recent publication, by Dr. Ralph Copeland, Astronomer Royal for Scotland, of the Catalogue of the Crawford Library of the Royal Observatory, Edinburgh. James Ludovic, the Earl of Crawford, began the collection of the library nearly twenty years ago for his private observatory at Dun Echt, near Aberdeen; the nucleus being the library of the late Charles Babbage. Life insurance and annuities are thus very fully represented, as subjects in which Babbage was greatly interested. Also, the collection is very rich in transactions and proceedings of the learned academies, and in materials for the literary history of the exact sciences; and in particular was no occasion lost of securing essays or tracts on comets. In this department of astronomical literature the Crawford Library is among the fullest in existence. It contains, further, a number of very rare works transferred from the Library at Haigh Hall, Lancashire, and the whole was presented to the Royal Observatory, Edinburgh, by the Earl of Crawford in 1888. Among American astronomers, those whose works are represented by the largest number of entries are Pickering (30), Young (19), Newcomb and Langley (17 each), Loomis (16), H. Draper and Holden (15 each), Todd (13), and G. P. Bond, Gould, and W. A. Rogers (8 each). The Catalogue is a large quarto of 500 pages magnificently printed by Milne and Hutchison of Aberdeen, and published at Edinburgh by authority of H. M. Government. It cannot fail to prove useful to students of astronomy and kindred sciences in consulting the extensive literatures of these subjects.

RECENT POETRY.

One may look in vain in Mr. Aldrich's new volume, 'The Sisters' Tragedy' (Houghton, Mifflin & Co.), for anything that really rivals the same author's "Fredericksburg," one of the few poems which our great civil war bequeathed to literature. Nevertheless, the new volume belongs to that epoch of greater maturity which is so marked in this poet. He has had the rare happiness of outliving his early fame—as a dainty secondary poet, a Leigh Hunt, a writer of debonair verse—and of rising to the rank of a true artist, who commands his own power and neither belittles it nor is overcome by it. Among the London parlor poets, for instance, there is no one except Austin Dobson, and he only in his "Once at the Angelus," who is to be compared with Aldrich. When he touches love at its lightest, it is with a cadence that makes it immortal:

> "Pillared arch and sculptured tower
> Of Ilium have had their hour;
> The dust of many a king is blown
> On the wind, from zone to zone;
> Many a warrior sleeps unknown.
> Time and Death hold each in thrall,
> Yet is love the lord of all;
> Still does Helen's beauty stir,
> Because a poet sang of her." (P. 53.)

And when, on the other hand, he makes the same passion the theme of tragedy, he condenses into a few pages a drama like that of "Paulina Paulovna," which recalls by its strength the first indication of Aldrich's dramatic power given in his brief play "Mercedes," published some years ago. The title-poem of the present volume seems a shade less powerful, perhaps from its suggesting that wonderful delineation where Guy de Maupassant, under the name of "La Confession," handles a scene and situation similar to Mr. Aldrich's, yet more tragic. But it is only a difference of degree, not of kind; the skill is there.

We would gladly find in 'The Lion's Cub, and Other Poems,' by Richard Henry Stoddard (Scribners), evidence of a like maturity of growth, but it suggests rather the ashes of wayward and burnt-out fires. The same is true, and painfully true, of "Joaquin" Miller, who in his 'In Classic Shades' (Chicago: Belford-Clarke Co.), essays to keep up his jaunty air, and to jingle the old bells, but they have ceased to charm, if they ever charmed; and his autobiographic interludes only make the case sadder. With that pervadingly bad taste which always belonged to him, he has chosen for his title-poem one of the very cheapest bits of doggerel in the volume; and the reader is only propitiated by the fact that he dedicates the whole book to his little girl as his "most indulgent critic."

On the whole, we prefer our sophisticated but untamed "Joaquin" to Mr. Rudyard Kipling, whose poems have certainly some ring and animation, but have, even more than his prose, that garlic flavor which makes a very little of them go a great way, and makes the reader himself soon wish to go a great way off. Mr. Kipling's volume is called 'Departmental Ditties, Barrack-Room Ballads, and Other Verses' (U. S. Book Co.), and the strongest poem in it, unquestionably, is a rhyme of the Indian Civil Service from the point of view of "The Galley Slave." The genuine quality of English manhood comes out in this picture of the possible swamping of the nation's galley in some future tempest and of the fidelity of her crew:

> "She will need no half-mast signal, minute-gun, or rocket-flare:
> When the cry for help goes seaward, she will find her servants there.
> Battered chain-gangs of the orlop, grizzled drafts of years gone by,
> To the bench that broke their manhood, they shall lash themselves and die.
>
> "Hale and crippled, young and aged, paid, deserted, shipped away—
> Palace, cot, and lazaretto shall make up the tale that day,
> When the skies are black above them, and the decks ablaze beneath,
> And the top-men clear the raffle with their clasp-knives in their teeth." (P. 251.)

That is strong writing; yet he would be a bold man who should predict any serious literary future for Mr. Kipling. Mere strength is not enough. "Où il n'y a point de délicatesse, il n'y a point de littérature."

Sir Edwin Arnold's 'Light of the World' (Funk & Wagnalls) will be read by thousands in the perennial hope—thus far always disappointed—that the Scripture narratives can be made available for the uses of lofty song. Up to this time no one has succeeded in awakening other than unfavorable comparisons with the simple beauty of the original records. Joined with this obstacle to success has been unquestionably that fault of excessive rapidity of composition which this poet's injudicious friends have ere now claimed as a merit. Whole pages of the volume read as if written during a sleepless night, or as a task before breakfast, and as fast as the pen could go; nor are there any passages so salient or so haunting as to break the level in any conspicuous way. The only personality that is presented with any marked strength is that of Mary Magdalen; and the introduction of the Eastern Buddhist takes from the simplicity of the whole, without increasing its power. Mr. Stoddard prefaces the volume with an introduction, but it is not easy to see why, since Sir Edwin Arnold had already ten American readers where Mr. Stoddard had one; and this preliminary work appears wholly perfunctory and adds nothing of value.

Of recent English poems, Mr. Alfred Austin is printing a revised edition of his collective works (Macmillan), and sends forth new issues of 'The Tower of Babel,' 'Prince Lucifer,' and 'Savonarola.' With the utmost labor, he still fails to reach the human heart, or at least—what he, perhaps, would regard as a somewhat different thing—the American heart. There is no contemporary poet about whom the estimates of the two English-speaking races are so far apart. This we should be inclined to regret but for the extraordinary want of moral courage which has led him to withdraw from the new edition of 'Savonarola' the original preface—far stronger and more valuable than anything in the poem itself—in which he pointed out the curious analogies between the career of his hero and the narratives of the New Testament. This was written in no spirit of irreverence, but perhaps the offence was in doing it at all; for in this edition the whole thing vanishes, and a tame inscription to Henry Irving takes its place.

Mr. Stevenson, in his 'Ballads' (Scribners), shows the weakness, which he has before made apparent, of having no fixed standard of his own, but one easily modified by the influence of lesser men. These bloodthirsty and repulsive ballads of the Southern Seas are what Kipling and Haggard would doubtless call "manly"; but to our thinking the only really manly thing in the book is the "Christmas at Sea," on the very last pages. Mme. Darmesteter, who, as Miss Robinson, wrote poems of much dainty skill and of a sickly charm, has neither lost in art nor gained in healthfulness with marriage. The volume called 'Lyrics,' selected from her works (Stokes Company), has

a little new matter, but contains mostly what has appeared before. 'Poems, Ballads, and Bucolics,' by H. D. Rawnsley, M.A. (Macmillan), is the title of a simple, sincere, and animated collection, mostly of poems on deeds of heroism, both in England and America. It is dedicated to Phillips Brooks, "with gratitude for all he has done for the religious thought of England," and also "to those Americans who remember that their forefathers sailed from Lincolnshire." Many of the poems are in the strong and racy Lincolnshire dialect, already made familiar by Tennyson. It is curious that so few traces of this dialect should survive in any part of America.

In Mr. F. Leyton's 'Shadows of the Lake' (London: Kegan Paul), and Mr. John Arthur Blaikie's 'Love's Victory' (London: Percival), we have the work of cultivated and poetic minds, rather than of poets, although the latter's monody on Thomas Chatterton is perhaps the best tribute yet paid to that pathetic memory. Mr. A. H. Bullen closes his valuable studies of Elizabethan literature with the 'Poetical Rhapsody' of Francis Davison (London: George Bell). It is the least attractive of his volumes; the really striking poems which it contains have long since been embraced in the anthologies, and the rest belongs rather to the history of poetry than to poetry itself. The same may be said of Mr. C. L. Kingsford's admirably thorough and satisfactory edition of 'The Song of Lewes,' that invaluable though scarcely poetic Latin epic of the "Barons' War" in the thirteenth century (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Macmillan). 'Poems by V.' (Mrs. Archer Clive) (London: Longmans) were first published half a century ago, and were praised in the *Quarterly Review* in their day. Since then their author has achieved a wider reputation by her remarkable novel 'Paul Ferroll'; and now, since her death, the original volume is reprinted with a few additions. It is full of cultivated thought and of gracious, womanly character. 'Women Poets of the Victorian Era,' edited by Mrs. William Sharp (London: Scott), is a thorough remoulding of the same editor's work, entitled 'Women's Voices,' in a previous series. It has a new and somewhat more elaborate preface, including, however, passages from her former introduction. The work is confined to English poets, as it should be, and is fairly well done, with some valuable biographical details at the end. It is a pity that the reader should open, at the very first page, on a misprint reproduced from the same editor's earlier volume, in Harriet Martineau's fine verses called "Onward." In the couplet

> "As cave-drops swell the streams
> Day-thoughts feed nightly dreams,"

the whole antithesis is lost by substituting "mighty" for "nightly." But we may well thank Mrs. Sharp for giving to the reader, in a form so cheap and compact—for the book appears in the "Canterbury Poets" series—so many good things, one of the best of which is Isa Craig-Knox's fine ballad, "The Brides of Quair." In ballad-making, at least, our English and Scotch sisters have an advantage over their American kinsfolk.

It is a curious coincidence that just as Mr. Cable brought into use the rich coloring of the French Creole regions of the South, the Canadian poets began timidly to use the same resources among the Frenchmen of Canada; and the best fruit of the new effort is to be found in 'Pine Rose and Fleur de Lis' (Toronto: Hart), by S. Frances Harrison, first known as "Serrano," and author of 'Crowded Out, and Other Sketches,' based on Canadian life. The pretty French phrases and refrains come like the notes of a guitar into our Saxon symphony. One of the most effective of these poems is addressed to Maurice Thompson, and takes up the refrain of his appeal to England to "call him home." It would appear from this address that the author has never herself been in England; yet some of the pages are filled with that curious feeling called loyalty to a queen. Less semi-exotic in allusion, though coming under an author's name that seems exotic enough, is 'Rose-Brake Poems,' by Danske Dandridge (New York: Putnams). These poems have a flavor of the woods of Virginia, and show some personal power besides. Miss Isabella T. Aitkin entitles her volume 'Bohemia, and Other Poems' (Philadelphia: Lippincott), but most of the verses seem rather to have been written in a morgue or a dissecting-room, so incessant and prosaic is the delineation of fleshly horrors and tortures. One of the leading poems is called "A Day's Diary in the Infernal Regions." It is to be said to her credit, however, that she has omitted the demon of lust, who rages irrepressibly through the utterly repulsive volume called 'The Witch of En-dor, and Other Poems,' by the late Francis S. Saltus (Buffalo: Moulton). Oh, Charles Baudelaire, for how much hast thou to answer, both in thyself and through thy cheaper imitators! They all recall Joubert's verdict on Parny, "Des blasphèmes mielleux, ou plutôt des ordures vernissées, d'où le blasphème découle avec douceur, comme un miel empoisonné."

There lie before us many recent volumes of American verse. Of most of them it can only be said that the best thing to be gleaned from them is some bit of local coloring, which may justify the existence of the particular page where it occurs. Thus Mr. Isaac R. Pennypacker gives us, in his 'Gettysburg, and Other Poems' (Philadelphia: Coates), a touch that no one else has previously given, on the passing of the wild geese at night:

> "Then stood we shivering in the night-air cold,
> And heard a sound as if a chariot rolled
> Groaning adown the heavens; and lo! o'erhead,
> Twice, thrice the wild-geese cried, then on they sped,
> O'er field and wood and bay, toward Southern seas;
> So low they flew that on the forest trees
> Their strong wind splashed a spray of moonlight white;
> So straight they flew, so fast their steady flight.
> True as an arrow they sailed down the night;
> Like lights blown out they vanished from the sight."
> (P. 66.)

Here is something worth writing: no matter whether it be great or small, it gives us something that we otherwise should not have had; and even the mere indication of a poetic theme, without the actual treatment, may do this, as when Mr. Charles Lemuel Thompson, in his 'Etchings in Verse' (Randolph), gives a poem on "The House-Top Walk" (p. 65)—the platform on the roof of some old Nantucket house, from which the sailors' wives and daughters looked out for the ships. He here offers us a text so novel and striking that we hardly care whether his subsequent sermon be good or poor. So in 'Arcade Echoes' (Philadelphia: Lippincott), a small volume of poems selected from the *Virginia University Magazine*, we should know by the very themes and the love-making that we were near the Potomac. Capt. E. L. Huggins, U. S. A., at least gives us 'Winona, a Dakota Legend, and Other Poems' (Putnams), though his heart is evidently more in his French and Spanish translations than in the Indian lore. James Whitcomb Riley's 'Rhymes of Childhood' (Indianapolis: Bowen-Merrill Co.) is, of course, mainly pervaded by local coloring, modified also by the land of childhood; and his "Raggedy Man" seems somehow, one can hardly tell why, to have struck a chord in the national consciousness. But when Mr. Norman de Lagutry—if that be the real name—issues a volume called 'Love Conquereth' (Sewanee, Tenn.: O. T. Porcher), and inscribes it briefly "To My Sewanee," who can help seeing that he would have honored his Sewanee more effectually by a single tint of local color, a single trait which belonged appropriately there and nowhere else, than by any three words of mere sentiment? It is not that this is the only thing to be done, but for one who is beginning his career it is one of the best things. Just above one's own door, wherever it may be, lies the star to which Emerson advises every man to hitch his wagon.

MADISON'S SECOND ADMINISTRATION.—I.

History of the United States of America during the Second Administration of James Madison By Henry Adams. 3 vols. Charles Scribner's Sons. 1891.

In these three volumes devoted specifically to the second term of Madison's Administration, and forming the seventh, eighth, and ninth volumes of a continuous series, Mr. Adams brings to a close his copious and critical history of the sixteen years covered by the dynasty of Jefferson and his successor. The narrative before us relates almost exclusively to a period of war, when the annals of a country, however tedious they may have been in the piping times of peace, are expected to quicken with enthusiasm and emotion, because they ought to be full of impassioned feeling raised to the height of great endeavors in policy and in arms. Yet in spite of the fact, remarked by the greatest of the historians of Greece, that war is apt to assimilate the passions of men to the condition in which it places them, Mr. Adams finds it no easy task to kindle his own enthusiasm or the enthusiasm of his readers by a detailed recital of either the political or the military history of our war with England from 1812 to 1815. It is only in the description of a few brilliant battles like those of Lundy's Lane, of Chippawa, and of New Orleans; or in the circumstantial account of the two naval victories plucked from the jaws of defeat on the Lakes by the superior intelligence of Perry and Macdonough; or in the vivid picture of a few naval duels which, as fought on the high seas, came to demonstrate the superiority of American skill in gunnery and seamanship, that this story quickens with the fire and vivacity of picturesque narration. It is not that Mr. Adams does not make a careful study of the battles he describes—they are described with extraordinary minuteness and precision—but that most of the battles themselves, for the want of military genius and strategic sagacity on both sides, seem too often to be hardly worth the critical pains bestowed on them. It is not that the battles here portrayed were petty and inconsequential skirmishes compared with the Titanic encounters which shook the continent and fixed the gaze of the civilized world during our civil war, but that the war itself was fought with much languor by a divided people, and was conducted with much impuissance by a Government which for long years had proclaimed that "peace was its passion," and which had taught the lesson of peace so well that it found much difficulty in attempting to indoctrinate the people with either the necessity or the expediency of war. With nearly equal grounds of complaint against England and France, the country had so long recoiled from the impossibility of coping with both, that it came in the end to look with fear

and trembling on the necessity of fighting either. It is no surprise that this state of irresolution was not ended by a declaration of war, and that it spread its influence through the military operations of the war itself; for the vote of Congress, in the very act of declaring the war, had revealed a precise inversion of economic interests and of political convictions on the part alike of those who favored the war and of those who opposed it. The war was professedly waged in defence of "free trade and sailors' rights," but the Southern States, which favored the war, had neither commerce nor seamen. The Eastern States had both, but for this very reason they opposed the war, as being more a hindrance than a help to their prosperity.

This state of turmoil and of vacillation was betrayed as well by the civil as by the military conduct of the Administration. In the very heart of the war, the Administration came before Congress with a virtual confession that the physical forces of the nation were not equal to the occasion, and that the surest signal of public safety was to be found not in the sword but in the shield. An embargo policy was again openly avowed (after all the discomfitures it had brought on Jefferson), as the best available instrument of self-defence and of foreign coercion. The efficacy of an embargo, as an instrument of defence, had for years been deeply imbedded in the minds of Southern politicians, and the roots of the same idea, as Mr. Adams pertinently observes, were not wholly eradicated from the Southern mind down to so late a period as the advent of our civil war, when Southern statesmen flattered themselves with the belief that an embargo put on "King Cotton" would lead to a forcible intervention of the European nations to put an end to any war which deprived them of a staple indispensable to their economy. The Southern statesmen of 1813 believed in like manner that a self-imposed embargo would produce a like coercive effect in the interest of peace between England and the United States —for how could England subsist without agricultural products?

The Embargo Act was passed on the 17th of December, 1813. But hardly had the measure been extorted from a reluctant Congress when news reached America of the great battles fought at Leipzig. The meteoric star of Napoleon was visibly waning. The whole European continent, except France, was again open to British commerce, and the Federalists of New England were quick to seize the opportunity which the embargo offered for making the war doubly odious in a political and in an economical sense—in a political sense because it made the United States appear thereafter as the impotent and single-handed ally of Napoleon, and in an economical sense because American ships were left thereafter to rot in their docks, without the poor pretence which in the beginning had lain at the root of this "terrapin policy," as it was contemptuously called in the political dialect of the times. What the Administration had mistakenly devised as a shield, now came to place a sword in the hands of its political adversaries.

For the desperate condition to which the country was reduced at the nadir of its depression during the war, Mr. Adams holds that the Federalists of the New England States were mainly responsible. Notwithstanding the fact that nearly one-half of the people in the five New England States gave a loyal support to the war, they were politically paralyzed by the other and majority portion which opposed the war. Among those who opposed the war, one-half, he thinks, wished to stop it by some peremptory and independent action of the States, but were held in check by the other half, which threatened to desert their leaders at the first overt act of treason. It is easy to see how this divided state of opinion in New England tended to paralyze action in all directions without accelerating it in any. The anti-war party obstructed positive and efficient measures looking to a vigorous prosecution of the war. The schism in the bosom of the anti-war party itself obstructed positive and efficient measures looking to the forcible suspension of the war. Procrastination and indecision ruled the hour at all points.

In this attitude it was that the Republicans were compelled to put their best hope in the *vis inertiæ* of our democratic institutions, and that the Federalists, in their contempt for democracy, were compelled to wait in hope that the Administration would perish from the political gangrene lodged in its vitals, and would not need to be overthrown by a violent concussion. Mr. Adams thinks that at one time the Federalists of that day had good reason to believe that, what with their own obstinacy, the obstinacy of England, and the obstinacy of Madison, the conjuncture might come when the national Government would have to cease its functions, and when the New England States would be left free to resume their sovereign powers. Allying their political hopes with what they believed would prove the adverse fortunes of the war, the Federalists of the Pickering school could not suppose that England, after she had broken the power of the French autocrat, would consent to any peace which should not involve the overthrow of Madison and his party. Intimations to this effect were frequent in the London press, and ardent Federalists, not only in New England but also in New York, Maryland, and elsewhere, seized on these intimations as prefiguring the end of the desolations wrought by democracy in Europe and America. Gouverneur Morris, in an oration delivered in New York city to celebrate the overthrow of Napoleon, employed all his powers of melodramatic eloquence to portray in Napoleon a typical representative of the same French democracy which had killed "our beloved ally," Louis XVI., and deluged Paris with the blood of the French Revolution. He rejoiced to think that "the long agony of democracy was over." Hanson of Maryland, the extreme Federalist "who had been mobbed and nearly killed in Baltimore in June, 1812, only to be elected to Congress in [the following] November," was free to express the opinion in 1813 that "a few hard blows struck [by the enemy] in the right place would be of great service to the country" by putting an end to the domination of Madison.

Yet at the very time when Massachusetts, Vermont, and Connecticut were showing in their organic capacity (because of the Federalist preponderance) such a marked dissatisfaction with the Federal Government, the martial spirit of New England, though recruited only from that half of her population which was politically crippled by the other half, continued to maintain its ancient renown "in the serious work of fighting," as Mr. Adams phrases it. In evidence of the fact that New England, with her hands politically tied behind her back, might still justly claim her full share of credit in the "glories" of the war, such as they were, the author cites the fact that it was not Virginia, Kentucky, or Tennessee regiments, but regiments from Vermont, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, "which routed the Royal Scots at Chippawa, and bayoneted the British artillerymen at Lundy's Lane, and stormed Drummond's intrenchments at Fort Erie."

Intense Federalists, while mocking at the military incapacity of the Administration, did not hesitate to lament the weakness with which the war was conducted by England, as offering less prospect than could have been wished that the British Ministry would be able to conquer a favorable peace. Hanson of Maryland wrote to Pickering towards the close of the year 1813, that "the war by its own generative powers" might come to create the means for its support if the British Government did not quicken its military pace. He specially feared that the vanity of the American people was in danger of being elated by "these brilliant naval victories." Mr. Adams caustically observes that the vanity of a people that could be flattered by such "glories" as the war gave in 1813, "must have felt the want of flattery to an unusual degree." He thinks it was not so much the "glories" as the "disgraces" of the war that roused public sympathy in support of the Government, and that the Federalist opposition was quelled, not so much by the demonstrated vigor of the Administration, as by "the slow conviction of the people that, come what would, the nation must be preserved." The political situation in the autumn of 1814, when A. J. Dallas was called to succeed Gallatin in the Treasury Department, is thus described:

"Earnest in temper and emphatic in tone even to the point of tears and tropical excitability, Dallas came to Washington as though to lead a forlorn hope—caring little for parties and less for ambition, but bent upon restoring to the Government the powers that his friend Gallatin, too easily as he thought, had allowed to slip from its grasp. The difficulties of the Treasury when Dallas took charge of it were not easily exaggerated. His own description, given some six weeks afterwards, made no disguise of them. 'The Treasury,' he said, 'was suffering under every kind of embarrassment. The demands upon it were great in amount, while the means to satisfy them were comparatively small, precarious in collection, and difficult in their application. . . . The means consisted (1) of the fragment of an authority to borrow money when nobody was disposed to lend, and to issue Treasury notes which none but necessitous creditors or contractors in distress . . . seemed willing to accept; (2) of bank credits, chiefly in the South and West, rendered largely useless by the suspension of specie payments; (3) of the current receipts of taxes, also useless because paid chiefly in Treasury notes. The Treasury was bankrupt. The formal stoppage of payments in interest on the debt was announced, November 9, by an official letter from the Secretary, notifying holders of Government securities in Boston that the Treasury could not meet its obligations, and that the Government was unable to avert or to control this course of events! After that date the Treasury made no further pretence of solvency."

Woman's Work in America. Edited by Annie Nathan Meyer, with an introduction by Julia Ward Howe. Henry Holt & Co. 1891. Pp. vi., 457.

THIS book is composed of a series of essays by different authors, undertaking to give an account of what has been done by women in the departments of education, literature, journalism, medicine, the ministry, law, the State, industry, and philanthropy. The last head is divided into charity, the care of the sick, the criminal, the Indian, anti-slavery, the W. C. T. U., and the "Red Cross." We have nine topics, but from the fact that education is treated in three separate essays, dealing respectively with the East, the West, and the South, eighteen essays. The editor states that only those branches of woman's multifarious work have been selected for headings

"which have been denied her," and therefore it is surprising to find the "care of the sick," literature, and industry among the list. It may be asked why trade is not one of the lines in which she has appeared, and we should like also to know about the women who have given their time to art, in any of its forms. The book is closely printed, and as there are more than 400 words on a page, it will be apparent that it contains a great deal of reading.

It were much to be desired that women should have all roads freely thrown open to them, if only that we might get rid of the assertive tone which is apt to mar the effect of whatever they write. When we come to the question of work for the good of the world, it is hardly worth while to stop to say whether it be done by man or woman, so only that it be done. In other words, in view of the greatness of the work, the question of sex as well as that of individuality ought to disappear. Again, it is knowledge of the appliances for work that we want, not the names of women who have been most prominent, and here we have to find grave fault with many of the essays in that they consist of nothing but names. Too often an impression that the writers are advertising themselves and each other annoys the reader anxious for the simple facts. A sample may be found at the foot of page 184, in a quarter where we should least expect it, and in the account of the W. C. T. U. it is offensively conspicuous. The classification of the book is faulty, and many of the essays necessarily run into or overlap each other; as, *e. g.*, those on the care of the sick and on medicine, those on industry and charity. It was the chief function of the editor to prevent this, and to give the book to a busy public with the unity which every volume should have.

It must also be said, though unwillingly, that the English of the book as a whole is not only diffuse and weak, but sometimes positively ungrammatical. The punctuation is so careless that it is often quite impossible to understand the meaning of a sentence without many attempts, and the proof-reading is inexcusably careless. On page 47, for instance, the retiring President of Wellesley is spoken of as "Miss Palmer." It is much to be regretted that so strong a personal tone should run through the preface and that careless writing should permit there such a sentence as this: "It is considered highly supererogatory that a woman should be taught to stand upon her own feet when the adjacent shoulder answers the purpose as well." And we are at a loss as to what may be referred to by the expression, also in the preface, "the awful statistics of unmarried women in the United States." The introduction is very short, only a page and a half, and is too full of words to be quite clear. A sentence from it, "All this belongs to the record of things which, once measurably true, have became fabulous," will perhaps show what we mean when we say that it lacks clearness. It is a pity that a book which aims at showing that women are entitled to more influence than has heretofore been accorded them, should try to establish this claim in poor English.

What was to be said of education should have been compressed into one article, and not spread out into three, containing many irrelevant facts. If the great public schools of England are to be spoken of, it is not well to give the impression that Rugby was the last established. There is too little said of normal schools and of their influence, and a trifle too much of Barnard College, which yet cannot be said to have any, though it is placed before Vassar in the record. We are not told, as we might have been, that what was the first normal school in the country has had a woman at its head now for many years, and nothing is said of the two women who in that place have done so much for the teachers of Massachusetts. Neither is any mention made of the fact that the first woman in the world to be Principal of a normal school (that of St. Louis, Mo.) was a graduate of this same school, from which also the overlooked large school of Miss Kelly in Charleston, S. C., draws its inspiration indirectly. The Mary Institute in St. Louis deserves mention as a department of Washington University.

The article on law is one of the most interesting in the collection, and makes good use of its twenty-six pages, no one of which can be spared. Its clearness and business-like tone may come from the fact that a woman cannot hold her place in that profession by any other means than that of ability. There is no nonsense about her work there, and if she cannot stand, she must leave. It is amusing to be told, in the account of a woman lawyer (p. 241), that "her argument was relieved of the superfluities that frequently characterize the verbose utterances of more experienced attorneys of the male sex." The plea for the necessity of women to defend their own sex under certain trying circumstances is well put and deserves attention. The essay on medicine, generally well written and arranged, is valuable as giving results accomplished in the way of hospitals, and not being a mere list of names. It is, however, marred for the general reader by Latin and technical terms which would be in place in a medical journal. The article on industry deserves more than a passing notice. To many, the account of the Lowell mills and their operatives will be new, and the story of the establishment of the various women's homes is highly valuable. The essay on charity by the well-known hand of Mrs. Lowell is well planned and carefully written, and emphasizes as it should the need of personal contact with those who need help. The record as to the care of the criminal makes use of its opportunity to enforce the need of police matrons in all cities, and does it wisely and well. The articles on the Indian and the W. C. T. U. are too much special pleading for special societies, and that on the State is only a lecture on the demand for the franchise. The essay on literature has already become known through the pages of the magazine in which it appeared this last autumn. It is a "chaos of bright phrases," and unfortunately has not as many verbs as it has sentences.

The fact that editing is a profession, and that it cannot be done with profit by any amateur who may desire to take it up, could not be more clearly demonstrated than by this book. To be an editor is to change chaos into a harmonious creation, and good intentions cannot make up for the lack of training. There is material enough here to make a really valuable book if it had been edited. As it is, the skilful work of some contributors is marred by the careless and incompetent sketches of others; there are many errors which ought not to be, there is much repetition, and the bulk of the volume might have been reduced one-half to advantage.

Racing Reminiscences and Experiences of the Turf. By Sir George Chetwynd, Bart. 2 vols. Longmans, Green & Co.

In the first of these volumes Sir George Chetwynd gives an interesting account of the principal English racing events of the years from 1869 to 1890. Half of the second volume is devoted to matters more or less connected with horseflesh, and the remainder gives *in extenso* the examination and cross-examination of the plaintiff in the celebrated libel suit of Sir George Chetwynd versus Lord Durham tried in 1889. The stewards of the Jockey Club, who sat as arbitrators in the case, decided that the plaintiff had not been guilty of the practices charged—namely, conspiring with jockeys and trainers to run horses in such a way as to deceive and plunder the public—but they filled his soul with sadness by giving him merely nominal damages instead of the much larger sum at which he seems to have estimated the injury to his reputation. On the evidence here given, the arbitrators could hardly have failed to acquit Sir George on the more serious charges; but the mere fact that he admitted having borrowed money from his own jockey during an "impecunious period," shows that the exigencies of the turf are not conducive to a delicate sense of propriety in money matters.

Of late years the increase in the amount of stakes and in the number of race-meetings, both in England and in France, has led to an enormous extension of the betting mania, with the usual demoralizing results. Any one who has spent a few weeks before the Derby in England cannot fail to be impressed with the universality of this form of gambling, and we have recently seen that the French Legislature has taken alarm, and is endeavoring to curb the evil on the other side of the Channel. Sir George is decidedly of opinion that there can be no racing without betting, and if this is so, it becomes a serious question whether the improvement of the breed of horses or any other of the stock arguments in favor of racing can be considered to have any weight as an offset to so manifest an evil. Sir George admits that the professional layers of odds are certain to win in the long run from the backers of horses, and yet he and other owners of horses seem to be satisfied to remain in the latter category at the risk of "periods of impecuniosity," and his readers may fairly apply to him the language he makes use of in regard to certain other "plungers": "No amount of publicity or warning apparently has any deterrent effect on some foolish and credulous people who, indeed, seem born to be swindled"! In this connection Sir George tells a story of a well-known bookmaker with the appropriate name of Swindell, who was asked by a friend what he should do in the case of a man who had paid him twice over for a bet of £100. "*Do*," said he; "why, look hard at him next time thee meets him, and perhaps he'll pay thee a third time!"

Turning to racing, Sir George's account of the important races of the last twenty years brings into prominence a point which the non-sporting public rarely appreciates, namely, the number of races won by the jockeys rather than the horses. He gives many instances in which the skill, shrewdness, and knowledge of the course possessed by Fordham or Cannon entirely changed the result and upset the nicest calculation. These two successful riders were singularly different in their style of riding, Fordham bending forward over the horse's neck, gripping the saddle with his knees, and holding the whip in his left hand, while Cannon sat perfectly straight in his saddle, holding the reins in his left hand and the whip in his right. The general result of Sir George's experience is that he would not recommend a young man to go on the turf, because the occasional victories do not make up for the jealousies, quarrels, and disappointments that seem

inseparable from the sport; but he thinks any man would deserve well of his country if he devoted himself to breeding race-horses. The difficulty is, that the man who breeds running-horses wants to see them run, and then wants to back them.

Among the stories with which Sir George has enlivened his narrative is a curious one about Lord Vivian's dream the night before the race for the City and Suburban in 1874. It appears that he dreamed the race was won by a horse called "The Teacher," and in the morning he looked over the entries, but could not find any horse of that name. Later on he was informed that one of the starters, a horse called "Aldrich," had formerly been called "The Teacher," but that his owner did not think he had any chance of winning the race. Nevertheless, Lord Vivian backed his dream by taking the long odds of a thousand to thirty, and the horse won by a neck. It would be interesting to know how much money has been lost by backing dreams since the year 1874.

By the omission of the trial scene and a little judicious editing, Sir George's Reminiscences might have been reduced to one volume with much advantage to his readers; but, in spite of prolixity and occasional solecisms, the book is decidedly readable.

Principles of English Etymology. By the Rev. Walter W. Skeat, Litt.D., LL.D., etc., Professor of Anglo-Saxon in the University of Cambridge. First Series: The Native Element. 1887. Second Series: The Foreign Element. 1891. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Macmillan.

Prof. Skeat has been long recognized as the foremost among the University professors in England in his perception of the needs of students of English and his skill and promptness in supplying them. In his Etymological Dictionary he appears as a champion of the scientific study of etymology, a sort of prophet among the dictionary-makers of Great Britain, announcing the supremacy of law over the whole history of every letter of every English word, and denouncing all etymologists who neglect the laws. He has a broadside of this sort in his preface, and he keeps up a running fire from word to word through the whole dictionary. After that was finished, in 1881, Prof. Skeat undertook to prepare a manual of the etymological principles or laws which he found to be exemplified in the words discussed in the dictionary. In the dictionary the words which exhibit any phonetic law are scattered through the book as they happen to occur in alphabetical order. In the new manual they are brought together under the statement of the law. They can thus be studied together, and seen to throw light on each other and to establish and define the law.

In the First Series the earlier words of our language, "the native element," are taken up. These are mostly Anglo-Saxon, with a few other Low-German and some Scandinavian words, but there are also some Celtic and Latin and Greek words of the early time. In the Second Series Prof. Skeat takes up the words which have been added to English since the Norman Conquest, "the foreign element," as he calls it. The most important part of these are "Anglo-French," but he gives a chapter to Latin, to Italian, to Spanish, to Portuguese, to Greek, and seven chapters to sundries—Slavic, Persian, Sanskrit, Hebrew, Arabic, and other Asiatic languages, African languages, and various American languages.

The method used is to explain the pronunciation of the words when they were taken into English, or became known as English, and then set forth the principal phonetic changes that have taken place in them since. The First Series is thus occupied mainly with the phonetic laws of Anglo-Saxon, and the Second Series with those of Anglo-French. Grimm's law, Verner's law, the laws of vowel gradation and vowel mutation play a great part in the first volume. They are presented with careful elaboration of statement and a very complete collection of the English words which illustrate them. The best part of the work is the research, the original gathering of examples, and the accurate presentation of them. Perhaps the most interesting matter is the history of the growth of modern English spelling, and a discussion of its present condition, which occupies about a hundred pages, and gives the most complete view of it that is to be found. Like all other scientific students of our language, Prof. Skeat groans over our present alphabetical condition. He closes with the following paragraph:

"The shortest description of modern spelling is to say that, speaking generally, it represents Victorian pronunciation of 'popular' words by means of symbols imperfectly adapted to an Elizabethan pronunciation; the symbols themselves being mainly due to the Anglo-French scribes of the Plantagenet period, whose system was meant to be phonetic. It also aims at suggesting to the eye the original forms of 'learned' words. It is thus governed by two conflicting principles, neither of which, even in its own domain, is consistently carried out."

The material of the Second Series is fresher than that of the first. The Anglo-French is comparatively unknown even to specialists in English etymology and French etymology.

"I know of nothing," says Prof. Skeat, "more disgraceful to such a land as England, the lawyers of which have made more or less use of Anglo-French for some eight hundred years, than the fact that no one has yet taken in hand to make a reasonably useful dictionary, or even a vocabulary, of this highly important language." "As far as I can discover, the only person who has done any useful work in this direction is myself."

He refers to his word-lists published by the Philological Society of London, and to that of his eldest daughter, published by the English Dialect Society. As was to be expected, *Beiträge* have followed from Germany. But pretty much all the exposition of Anglo-French forms and of the changes they have undergone on the way to our present English is eminently Prof. Skeat's.

His lists contain nearly 3,400 A. F. words, and his discussions are lively throughout, and clear up numerous spellings which seem inexplicable to the mere student of modern French and college Latin. Many words are condemned: "*vitaille*, now absurdly spelt 'victual' instead of 'vittle.'" "I much regret to find that some Dictionaries mark the old word *chivalry* with *ch = sh*, which is detestable." "We find it [oblige] as [obliij] in Pope, Prol. to Satires, 208, but this was due to the influence of Continental French." One drawback is found here and there: Prof. Skeat uses Southern English pronunciation, sometimes without reference to any other. He says, for example, that the A. F. *or* followed by a consonant gives rise to two sounds, that in *attorney* and that in *cord*, *pork*, *forfeit*, *sport*, *order*, etc.; pronouncing cord *caud*, rhyming with *laud*, pork *pauk*, rhyming with *hawk*, sport *spaut*, rhyming with *taught*, etc., though this pronunciation has hardly found its way into literature or the dictionaries, and the standard pronunciation is left unexplained. On the whole, however, this is a very useful book. It has a great deal of interesting matter not easily accessible elsewhere, and not a little valuable material wholly its own.

The Prelude to Modern History. By J. P. Symes, University College, Nottingham. London: Rivingtons.

This little volume of 139 pages, 12mo, with 4 historical maps, professes to give a brief sketch of the world's history from the third to the ninth century, in fourteen chapters, representing as many lectures delivered by the author. To each chapter a summary is added, evidently to serve for cramming. The period covered is from 250 to 850 A. D.

There is no original research in the book, and no reference to authorities; nor has the author been careful in stating well-known facts correctly, and in calling countries and nations by their right, and not by misleading names. In an introductory chapter on Rome before the middle of the third century he says (p. 2): "The Romans tolerated all religions except those of the Jews and of the Druids." This is hardly true. The Jews, indeed, were misused and massacred in Palestine and Alexandria, where they struggled for independence, or at least for autonomy; but in the very city of Rome Jews have been allowed to worship in their own style from the days of Cæsar to those of Umberto. The classing of the Franks as Low Germans (p. 103) is not supported by their literary remains, which are the highest of High German. A part of the Franks have always remained in Germany, and have always spoken a High German dialect. To speak of the country of the Saxons in the days of Otto I. as "Saxony" (p. 139) is misleading, and to call him King of Saxony, instead of Duke of the Saxons, is incorrect. The "Austrian State" (ibid.) was far from being along with the Saxon the chief State of Germany in the ninth or tenth century. In speaking of the legislative work of Justinian, the writer seems to overlook the 'Novels,' by which smoothness and symmetry is given to the Old Roman law and most of its harsh and arbitrary rules are revoked. Take, for instance, the well-known 118th Novel, establishing the laws of descent upon the equality of the sexes, both among children and collaterals, and the abrogation of all preference of the *agnati* over the *cognati*. The people of Arabia before Islam did not claim descent from Ishmael (p. 86), but only the people of the Hijaz; the others knew little if anything of Bible genealogies.

There are some queer slips of the pen; thus, the Gothic historian Jornandes is disguised as "Jordanes" (p. 28). The first Khalif, Abu Bekr (Father of the Girl), is spoken of, for short, as Abu (p. 96), as we might abridge John Smith into John. The Langobards are before their conquest of Italy called Lombards (p. 76 and elsewhere); a name only given to the people of Lombardy when the Teuton conquerors had been fused with the provincials and colonists on the Po. Many other inaccuracies both of substance and of form might be quoted, without referring to some that may be the fault of the proof-reader. The most interesting parts of the work, showing most thought and independent treatment, are those dealing with the rise of the Christian Church, its Fathers and its warring divisions. Prof. Symes maintains a charming neutrality between the friends and enemies of Christianity, though sometimes it looks as if he justified the persecuting Roman Emperors, and at other times as if he preferred the faith and morality of the Moslem, if not to Christianity in gene-

ral, at least to that of Mohammed's time. The chapter on the Fathers (Clement, Origen, Tertullian, Augustine, Cyprian, Athanasius, Ambrose, and Jerome) and on Pope Gregory the Great, are to the general reader the most instructive and on the whole the most interesting.

Chapters on the Theory and History of Banking. By Charles F. Dunbar. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1891.

MOST of these chapters were printed some years ago for the use of Harvard students, and they are now published with some valuable additional chapters and with copious explanatory notes, some of which refer to recent events in the financial world. About half of the book deals with the elements and ordinary methods of banking, and the remainder gives brief but interesting accounts of our national-bank system and of the leading European banks. The writer of such a treatise should possess above all things lucidity of thought and expression, and Prof. Dunbar can fairly lay claim to these qualifications. Moreover, a careful examination fails to discover any of the errors in facts and figures which so often annoy the reader of books devoted to financial affairs.

In discussing our national-bank system, Prof. Dunbar incidentally calls attention to two of its weakest points, namely, the certification of checks, which most bankers will agree with him in considering "peculiarly liable to abuse, and an efficient instrument for promoting hazardous speculation," and the concentration of country bank reserves in New York. Last October the national banks held 1,758 millions of deposits, calling for a reserve of 353 millions of cash. They actually showed a reserve of 478 millions, but of this amount only 282 millions was in cash, while the remainder was in the hands of correspondents in reserve cities—largely in New York. Now when we remember that at that period the New York banks held barely 25 per cent. of reserve, it is obvious that the country banks would have found it difficult to obtain their deposits in actual cash if any sudden emergency had compelled them to call for their money. In this respect the New York banks occupy exactly the same position towards the country banks that the Bank of England does towards the joint-stock banks and private bankers of London: they are the holders of the *ultimate* cash reserve, and as such they accept a serious responsibility in time of trouble. How serious that responsibility may become in a panic is best described by showing the condition of the Bank of England on November 12, 1857, when its deposits (belonging mainly to other banks and bankers) had been reduced to £13,000,000 and its available cash to £581,000.

In England the remedy for such a state of things is a suspension of the act of 1844, whereby the bank is enabled to issue notes uncovered by coin, and this remedy has been applied with entire success on three occasions. Our banks have adopted a somewhat similar plan by combining their reserves and issuing clearing-house certificates. This arrangement has been found to work well in the past, and will probably continue to do so in the future, unless the country banks should some day require a large amount of cash. The German plan seems to be on the whole the best that has yet been devised. Under the law of 1875, the banks can increase their issues of notes uncovered by cash beyond the legalized amount, but must pay a tax of 5 per cent. on such over-issues. The high rates they are compelled to charge their customers for such extra accommodation tend to diminish speculation, and act as a kind of automatic safety-valve.

In consequence of the rapid reduction of our bonded debt, the present national-bank circulation is being steadily reduced, and promises to become extinct before long. It is to be hoped that the early subsidence of the silver craze will leave us still on a gold basis, and prepared to adopt a new currency system founded on the only true measure of value. When that time comes, Prof. Dunbar's record of the experiences of European nations should be a valuable guide to our legislators.

Typical Elms and Other Trees of Massachusetts. Introductory Chapter by Oliver Wendell Holmes. Descriptive Text by Lorin L. Dame. Plates by Henry Brooks, reproduced by the photogelatine process. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 1890. Folio, pp. 89, tt. 58.

THIS fine volume is the realization of a wish expressed long ago by the Autocrat of the Breakfast Table that some one would publish a set of "Photographs of New England Elms and other Trees taken upon the same scale of Magnitude"; and it is a pleasant thing to note that the Autocrat himself, now almost "the last leaf upon the tree," has with his own pen written the Introduction. Meanwhile, the great Elm of Boston Common has fallen, and the Washington Elm in Cambridge is fast dropping to pieces; the Charter Oak lives chiefly in its seedling, a fine and thrifty tree in the Hartford Park; and the Stuyvesant Pear-tree is reduced to walking-sticks and perhaps a chair in some Historical Society. Twenty-four of these plates represent a careful selection of the largest and most beautiful, or at least most noteworthy, elms of Massachusetts. The letter-press gives the traditions which have gathered about each tree, like the moss on its trunk, and to this lore is added the measurement of girth, of height, and of widest spread of the branches. The "other trees" of the Autocrat's prophecy are several oaks of various kinds, three rock-maples, three pines, two hickories, as many nettle-trees and horse chestnuts, and one each of ashes, willows, and chestnuts, the buttonwood, the sassafras, the three-thorned acacia and the black walnut—all large and well-chosen examples of their kinds. None of the oaks described attain the dimensions of the Charter Oak; and as that tree must have counted its age by centuries on centuries, they are all saplings in the comparison. Even the little-known white oak of Northford, in Connecticut, is considerably larger (and doubtless older) than any of those mentioned by Mr. Dame.

This book is more than interesting: it is an invaluable contribution to American forestry, and forms a most worthy companion to Prof. Sargent's 'Silva.'

Life of W. M. Thackeray. By Herman Merivale and Frank T. Marzials. [Great Writers Series.] London: Walter Scott; New York: A. Lovell & Co. 1891.

IN estimating a Life of Thackeray, allowance must be made for the meagreness of the materials, and perhaps such a biography as the present was needed to show just how small and uncertain our knowledge of his personal life is. The book, however, is unusually rambling and inconsequent. It is the work of two different authors, who have little in common in their notions of how a biography should be written. Mr. Merivale contributes the earlier chapters and a final one, and he had the advantage of some private family papers from which he extracted an account of the ancestors of the novelist, and also passages from his schoolboy letters and college diary; but this new matter is of a very slight kind, and the substance of Mr. Merivale's part is in the main his own thoughts about Thackeray. It is all very pleasant talk at an easy-going pace, but it is not biography. He writes of Thackeray's qualities, and illustrates them; he combats the criticism of Miss Jameson, too inane to require notice, and of Trollope, which was of little more consequence in itself. He thinks Thackeray's moods are explained by saying that his was a disappointed life, and that he was consoled in his discouragement by religion of a simple, pious kind; if he was idle, it was the way of his genius; and at all events his prose is excellent novelist's talk. This is the manner of Mr. Merivale's writing, and though a sincere admiration of Thackeray is constantly felt and a disposition to defend him against all comers is pugnaciously shown, the reader does not advance much in knowledge of the facts of his personality. Mr. Marzials takes up the thread, and, though he is more systematic in his work, he is obliged to draw upon the novels themselves for his filling in, and he does little more than gather from scattered mention of Thackeray in memoirs of other people what may serve to complete the lists of dates, lectures, and journeys. The book is successful in this bringing together of incidents and anecdotes; it is interesting to read; but, after all is said in its favor, it remains only a prolonged talk about the author, now narrative, now speculative. At the end there is an attempt to reconcile the conflicting impressions made by Thackeray on those who met him, and to ascribe much to his Bohemian life, his moodiness, and his ill-health. The one thing made out is that no Life of Thackeray exists, and consequently there is not sufficient evidence to base a personal characterization on.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

A Characteristic of Modern Life. A. D. F. Randolph & Co. 40 cents.
Adeline's Art Dictionary. D. Appleton & Co. $2.25.
Appleton's School Physics. American Book Co. $1.20.
Atkinson, P. The Elements of Dynamic Electricity and Magnetism. D. Van Nostrand Co.
Batterson, Rev. H. G. A Sketch-Book of the American Episcopate. New ed. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. $1.
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Bourget, P. Love's Cruel Enigma. The Waverley Co.
Brinton, D. G. The American Race. N. D. C. Hodges. $2.
Buchanan, R. The Wedding Ring. Cassell Publishing Co.
Bunner, H. C. Zadoc Pine. Charles Scribner's Sons. $1.
Calvert, F. X. A Modern Rosalind. Chicago: Rand, McNally & Co. 50 cents.
Cammann, D. M. The Physical Diagnosis of the Diseases of the Heart and Lungs. G. P. Putnam's Sons.
Casati, Maj. G. Ten Years in Equatoria and the Return with Emin Pasha. 2 vols. Frederick Warne & Co. $10.00.
Church, Rev. R. W. The Oxford Movement. Macmillan & Co. $3.50.
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Dame, L. L. Typical Elms and Other Trees of Massachusetts. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. $15.
Degen, Von. A Mystery of the Campagna and A Shadow on a Wave. Cassell Publishing Co. 50 cents.
De Witt, J. The Psalms: A new translation with notes. A. D. F. Randolph & Co. $2.
Dillard, H. K. Conventional Whist Leads. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. 50 cents.
Drummond, H. Are They not Safe with Him? A. D. F. Randolph & Co. 25 cents.
Elliott, Sarah B. Jerry. Henry Holt & Co.
Ford, W. C. The Writings of Washington. Vol. IX. 1780–1782. G. P. Putnam's Sons. $5.
Gerhardt, E. V. Institutes of the Christian Religion. A. C. Armstrong & Son. $3.
Goodwin, J. J. The Goodwins of Hartford, Conn. Hartford: Brown & Gross.
Granville, E. The Lost Heiress. Harper & Bros. 40 cents.
Grimshaw, R. Hints to Power Users. Cassell Publishing Co. $1.
Guillemard, F. H. H. The Life of Ferdinand Magellan. Dodd, Mead & Co. $1.25.

Hale, Rev. E. E. James Freeman Clarke: Autobiography, Diary and Correspondence. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $1.50.
Hall, H. Year-Book of the Societies Composed of Descendants of the Men of the Revolution. The Republic Press $5.40.
Harper, H. The Bible and Modern Discoveries. London: Alexander P. Watt.
Harrison, Rev. H. William Pinkney, Fifth Bishop of Maryland. Baltimore: Cushings & Co.
Hatch, F. H. An Introduction to the Study of Petrology; The Igneous Rocks. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co.; New York: Macmillan. 90 cents.
Höffding, H. Outlines of Psychology. Macmillan & Co. $1.50.
Hoppin, Prof. J. M. Sermons upon Faith, Hope and Love. Dodd, Mead & Co.
Horton, R. F. The Book of Proverbs. A. C. Armstrong & Son. $1.50.
Howe, E. W. An Ante-Mortem Statement. Atchison, Kan.: The Globe Publishing Co. $1.50.
Howell, G. Trade Unionism New and Old. London: Methuen & Co.
Howells, W. D. Annie Kilburn. Harper & Bros. 75 cents.
Howells, W. D. A Hazard of New Fortunes. Harper & Bros. $1.
Ibsen, H. Hedda Gabler: A Drama in 4 Acts. Translated by Edmund Gosse. United States Book Co. $1.
Jarves, J. J. Pepero, the Boy-Artist. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $3.
Journal of Sir Walter Scott. Popular edition. Harper & Bros.
Kaufmann, R. Paris of To-Day. Cassell Publishing Co. $3.
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King, Capt. Charles. Trials of a Staff-Officer. Philadelphia: L. R. Hamersley & Co. $1.
Kingsland, W. G. Robert Browning. London: J. W. Jarvis & Son; Philadelphia: Poet-Lore Co.
Kirkpatrick, Rev. A. F. The Book of Psalms. Book I. Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan. 90 cents.
Knoflach, A. A Sound English Primer. G. E. Stechert.
Kobbé, G. New York and its Environs. Harper & Bros.
Kraszewski, J. I. Iermola. Dodd, Mead & Co.
Lafargue, P. The Evolution of Property from Savagery to Civilization. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co.
Landor, W. S. Citation and Examination of William Shakespeare, Dodd, Mead & Co.
Lankester, E. Ray. Zoölogical Articles. Charles Scribner's Sons. $5.
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Lillie, Lucy C. Phil and the Baby, and False Witness. Harper & Bros.
Littell's Living Age. Vol. LXXIII. Boston: Littell & Co.
Mabie, H. W. Under the Trees, and Elsewhere. Dodd, Mead & Co. $1.25.
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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, APRIL 23, 1891.

The Week.

Mr. BLAINE'S reply to the Marquis Imperiali on the lynching of Italians by the mob of New Orleans is a very straightforward paper, presenting in clear and respectful terms the position of our Government and the limitations of our Constitution. The substance of it is, that the punishment of the murderers must be left to the local tribunals in the first instance. If the local tribunals do not act as they ought to act and as the local laws require them to act, "it will then be the duty of the United States to consider whether some other form of redress may be asked." Our treaty with Italy does not require us to give greater protection to her citizens domiciled here than is given to our own citizens in like circumstances. Mr. Blaine fails to add—indeed, he could hardly be expected to add—that the lynching of American citizens is a not uncommon incident in the latitude of New Orleans, and that the punishment of the lynchers is very uncommon. "Where the injury inflicted upon a foreign resident," he continues, "is not the act of the Government or its officers, but of an individual or a mob, it is believed that no claim for indemnity can justly be made, unless it shall be made to appear that the public authorities charged with the peace of the community have connived at the unlawful act, or, having timely notice of the threatened danger, have been guilty of such gross negligence in taking the necessary precautions as to amount to connivance." This paragraph clearly looks to the payment of a claim for indemnity, since the public authorities did have timely notice of the threatened danger and took no steps to prevent it. But the Executive branch of the Government is not supplied with a contingent fund to pay such claims. It can only recommend an appropriation by Congress for that purpose, and that is what Mr. Blaine virtually promises.

The observation of the London *Daily News* that this is "fine sport for Mr. Blaine" is very unjust. Nothing has happened since he took office so extremely mortifying to him—a mortification which is shared by every American of intelligence and self-respect. The country has got a bad name by reason of this lynching affair. It will be a long time before the recollection of it wears out at home or abroad. It was a case of high-handed murder, by the statutes of our own and of every other civilized country. The character of the victims makes no difference in the eyes of the law, and it is only by the eyes of the law that foreigners can look at it. Americans travelling in Europe will be assailed with unpleasant questions for a long time to come. The task of standing up and taking it, as Mr. Blaine must by virtue of his office, is far from agreeable. It is the very reverse of fine sport. The only advantage that Mr. Blaine gains from it is that it turns public attention away from his correspondence with Lord Salisbury on Bering Sea matters, where he was getting the worst of it.

It is very difficult to find out, either from the Marquis di Rudini's remarks in the Italian Parliament, or from his written communications to the State Department, what the exact position of the Italian Government in relation to the New Orleans massacre is. Since he abandoned the demand that the United States Government should "punish" the guilty parties, he has failed to make clear what it is he wants. The machinery of justice has been put in motion by the State authorities, and no definite cause of complaint can therefore arise under the law of nations until the State authorities refuse to prosecute, or prosecute with patent negligence and reluctance. His speeches, as well as despatches, in fact, corroborate the guess of the London *Times*, that he is using the incident to strengthen his Ministry at home—an operation in which he is sure to enjoy the secret sympathy of Mr. Blaine, who "knows how it is himself." He must enjoy dealing with the Marquis, who is evidently a man of his own size, after his uncomfortable bout with a big fellow like Salisbury. But can we wonder that foreign diplomatists look on us as barbarians from whom neither law, justice, nor courtesy is to be expected, when they read such remarks as this coming from a United States Senator—namely, Plumb of Kansas? *We* understand Plumb, but why should the Italians understand him?

> "The whole thing is not worth talking about. Suppose the Italian Minister is recalled. Who cares? His departure is of no more consequence to the American people than if the banana-vender who presides over a push-cart at Fifteenth and F Streets should close out business and decide to go home. It's just one man less to board, and that's the only subject for thought there is in the whole matter. Of course there's got to be a lot of letter-writing over the affair, but Mr. Blaine is attending to that most admirably. No one could do any better."

The Italians and all Continental nations believe in courtesy and self-restraint as essential in the forms of intercourse of civilized men, and they make, from the absence of it, all sorts of unpleasant inferences about character. Most of these as applied to Americans are absurd. Senator Plumb would, no doubt, refuse to join in a massacre of unarmed prisoners; but when foreigners hear a man in his high place talking in this way on such an occasion, they believe him and his constituents equal to any act of savagery.

The concessions made by the Spanish Government with reference to trade between the United States and Cuba are of real importance, and in this respect they differ from those made by Brazil, which are really unimportant. It is a misnomer to call either of these concessions reciprocity treaties. The United States has removed the duties on sugar. Thereupon Spain lowers the duties on American flour and cereals and repeals the duties on some other articles, the list of which is not yet published. If Spain's treaty engagements with Great Britain, France, and Germany, or either of them, contain the "most favored nation" clause, and if this clause applies to her colonies, she will be compelled to extend to them the same treatment as to ourselves. This would prevent us from gaining any advantage over other countries in the sale of articles, either raw or manufactured, unless we have a natural advantage. But in cases where we do have a natural advantage the gain will be decided. This will be especially seen in the export of flour, grain, and provisions, and here the gain will be even greater to Cuba than to ourselves. The island has been hitherto chained to the mother country by a tariff so highly protective that American wheat could be bought and carried to Spain, converted into flour there, and shipped to Cuba at a large profit to the Spanish millers. In other words, the Cuban consumer has been "exploited" for the benefit of the Spanish producer in exactly the same way that consumers are exploited for the benefit of producers in this country. This sort of thing is now to be restricted, if not stopped altogether, and the Cubans will reap a great advantage by the simple privilege of being allowed to enjoy their own earnings. The Spanish millers made a vehement protest, of course—the protected classes always do that when anybody interferes with their plunder—but the danger of a new rebellion in Cuba was the greater terror of the two in the eyes of the Madrid Government.

The blow has fallen upon the Republican Boys of Brooklyn. Secretary Tracy's order putting the Navy-yard force upon a thoroughgoing civil-service-reform basis after June 1, leaves no doubt that the Secretary intends to break up the spoils system completely. His order declares that on June 1 all positions of foreman or master mechanic shall become vacant, and that the positions shall be filled by men who pass the best examinations—that is, show the highest fitness for the work demanded in them. The Board of Examiners that the Secretary names for this work is made up of naval officers whose high character gives ample assurance that there will be no humbug about the examinations. These will begin on May 11, and will be open to all comers who are American citizens, present employees being on the same footing as all other candidates. There will be no chance for "pulls" of any kind to be exerted in anybody's behalf, but merit alone will decide in each case. A similar transformation is ordered to take place in the Norfolk Navy-yard on July 1, and Portsmouth, Washington, and Mare Island will follow in due time. This will be a great

and most salutary reform, and the Secretary cannot be commended too heartily for bringing it about. Reformers are hoping to see the President, before the close of his Administration, make the new system permanent by an executive order placing the whole matter in the charge of the Civil-Service Commission, where it belongs. Let us hope that he will do this without waiting till the end of his term, for delay in such matters is always a risk with the President. A displeasing act of any kind on the part of some wicked Democrats, in remote parts of the land, is likely at any moment to convince him that there can be no more civil-service reform till conduct of that kind has been rebuked by giving a few more offices or a little more patronage to partisan Republicans.

President Harrison fell into a serious error when he remarked in his speech at Johnson City, Tenn. (and he has since repeated it): "We have a common heritage. The Confederate soldier has a full, honorable, and ungrudged participation in all the benefits of a great and just Government." The truth is, that every Confederate soldier is absolutely debarred from holding any position in the army of the United States, section 1218 of the Revised Statutes, enacted on the 28th of July, 1866, reading as follows:

"No person who has served in any capacity in the military, naval, or civil service of the so-called Confederate States, or of either of the States in insurrection during the late Rebellion, shall be appointed to any position in the Army of the United States."

The really significant feature of this matter is, not the fact that Mr. Harrison was guilty of a serious blunder of ignorance or forgetfulness, but rather the fact that it was Mr. Harrison's vote in the Senate five years ago this very month which turned the scales and kept on the statute-book the most odious and galling of all the discriminations which could possibly be placed upon the Confederate soldier. On the 7th of April, 1886, the Senate was considering a bill to increase the efficiency of the army, when Mr. Gibson of Louisiana proposed an additional section repealing the section of the Revised Statutes just quoted, so that men who had served the Confederacy might be eligible as appointees to the new places in the army created by the bill. When the vote was taken, it resulted in 24 yeas for the amendment repealing the statute and 25 nays. Among those recorded as absent was Mr. Harrison, but he had taken the precaution to make sure that his absence should not prevent his position on the question from appearing. The *Congressional Record* contains this statement:

"Mr. Berry (when the name of Mr. Jones of Arkansas was called)—My colleague [Mr. Jones of Arkansas] is paired with the Senator from Indiana [Mr. Harrison]. If my colleague were here, he would vote 'Yea.'"

The Springfield *Union* publishes an interview with Mr. Huston, the Treasurer of the United States, on the subject of paying out silver or silver certificates in cases where the payees desire gold. The question arose on the payment of the direct-tax refund to the State of Massachusetts, in which case silver certificates were tendered and were objected to by Boston bankers. "It would not do," said Treasurer Huston, "to give New England or the East gold, when we have given the West silver. It is but another form of the fight against silver. Ohio took over a million and a quarter of silver money, and never murmured. Illinois, Indiana, and other Western States never thought of protesting against silver. The idea of the East is to concentrate the silver in the West and hoard the gold East. *Then I presume the East would move for a premium on gold.* The Government could not afford to countenance such a movement. It must treat all sections alike. The Department has these silver certificates on hand, and they are to be paid out on first demands." If these are Mr. Huston's ideas, he cannot retire too soon from the office he now holds. When the Government begins to discriminate between gold and silver, the public will be apt to follow the example. No Treasurer of the United States, since specie payments were resumed, has assumed the option of paying out a particular kind of money against the wishes of the payee. Lest some future Treasurer should assume that option, Congress passed a declaratory law on the 14th of June, 1890, saying that it was "the established policy of the United States to maintain the two metals on a parity with each other upon the present legal ratio, or such other ratio as may be established by law." Does Mr. Huston understand that the act of June 14, 1890, is valid only at the Sub-Treasury in New York? If so, he establishes a rate of exchange in favor of New York as against every other commercial centre. He creates a premium on New York funds equal to the cost of shipment of silver certificates and the return of the proceeds. "The East will move for a premium on gold," forsooth! That is a Hoosier conception indeed. The notion that a premium can be made arbitrarily by one section, or by all sections together, is like supposing that a man by taking thought can add a cubit to his stature. The only man who can make such a premium is the Treasurer himself, and he can do it only by alarming other people.

The Boston *Transcript* takes Mr. Geo. S. Boutwell to task for saying, in a speech to the Neo-Republicans of Massachusetts on Wednesday week:

"We are now practically upon a silver basis, and I would offer this suggestion to the Republican party: That all the silver produced within the limits of the United States be coined into currency, and that all the silver mined in other countries be excluded. The idea of putting Germany, England, and the United States upon a gold basis is most suicidal. The time is not far distant when all the countries of the world will be upon the double standard of gold and silver."

It was Secretary Boutwell who recommended the passage of the act demonetizing silver—the act of 1873. His ideas on the subject were perhaps no clearer then than they are now, but he was under better advice then than he is now. The *Transcript* regards his present sayings as merely an attempt to bolster up the protective system by excluding foreign silver and taxing the people to pay handsomely for the domestic product. That may account for the major part of the paragraph quoted, but it does not account for the statement that "we are now practically upon a silver basis." The only way to account for that is by assuming that Mr. Boutwell is considerably off his own basis.

Mr. David A. Wells contributes an interesting chapter to the history of the tin-plate tariff. The drawback on this article when exported in the form of cans is now 99 per cent. of the duties. It was formerly only 90 per cent., the Government reserving 10 per cent. as the equivalent of the cost of collecting the duties, identifying the re-exported article, and refunding the money. The result of the change is to give the Standard Oil Company, which is by far the largest user of tin plate for export, 9 per cent. more than it received under the old law. This is not regarded by Mr. Wells as an objectionable feature, nor ought it to be regarded as such by anybody. The export trade in refined petroleum amounts to $41,000,000 per year, and it has to be carried on in competition with Russian petroleum. The Government ought not to put any obstacles in the way of it. But the fact that the system of our tariff furnishes petroleum packages cheaper for foreigners than for American citizens should not be overlooked. A still weightier fact is mentioned by Mr. Wells, viz., that when the new duty on tin plate began to take shape in Congress, the demand for the article increased, and this caused the price to advance. Everybody wanted to lay in a large stock before the duty should take effect. The price rose to such an extent, and the quantity taken was so great, that it is estimated by good judges that the Welsh manufacturers have reaped an extra profit, since last summer, equal to the entire value of their plant. For this they are indebted to our Mr. McKinley and our Mr. Aldrich mainly. Of course the American consumers of the article pay this extraordinary bonus tossed into the laps of the British tin-plate makers.

How *our* tin-plate works are coming on is a matter of dispute. The *Iron Age*, the most sedate and the best informed of the iron-trade journals, does not consider the outlook encouraging. In its issue of April 16 it says:

"It must be confessed by the most ardent friends of the new industry that the progress thus far made in the domestic manufacture of tin plate has been disappointing. Tin plate and terne plate are being made at several works, it is true, and preparations are going on looking to the erection of other plants, but there is a conservatism, a deliberation, about the whole proceeding which is decidedly at variance with the activity promised by the advocates of a tin-plate industry. It had been supposed that a large number, if not a majority, of the sheet mills would add cold rolls and tinning stacks as soon as adequate tariff protection was assured. This has been done in very few cases, and, so far as we can learn, there are not many sheet-manufacturers to be added to the list of tin-plate makers. The business appears to be remanded by quite general consent to those who will make a specialty of it. The

sheet mills are evidently not inclined to make the tin-plate manufacture an appendage of their business."

This apathy on the part of the sheet mills, the *Iron Age* thinks, ought to incite the friends and advocates of a domestic tin-plate industry to "missionary work in their own ranks," because, "at the present rate of progress, it is beyond the power of man to calculate when this country will be able to supply its own tin-plate requirements." Perhaps the owners of the sheet mills have had their ardor dampened by late reports from the Black Hills tin mines.

The most striking feature of the recent municipal elections in Kansas was the political aspect which woman suffrage assumed. The law giving the sex the right to vote in municipal elections was passed by a Republican Legislature, and was expected by most of the Republican managers to inure to the advantage of their party, although it is recalled that Gov. Martin did not share this view, and warned the brethren that they would live to regret their action. It was generally believed, however, that the woman vote could be held solid for the Republican party by loud denunciations of the Democrats as "the whiskey party," the "enemies of the home," etc. The latest elections, however, show that the women cannot be depended upon, and that they are always liable to turn over to the Democrats a city which might otherwise go Republican. The Republican organs of Topeka, for example, made every possible effort to prejudice the women against the Democrats, notwithstanding which the Democratic candidate was elected by a total of 4,031 to 3,862 for the Republican, and it is conceded by everybody that he owes his election to the votes of women who are the wives and daughters of Republicans. It was the same way in Leavenworth, where a separate count of the votes cast by men and women was made, which showed that the men were almost evenly divided between the two parties, while the Democratic candidate was supported by 1,232 women, and the Republican by only 945. A similar count in all but two precincts of Kansas City, Kan., showed 787 votes by women for the Democratic candidate, as against but 657 for the Republican; and the success of the Republican candidate by a narrow margin is attributed to the fact that many of the women who were registered did not turn out and help to swell the majority which their sisters cast for the Democratic nominee. Fort Scott is another city where the defeat of the Republican ticket is attributed to the vote of the women.

Naturally, the Republican managers are "mad" at the women, and they make no attempt to conceal it. The chief Republican organ in the State is very bitter. Quoting from another newspaper the remark that "the Equal Suffrage Association is entitled to praise for its good judgment in voting solidly for Cofran," the *Capital* says: "If the above was true, it would simply prove woman suffrage a failure." Again it remarks: "The W. C. T. U. women who helped to defeat the Republican ticket have done more to destroy respect for municipal suffrage for women than they can patch up in ten years." And once more: "One or two more slams such as the women gave the Republican party in Topeka, and there will not be one of the old friends of municipal suffrage left to raise a voice against the repeal of the law." This reminds us that last fall the Republican managers throughout the North were complaining that the women had put the Democrats in power by telling their fathers, and husbands, and brothers that they found the McKinley Bill a bad thing for the family; so that it looks as if the women, with or without suffrage, were no longer to be counted on by the Republican party.

The adjournment of the Minnesota Legislature, with the complete failure of all the measures which were brought forward in the supposed interest of the Farmers' Alliance, is likely to have the same effect upon the Alliance movement as similar failures in Kansas and Nebraska had. The most immediate effect will be upon the Alliance members, who will be thrown over as useless because they have accomplished none of the things expected of them. The secondary effect will be to discourage and demoralize the Alliance itself, for the people who enter into movements of this kind want to have the reforms they are in search of granted immediately. They never take into account the difficulties in the way of drafting and enacting laws to meet especial requirements like theirs. Many a "friend of Labor," in one legislative body or another, has come to early grief because of his inability to put into the form of a law the reform which he had been advocating with great volubility at the time of his election. It is one thing to declare that "something ought to be done," and quite another thing to do something in a legal and effective way. Yet every leader in a people's reform movement is expected to do something in this way, and to do it at once; and if he fails, the end of his career has come.

The statistics which the Secretary of State has published, showing that throughout this State last fall 456,000 people registered who did not vote on election day, are merely fresh evidence that the Republican voters of the State were not in harmony with the policy of their party on the tariff question. It is obviously an error to attribute the falling off in the vote from the registration to the new Ballot Law. Voters who were timid on that point would not have taken the trouble to register. The simplest explanation is, that thousands of Republicans who thought in October that they might vote as usual with their party in November, became so much displeased with their party through the developments of the campaign, and through the workings of the McKinley Bill, that they concluded to stay at home when election day came around. We commend this falling off of nearly a third from the total registration to those Republican opponents of ballot-reform in Pennsylvania who maintain that registration is objectionable because voters will not take the trouble to get their names on the lists.

The bill to provide lyceum lectures at public cost has passed both houses of the Legislature, and is in the hands of the Governor. "His approval is not doubted, but friendly comments by the press may still be useful," says an anonymous circular which has just been sent to us. The circular itself contains friendly comments of the machine-made sort from several rural journals; from the New York *Press*, also, which quotes in favor of the bill "Dr. Chauncey M. Depew," who, the *Press* elegantly says, "in addition to his other relations, is simultaneously Vice-President of the University and School Extension and a Regent of the University of the State of New York"; and finally from the New York *Evening Call*, a journal thus for the first time made known, we suppose, to students of public opinion in New York. The *Evening Call*, however, out of all these authorities, does manage to express the soundest view when it characterizes the scheme as "an educational course that is as near like the Chautauqua course as anything else."

In reading of the English disaster, promptly retrieved, at Manipur, on the borders of Burmah, one must bear in mind that the character of the Indian frontier renders the English very liable to incidents of this sudden and startling kind. Their border line nowhere touches the territory of another organized and responsible government; it runs for hundreds of miles along the skirts of highland country inhabited by predatory races, the irreconcilable enemies, so long as they are free, of the orderly, law-making European. To subdue and pacify them involves an unprofitable expenditure of lives and money; and, moreover, on certain parts of the frontier this zone of tribal land serves as a barrier against more formidable enemies beyond; it is like a quickset hedge full of thorns, good to keep out trespassers. So the English are apt to be content with occasional punitive expenditures, or with reliance upon political influence, until some substantial mishap or disorder calls imperatively for severe measures—until, as at Manipur, some imprudent jump into the quickset hedge draws blood. The line between a civilized province and utter barbarism on the Indian frontier is so slight that English officers, accustomed to the tranquil docility of the Indian folk, are apt to overstep it hastily, with such consequences as have just been witnessed at Manipur. But these consequences, however painful and inglorious, are of no deep or far-reaching political importance; and one result will be that the ever-advancing margin of regular and irresistible government will be pushed forward more speedily, and be laid down more firmly in an almost unexplored borderland.

THE SERIOUS OUTLOOK IN BERING SEA.

WITHIN a few weeks fur seals will begin to go from the Pacific Ocean through the Aleutian passes to our islands and to the Russian islands in Bering Sea. Canadian vessels and American vessels will lie in wait to kill the seals as heretofore. What orders will President Harrison give to our revenue cutters to be sent to those waters? Will he command the seizure of Canadian vessels found killing seals outside of a marine league from land; and if such seizures shall be attempted, will British cruisers resist, or recapture by force? Will Canadian schooners arm for their own defence? The country has recently been thrown into not a little emotion by rumors of resentment by the Italian Government for what happened at New Orleans; but what will come to pass if President Harrison shall order a seizure in Bering Sea of a British vessel, and Great Britain resents the seizure by an angry gun, or even by an angry note? Those who can influence the future conduct of the Administration in this critical emergency will do well straightway to bestir themselves and look carefully into the situation. These are a few of the more important facts:

On the 2d of March two years ago, President Cleveland approved the law releasing the Secretary of the Treasury from direct responsibility to Congress for correctly defining "the dominion of the United States in the waters of Bering Sea," and putting the duty on the President instead. Nineteen days thereafter President Harrison issued a proclamation warning all persons against entering those waters to violate section 1956 of the Revised Statutes, and threatening to arrest and punish all persons or vessels "engaged in any violation of the laws of the United States in said waters."

He did not describe the waters by metes and bounds of latitude and longitude. He probably sent our revenue cutters into Bering Sea with vague orders to execute the laws, leaving the officers of those vessels to discover as best they could "the dominion of the United States in the waters of Bering Sea." Canadian customs officers, charged with the duty of clearing vessels for fishing in Bering Sea, may reasonably have assumed that, as our Congress had refused to interpret the laws of 1868 and 1870 as the Alaska Commercial Company sought, the President would not undertake to police all of Bering Sea east of the boundary prescribed in the Russian treaty as embracing the islands ceded to us, except as regarded American citizens. But what happened in 1889? The *Triumph* was seized on July 4, the *Black Diamond* and *Favorite* on July 11, the *Minnie* on July 15, the *Juanita* on July 31, the *Pathfinder* on August 27, and the *Ariel* and *Lily* about that time, and the *Sayward* was ordered off on July 11. All those seizures of British vessels were made outside of the marine league, and a great distance from any land. No seizures had been made in 1888, although all of those vessels, and fourteen other Canadian vessels, were in 1888 engaged in killing seals in the same waters, averaging an annual catch of about 3,000 skins each. Besides them, there were nearly as many American vessels. Up to 1886 there were no seizures; the first three seized in that year were released by President Cleveland, and Congress had refused in 1889 to condemn the release when asked by the Alaska Commercial Company.

In December of that year Secretary Windom invited proposals for a new lease of our Pribyloff Islands, but made no definition of the area of "adjacent waters." On the seventh of the next month Senator Plumb asked the Senate to request the Treasury not to make a new lease till a full report had been made by the Treasury in respect to the subject; but, nevertheless, early in March a new lease was given to a new company, of which Mr. D. O. Mills is President.

Late in August, 1889, Lord Salisbury instructed the British Legation at Washington to see Mr. Blaine at once in regard to the Harrison seizures of that year; to remind him that assurances had been given, through Mr. Phelps, that no further interference should take place with British ships in Bering Sea at a distance from shore, pending the general discussion of the issues; and to add that such seizures (which her Majesty's Government could not permit) "will hinder a settlement." Mr. Edwardes found Mr. Blaine at Bar Harbor and delivered to him the message. He replied that he had "no official communication" reporting the seizures, but that he would at Washington discuss with Sir Julian the questions presented. On September 12, 1889, Mr. Edwardes asked Mr. Blaine when a reply could be expected to England's request that the President put a stop to the seizures, and Mr. Blaine answered that "a categorical response is impracticable." On November 24, 1889, Mr. Blaine and Sir Julian met to open the discussion foreshadowed by Mr. Blaine at Bar Harbor. The former began with the remark that the seizures of 1889 "had been *effected* by the Treasury" under the belief that they were "warranted by the act of Congress and the proclamation of the President." Sir Julian replied that such seizures appeared like an assertion of "*mare clausum.*" Mr. Blaine answered that the United States "had not *officially* asserted such a claim," and, therefore, "it was unnecessary to discuss it." Sir Julian rejoined that the seizures were not justified either by the statute or by the proclamation. Finally, it was agreed in the course of the conversation that, on a subsequent day, they two, aided by the Canadian Minister of Marine, should proceed to inquire whether or not the fur-seal species is in danger of extermination by what goes on in Bering Sea, and whether there is need of a "close season."

On January 22, 1890 (dates are important), before the negotiators had come together again, and while the only issue was one of fact in respect to physical data, Mr. Blaine suddenly flung into the arena, by a note to Sir Julian, the *contra bonos mores* contention, insisting that "the law of the sea" cannot be "perverted to justify acts immoral in themselves," like killing fur seals. At the next meeting of the negotiators, Mr. Blaine submitted such evidence as he had to show that open-sea fur-seal killing is diminishing seal life and is *contra bonos mores.* Canada controverted it by counter evidence tending to show that there were seals enough for everybody, and our Pribyloff lessees were only really worried by the peril of a reduced price of the skins, and making the fur unfashionable in London and Paris. The divergence of opinions and the contradiction of testimony were so unmanageable that Mr. Blaine said to Sir Julian, on March 12, 1890, that a solution by him of the problem of fact was hopeless, and asked for an English plan. Then, on April 29, Sir Julian submitted his draft treaty. Canada did not like it, but accepted it. Mr. Blaine, instead of debating the plan with his associates, and seeking then and there to modify its terms in our interest, abruptly brought the discussion to an end.

The only pending question, it must be kept in mind, was whether or not any restrictions on pelagic sealing were then necessary for the preservation of the fur-seal species; and, if necessary, the character of such restrictions. Three weeks later Mr. Blaine, having made no definite reply to his colleagues, took the British plan to the Cabinet. The New York newspapers of the 23d of May and thereabouts described what happened. President Harrison said in his next annual message that Sir Julian's proposal was rejected because defective in "*form.*" On the 22d of that month the New York newspapers reported that, at a Cabinet council, it had been decided to order our revenue cutters not to capture Canadian vessels and take them to Sitka for forfeiture, but to seize the skins, dismantle the vessels, and turn them loose. Sir Julian went forthwith to see Mr. Blaine, and remonstrated with him for such orders pending negotiations and before any reply had been given to the British proposal of arbitration. Mr. Blaine said "the press could not be controlled." He inveighed in a violent way against the British plan. He said there "would be no seals without the seal islands." He generally lost control of his temper, and ended by telling Sir Julian that he (Blaine) "did not think we should ever agree as to the *form* of questions to be submitted to arbitration." He did not deny the dismantling orders.

On May 22, 1890, Lord Salisbury replied to Mr. Blaine's *contra bonos mores* note of January 22, 1890. Seven days thereafter Lord Salisbury cabled to Sir Julian that his report of the brusque conversation on the 22d instant, in which Mr. Blaine had not denied or explained the dismantling orders, had been laid before the Queen, and Sir Julian was directed to solemnly warn Mr. Blaine of the consequences of the contemplated interference with British vessels. On May 29 Mr. Blaine replied to the communication of protest, but said nothing of dismantling vessels and seizing skins, and then came Mr.

Blaine's long note of June 30, 1890. On that date Sir Julian replied to Mr. Blaine's of May 29 complaining that Lord Salisbury abruptly closed the negotiations in 1888 because "the Canadian Government objected," and that he "assigned no other reason whatever." Sir Julian called Mr. Blaine's attention to the following statement made to Lord Salisbury by Mr. Phelps, the United States Minister in London, on the 3d of April, 1888, and which was recorded in a despatch of the same date to her Majesty's Minister at Washington. "Under the peculiar political circumstances of America at this moment," said Mr. Phelps, "with a general election impending, it would be of little use, and indeed hardly practicable, to conduct any negotiation to its issue before the election had taken place."

That was more than six months before the November voting. Nothing has intervened since last July to relieve the tension. President Harrison and Mr. Blaine have put the country into a *cul de sac*, out of which retreat will be unpleasant and unpopular. It is fortunately in the power of the Supreme Court to rescue the nation out of the blunders of such "magnetic" and *contra bonos mores* diplomacy, and avert the mortification for self-respecting men which will attend either an order to our revenue cutters not to seize outside the marine league, or a renewal by Mr. Blaine of negotiations for a close season on the lines which the Cabinet rejected a year ago in such an irrational way.

THE FASSETT REPORT.

The Fassett Committee has made a report which is filled with both valuable suggestions and information. Most of the topics touched on merit separate and careful discussion. The central idea is the extension of home rule for cities by means both of a constitutional amendment and of a general law. The constitutional amendment is "to protect cities against the power of individuals to appeal to the Legislature, and to protect the Legislature from the necessity of entertaining such appeals, by restricting its power to legislation by general laws." The general law is to furnish a plan of government "for all cities in the State, whereby larger powers shall be granted to local authorities and the Legislature correspondingly relieved." These suggestions are to meet two of the four "chief difficulties which underlie the government of cities in this State." The other two are the absence of any machinery for supplying the Legislature and the people with statistical information touching "the general condition of the government of cities," and "the subordination of city business to the exigencies of State and national politics."

We have no doubt that, as a piece of diagnosis of municipal difficulties, the foregoing is perfectly correct, even if it be not entirely new. It was all set forth with much fulness in the report of the Tilden Municipal Commission, with which, in fact, this report expresses concurrence, except on one point. But the report has the defect which characterizes nearly every official document that deals with the problem of city government, as it is now presented to us in this State, in that it assumes that the evils described can be effectually cured by some sort of new legislation.

For instance, it proposes a "general law" regulating the government of cities in order to prevent special legislation at the instance of individuals with sinister aims. This would be an excellent suggestion if our Legislature were a permanent body of serious-minded and well-informed men bent on the maintenance of good government. As a matter of fact, it is, at every session, largely composed of new men, who look on their service at Albany as a sort of "lark," combined with a chance of making a little money for themselves or their district, and pass bills of every description without the slightest regard to their effect, near or remote, on the general welfare. What chance would there be in such a body that a general law would escape modification for two sessions in succession? Judging by experience, not the smallest. Its existence would give the individual seeking special legislation a little more trouble, but would not discourage him in the least. Having secured the necessary "pulls" and backing, he would go to Albany with the draft of a bill providing that section —— of the General Laws should be altered "so as to read as follows," and he would get it carried with no more pains than he has to take now in getting what he wants. The indignant protests of the publicists who relied on "the general law" would excite much merriment.

The fourth difficulty pointed out by the Committee really contains or covers all the others, viz., "the subordination of city business to the exigencies of State and national politics." On this the Committee ought to have expended far more time and space. This is the *fons et origo malorum*, but no man in public life likes to discuss it thoroughly, because, if he did, it would bring him at once upon the fundamental fact of all municipal trouble—the mental attitude of the majority of voters towards municipal affairs. All discussion of municipal government which assumes that this is what it ought to be, or that, if wrong, it can be righted by some new act of the Legislature, is really futile. Right-minded men can make almost any form of popular government produce public comfort and content. Wrong-minded men can make the very best form of popular government dangerous to property and order. The reason why city business is subordinated to the exigencies of State and national politics is simply that the bulk of the voters either desire it, or care nothing about it. No rearrangement of the State laws or Constitution can prevent this. The curious and absurd junta by whom we are now ruled were put in office, in the teeth of the clearest evidence of their unfitness, last fall. The reason it was done was, that the majority either cared more about the effect of Grant's reëlection on national politics than about its effect on "city business," or else did not care a rush about its effect on either.

What this means is, that the effort to improve municipal government is moral rather than political work — persuasion rather than legislation. The true causes of our municipal degradation are three in number: the large foreign, ignorant, and corrupt vote controlled by Tammany Hall; the determination of a large body of intelligent and educated voters of both parties to use municipal elections, at any cost, to affect Federal elections and legislation; the selfish indifference of a large body of the well-to-do about all local interests. Now we affirm, positively, that if the Laughlin amendment were adopted separating municipal from State and Federal elections, so as to diminish the temptation to use the former to affect the latter, and the voters voted at municipal elections with a single eye to municipal needs, using business tests to determine the fitness of candidates, we should have as good government in this city as any change in the charter could give us. We affirm with equal confidence that in default of this state of mind on the part of the voters all amendatory legislation will be useless. "Rend your hearts and not your charters" should now be the motto of every municipal reformer.

THE DEPOPULATION OF THE RURAL DISTRICTS.

A precise separation of the rural from the urban and semi-urban population can be made only in those two States, viz., New Hampshire and Massachusetts, whose population by minor civil divisions has been announced by the Census Office. The population by counties of all the States has, however, been made public. A comparison of these county figures with the approximately correct statements of the population of all cities of over 10,000 inhabitants, furnished by the Census officials to the newspapers, shows that it is not in New England alone that the rural population is less to-day than it was ten years ago. In considerable sections of every State (West Virginia excepted), north of the southern boundaries of Virginia and Tennessee and east of the Mississippi, and in the States of Iowa and Minnesota west of that river, there are more or less extensive tracts which have fewer inhabitants, outside of the corporate limits of cities having in 1890 a population of 10,000 or upwards, than they had a decade ago.

From Schoodic Lake, on the eastern borders of Maine, to Decatur, Ala., is about thirteen hundred miles as the crow flies. It would be possible, in going from one of these points to another, to travel nine miles in every ten through counties the population of each of which, outside the bounds of their cities, has decreased in the interval between the tenth and eleventh censuses. From the New Brunswick border to the western line of Livingston County, New York, the only county not showing a decrease through which it would be necessary to pass, would be Sagadahoc County, Maine. After having crossed Allegany, Cattaraugus, and Chautauqua Counties, New York, each of which has a larger population than in 1880, the route through the counties with dimi-

nishing rural population could be resumed and uninterruptedly continued, except while crossing a corner of Butler County, Ohio, and while passing through Allen County, Kentucky, and Macon County, Tennessee.

The inhospitable soil of New England is usually assigned as one of the principal reasons for the desertion of its smaller country towns. Such a cause does not exist in New York; yet, outside of the cities of over 10,000 inhabitants, the State of New York above Harlem River has 13,000 less population than it had in 1880. Of the fifty-five counties into which the mainland of New York is divided, thirty-four have fewer inhabitants outside of their cities than they had when the tenth census was taken. There has been an increase in the nine western counties, in Westchester, Rockland, and Orange Counties near New York city, and in five of the counties lying wholly or partially in the northern wilderness, so that the decrease has been most marked in the rich and fertile counties of the central portion of the State. The same causes which have led to the falling off in the population of rural New York have operated in the adjoining counties of northwestern New Jersey and northeastern Pennsylvania, in the former of which the Counties of Sussex, Warren, and Hunterdon, and in the latter those of Susquehanna, Wayne, Monroe, and Pike, show a decline in population.

The rapid growth of the many smaller manufacturing towns and villages scattered over the two States last named is probably the reason why no such general and extensive decrease of extra-urban population as is apparent from the county statistics of New York can be detected in them. In northwestern Pennsylvania, in the Counties of Erie, Crawford, Mercer, Venango, Armstrong, and Clarion, begins another tract with diminishing rural population. The tract extends with scarcely a break diagonally across Ohio and southeastern Indiana, and through central Kentucky and Tennessee, until it terminates in northern Alabama.

Of the eighty-eight counties of Ohio, thirty-six outside of the cities have lost population. Of these thirty-six, thirty-three are comprised in one tract of very irregular outline extending from the Pennsylvania line, a short distance south of Lake Erie, to the Ohio River, a few miles above Cincinnati. The greater portion of this tract is situated south of the fortieth parallel. Of the thirty-three counties which lie wholly or in greater part in this portion of the State, twenty-three have less population than they had ten years ago. Omitting Hamilton County (which contains Cincinnati), the population of this entire section of Ohio, outside the corporate limits of the cities of ten thousand inhabitants, is six thousand less than in 1880.

Not quite so large a proportion of the area of Indiana shows a diminishing population. Of the ninety-two counties, however, twenty-seven have, outside of the cities, a smaller population than in 1880. More than four-fifths, or twenty-two, of these counties lie in the southern half of the State, and principally in its southeastern corner, where only Hamilton County separates them from the Ohio group of diminishing counties. Of the eighteen Indiana counties south of the fortieth parallel and east of the eighty-sixth meridian, thirteen have lost population in the decade; and the eighteen taken together have, if their cities be excluded, fifteen thousand less inhabitants than when the tenth census was taken. For some reason, the majority of the Ohio River counties in both Ohio and Indiana show a diminished population. Out of the twenty-seven counties of Ohio and Indiana lying along the Ohio River, thirteen have decreased in rural population. A similar though less marked tendency manifests itself on the southern or Kentucky side of the river, in which, out of twenty-one counties lying opposite Ohio or Indiana, ten have less population than they had ten years ago. Twenty-seven out of the one hundred and nineteen counties of Kentucky are less populous than they were a decade since. As already stated, ten of these are along the Ohio River, and the remaining seventeen extend across the centre of the State to the Tennessee line.

In Tennessee only one-sixth of the counties, or sixteen out of ninety-seven, show a loss, after allowance has been made for the changes in county boundaries. Most of these are in middle Tennessee, and form a continuation (with a slight break just south of the Kentucky boundary) of the great belt of declining counties which extends from Lake Erie to the Tennessee. Limestone County, Alabama, forms the southern extremity of this tract.

In southern Michigan, and extending into the two northeasternmost counties of Indiana, is another but much less extensive "area of depression." Of the eighty-four counties of the State, seventeen, all in the southern peninsula, show a loss. Sixteen of these seventeen are among the twenty-eight counties lying wholly or partially south of the forty-third parallel. The remaining county, Montcalm, showing a loss, lies immediately north of this parallel and adjoins the other retrograding counties.

But eight of the sixty-eight counties of Wisconsin have experienced a loss of population. Of these, five—Ozaukee, Sheboygan, Washington, Dodge, and Fond Du Lac—lie together in the eastern portion of the State, to the north of Milwaukee. The other three form the northeastern portion of perhaps the most interesting of all these areas of decreasing population. This area extends along both banks of the Mississippi and for a considerable distance inland. On the east or left bank it begins at the mouth of the Wisconsin River, and stretches southward to the Kaskaskia, with an irregular depth usually of between fifty and a hundred miles back from the river. It includes the three southernmost counties of Wisconsin and that portion of the State of Illinois lying west of the eighty-ninth meridian and north of the thirty-eighth parallel. In this section of Illinois are included the whole or the larger part of forty-nine of its one hundred and two counties. Of these, thirty-three show a loss of rural population, and the entire forty-nine, taken together, with the three southwestern counties of Wisconsin, have about 26,000 fewer inhabitants than in 1880. The area of this tract on the east bank is over 30,000 square miles. On the west or right bank of the river it begins further north in Minnesota, at the Cannon River, and includes the seven southeastern counties of Minnesota. It extends southward to the southern boundary of Iowa. Its western boundary is usually in the neighborhood of the ninety-third meridian, although in some places it is a good deal to the east and in others as much to the west of that line. Taking, however, the section of country bounded by the Cannon River on the north, the Missouri line on the south, the Mississippi River on the east, and the ninety-third meridian on the west, we have an area of some 28,000 square miles, including seven counties in Minnesota and forty-three in Iowa, of which all the seven in the former State and twenty-six of the forty-three in the latter show a decrease, the net loss being about 24,000. On both sides of the river this tract includes portions of four States, and comprises some 58,000 square miles, or nearly as much as all New England; and the net decrease in population outside of the cities is about 50,000. The decrease in Iowa is especially noticeable, both because of the relatively large proportion of the State over which the decrease extends, including thirty-three out of its ninety-nine counties, the frequently high percentage of the decrease, reaching, as it does in some counties, 15 per cent. or more, and the comparatively recent date at which the State has been settled.

Of the South Atlantic States, only Maryland and Virginia show any noteworthy decrease, although there are a number of counties scattered through the States of North Carolina and Georgia in which there has been a loss in population. Of the twenty-three counties in Maryland, nine have fallen off. The most noticeable decrease is in the four southern counties of the Western Shore, the loss in these four counties footing up 5,500. In one of them (Charles County, on the Potomac River below Washington), the shrinkage has amounted to 18 per cent., and the county now has but 75 per cent. of the population it had a century ago. The rich agricultural regions contained in the Counties of Washington and Frederick, in western Maryland, and in those of Cecil, Kent, and Queen Anne's, on the eastern shore, exhibit a similar phenomenon. In Virginia the losses are confined entirely to the counties east of the Blue Ridge. Every one of the thirty-one counties west of that range, as well as all of the counties of West Virginia, have increased. Of the sixty-nine counties east of the mountains, almost exactly one-half (or thirty-four) show a decrease, which has, however, not been as general in the tide-water region as in the midland and the Piedmont sections of the State. Of the eleven counties lying along the eastern slope of the Blue Ridge, no less than nine have lost population.

From the data even now available, it is evident that the strictly rural population is

decreasing in many extensive portions of the most fertile land in the Union. When we can separate the population of the towns of between 2,000 and 10,000 inhabitants from that of the rural districts proper, unquestionably the decrease will appear to be still more widely extended in area and proportionately greater in amount. Assume that ten, twenty, or thirty years ago any particular region was cultivated as closely as it is to-day, a decrease of its rural population is inevitable, for not only will the improvement in agricultural machinery enable the same work to be done by fewer hands, but the improvement in the means of transportation and the lessening of its cost, the greater and greater development of the factory system and the replacement of the small factory by the large, will compel more and more of the mechanics who formerly lived among the farming population to migrate to the cities and manufacturing towns.

A greater or less decrease in the rural population of many portions of the country is therefore to be expected. Whether the census does not make that decrease appear to be greater than it is, may, perhaps, be an open question. Most of the complaints as to the omissions of the census have come from the cities of the country, and have been largely inspired by civic pride or vanity. It is not improbable that the omissions were really greater in the rural districts. In the cities, an average man, by working hard, could make, as enumerator, a moderate—although a very moderate—wage. In the country, the best of men frequently could not. At the rates paid, and with the enormous number of questions, especially on the agricutural schedule, to be asked, good enumerators in one of the most thickly settled agricultural regions in the Eastern States could frequently not make more than a dollar and a half or two dollars a day, and out of that they were required to furnish their own team and feed it and themselves. Under such circumstances the temptation to skim over their districts and to slight remote corners of them, must have been too much for the not too Spartan virtue of the small politicians who largely made up the enumerators.

TRUCK-FARMING.

For the first time the industry known as truck-farming has been made a subject of census investigation. Within the past twenty years this infant industry has grown to be one whose extent may be gauged by some of the figures presented in a census bulletin. Upwards of $100,000,000 are invested in truck-farms, aggregating over half a million acres of land, the annual products of which (after paying freight and commissions) amount to $76,517,155, and require the services of 230,893 persons, aided by 75,866 horses and mules, and $8,971,206 worth of farm implements and machinery; the income of this comparatively new traffic, after paying for labor, fertilizers, and seeds, is estimated at $52,000,000.

A distinction is made between truck-farming and what is known as market-gardening. The latter specialty belongs to small holdings within easy driving distance of cities and towns, while truck-farming is defined as the production of green vegetables on tracts remote from market, the truck-farmer being dependent on water and rail transportation for the delivery, and on commission-men for the sale, of his products. For statistical convenience, the country was divided into twelve districts—New England, New York and Philadelphia, Peninsular, Norfolk, Baltimore, South Atlantic, Mississippi Valley, Southwest, Central, Northwest, Mountain, Pacific Coast. Previous to 1860, Long Island, New Jersey, Delaware, and southern Illinois were the chief truck centres, but to-day over 75 per cent. of our vegetables come from the South Atlantic States, the Mississippi Valley, the celery districts of Ohio and Michigan, and from the Pacific Coast. A very considerable portion of the truck products consumed in our great cities is grown from 500 to 1,500 miles away; and favored localities, more particularly at the South, devote their energies to the growth of special varieties of green food, for which there is a steady demand throughout the year. "Late in the fall and early in the spring, Florida and the Lower Mississippi Valley supply the Eastern and central cities, and California those of the far West and mountain section, until the advancing season, *at the rate of thirteen miles a day*, starts the growth and consequent supply up along the Atlantic Coast and the great Mississippi Valley, when the full season of midsummer in the North continues the supply, until winter frosts once more compel a return to the South, where a fresh crop awaits the demand of the market."

New potatoes, cabbages, cauliflowers, and tomatoes are as yet the only vegetables shipped from California so far east as St. Louis, Kansas City, and Chicago, and then only in small quantities to meet a partial failure of crops in the Mississippi Valley and Florida. But the law of natural monopoly has shown itself in the past, and cannot fail in the future. With rapid development of railroads come fast trains and lower freight and express charges, and these artificial advantages will enable California, with a fertility of soil that produces every green thing to perfection, and a climate largely free from the winter frost that occasionally proves so disastrous at the South, to compete sharply for much of the truck trade beyond the Mississippi. It has been only a few years since the truck-farmers of the Norfolk and Baltimore districts have successfully divided patronage with the older and more Northern districts, yet already Norfolk growers grumble over signs of a shifting trade, because growers in Florida are severely pushing their Maryland and Virginia rivals. An estimate made in 1879 placed the value of the vegetable and berry crops shipped from Norfolk at $1,757,645, while for the census year ending June, 1890, the value of the vegetable crop shipments alone rose to $5,773,467; in addition there were handled at the same port nearly 900,000 melons.

"The average melon fields of the South Atlantic States yield about 400 salable melons per acre; 1,200 will load a car, which will sell at the North anywhere from $150 to $275, leaving net returns from nothing up to $150 per car. One gentleman in Dawson County, Georgia, reports making a net profit of $1,700 from thirty-two acres in 1889." Over 114,000 acres are devoted to melon-raising in the United States. A crop that has gained in value of late years in the Southern districts is sweet potatoes; these now return a handsome profit, in some cases as high as $100 an acre on farms which formerly barely met expenses. One owner of 300 acres near Cape Charles, Va., cleared $20,000 last year from his truck, or over 25 per cent. on the investment; such a return was only rendered possible by recent favorable railroad facilities. The small section, Mobile County, Alabama, shipped during the past three years $1,629,964 worth of truck; other Southern distributing points, such as Savannah, Charleston, Jacksonville, etc., supply equally significant returns.

In the South Atlantic and Mississippi Valley districts many freedmen are engaged in this industry; they own their own farms and teams, and successfully rival their white neighbors. Some of the special reports filled out by these negro truckers prove thorough grasp of their business on both the practical and commercial sides. One, selected for print, shows an average net income per acre varying from $75 for cabbages and $50 for asparagus down to $25 for watermelons, a crop which is more prolific, but less remunerative, at the South than in other districts. The remarks appended to one report are a good answer to much cheap talk about the negro of the South: "Total number of acres, 47; value per acre, from $100 to $150; number of men employed during trucking season, 5; average wages per day, 65 cents; number of horses and other animals employed, 4; value of implements used, $75; total amount paid for labor annually, $425; total amount paid for fertilizers, $1,425; total gross income, $4,627; total net income, $2,423."

The leading classes of vegetables raised by truckers—in contradistinction to market-gardeners—are as follows, ranking in acreage in the order named: Watermelons, cabbages, peas, asparagus, melons (other than watermelons), sweet potatoes, tomatoes, spinach, Irish potatoes, celery, and string beans. The net returns from the same crop, in the different localities, vary materially. For instance, the highest net profit per acre reported for tomatoes is $300 in the New England, the lowest ($20) in the Northwest district. The New England district also returns $2,000 per acre as profit on cucumbers (this enormous profit results from their culture under glass at great expense), as against $25 in the Norfolk district. On the whole, it seems that while the Northern districts report a larger return per acre for certain of the truck staples—such as beets, celery, spinach, and tomatoes—the South shows a high average profit on all varieties, with a larger aggregate of land and labor employed in trucking. In a word, the centres of truck-farming are moving southward and westward.

A SOUTHERN ARCADIA.

BELLE HAVEN, Va., April 6, 1891.

A FEW hours by train or boat from New York or Philadelphia or Baltimore bring the traveller to the oft-mentioned and seldom-visited Eastern Shore of the Chesapeake Bay, haunted of oystermen, beloved of crack shots, but as yet innocent alike of summer boarders and of tourists. It is a region not now discovered for the first time. Cabot may have sighted it in his voyage of 1497. Cape Charles, its southernmost point, was in 1607 named for Prince Charles, later Charles I.; and the picturesque names of some of the towns, as Princess Anne, perpetuate English history. In this district, attractive from its history to the student, from its climate and light soil to the pedestrian, I have been spending the week in spring which seems intended for the exploration of out-of-the-way corners of the eastern sea-board.

Small as is the region—the area is but six thousand square miles—it has been a field of contention among three States. From the Eastern Shore Delaware was carved out of Maryland, and the southermost point was most unjustly added to Virginia. The two Virginian counties of Northampton and Accomac occupy Cape Charles, a peninsula about seventy-five miles long and perhaps ten miles wide upon an average, but so penetrated by creeks both from the bay and the ocean side that only a narrow isthmus of solid ground is left between. Through this backbone of the cape runs the railroad from Wilmington to the Norfolk ferry; but let not the passenger suppose that he has seen the Eastern Shore as he is whirled rapidly through swamps and thick woods, with fleeting views of distant farm-houses. The railroad at present occupies the least populous part of the peninsula, and touches no old town in Virginia. He who would see the country must follow the roads. The side paths are firm for walking, and would probably answer for the cyclist; and driving is everywhere practicable. Nowhere does one find long stretches of unbroken forests; the country is fertile, and the blossoming peach trees fill the eye with beauty.

One does not go to the Eastern Shore to see fruit trees so much as to see the people and their ways. As you start out from the little harbor of Cape Charles and follow the clean shell-road north past the high fragrant pines, or under overarching trees, there is at first little to suggest that you are not in New England. Presently you find yourself in the midst of those sociable little woolly black pigs for whose benefit the miles of whitewashed fences and the more numerous miles of Virginia worm fences of pine rails seem to have been provided; and, as you advance, a new quarter of the world opens up.

The houses are novel. One is, of course, struck by the outside chimneys of the older places and by the numerous small outhouses which the Southern farmer seems to think essential. Old houses are rare, and I have nowhere found such a colonial mansion as may be seen in almost any seaport town in New England. The broad Southern verandas, too, are almost wanting; but one soon comes to recognize as characteristic of the region certain well-built houses with brick ends and graceful gambrel roofs, embellished with rows of dormer windows. Many of the older houses have been built over, and the great chimneys have been demolished to make foundations and the inner chimneys for close stoves, which are unfortunately taking the place of the generous old wood fires. Occasionally, though very rarely, there are handsome brick houses; and everywhere one sees a peculiar brick arch, supporting a solid platform, which is roofed by a portico supported by four white pillars. In but one place have I discovered a church which seemed to be more than thirty years old. This was at the village of Pungoteague. It is built of large red brick laid in Flemish bond. The projecting ends are adorned with a coarse gray glaze, so that the front of the building presents a pleasing tesselation of gray and red. I had no opportunity to learn its history. The villages are composed chiefly of new buildings, but are not remarkable for neatness. It has not been my fortune to see the inside of many of the houses. One of them which I entered was a comfortless place except for the great corner brick fire-place. Even there I was most interested in the negro family which occupied it and had furnished it with a curious medley, including a handsome old mahogany bureau.

More than all else the negroes remind one that he is in a different region. In Northampton County they are 6,000 to 5,000 white; in Accomac they are but 11,000 to 17,000; but the negroes whom one meets upon the road are far more numerous than this proportion would suggest. They are of all sorts, from the trim preacher in his well-found top-buggy to the boy driving a discouraged little two-year-old steer to one of the big carts which the negroes much affect. From young and old, from the fat old mammy, with her basket of provisions and her head wrapped in a bandanna, to the little school-children, one meets with perfect civility and politeness. Nowhere have I seen more genuine and unaffected good-will, kindliness, and courtesy than among these colored people. Only once did I meet with a case of that stupidity which the reader of Olmsted's books would expect to find. It was in a stalwart oysterman in his big boots, of whom I asked the distance to Eastville. "'Bout seven miles," said he; "'bout seven miles. Yes, I could walk there in an hour, sure. Yes, I could get there by four o'clock, sure." It was then half-past one, and the distance, with which he was familiar, was perhaps three miles. I have always been inclined to distrust the stories of the gayety of the negro race, but, in passing along the roads, again and again was my ear charmed by the song of men and women in the fields. Occasionally a courtship was going on, shouted half across a potato-field; and once I saw a circle of little children gathered together with their heads covered, singing in weird fashion—perhaps playing camp-meeting.

Throughout the sixty miles' walk everywhere new negro houses abounded; not cabins, but substantial weather-boarded houses, often two stories in height, and each surrounded by a little patch of land. It was the universal testimony that most of the negroes bought land and built upon it. One white man said they were able to do so because so many of them received pensions from the Government. It is certain from the testimony of the whites that on the Eastern Shore the race problem has been almost completely adjusted. In a region in which slavery flourished for nearly two centuries and a half, the races now live together on terms of amity and friendship, of mutual respect and good-will. The social separation is very sharp, and almost all the trading is done by whites; the only industry, even in the villages, in which, so far as I could see, colored men engaged, was the establishment of low bar-rooms. Race difficulties simply do not exist; the negroes almost invariably vote the "Union ticket"—that is, the Republican—and Northampton County usually elects Republican officers. Few negroes are sufficiently educated to take office, and one lady bitterly complained of the presumption of a young negro who had succeeded in obtaining admission to the bar and was likely to put himself forward for "Commonwealth"—that is, for county prosecuting attorney. The general testimony was that the negroes sent their children to school [illegible]ter than the whites, and that the steady ones were excellent citizens. There was some complaint that negro laborers could not be depended upon to work more than a few days a week, enough to keep body and soul together. Farm laborers are in great demand, and receive ten to twelve dollars a month and board.

Perhaps these happy conditions are due to the great prosperity of the whole region. Tobacco seems almost an unknown product; the dependence of the country is upon "early trucks"—that is, vegetables for the city markets—sweet potatoes, and especially "round" potatoes. Large quantities of these products go to Boston, with which there is a certain relation of travel: I met several whites and blacks who had lived in New England. The white men are hardly distinguishable from the similar class in New England or Middle-State towns. Many of them are established as traders, and the stores throughout the peninsula are very numerous. Except by a difference of accent, the loafer, the dapper clerk, and the all-pervading drummer are not distinguishable from the same classes in New England. The farmers—for there are no "planters" on the Eastern Shore; the word farmer seems to be universal—show less energy. But the simple fact that in my journeyings I have yet to see a single ruined house, and can remember but two dwellings which seemed to be unoccupied, shows how profitable must be their calling. Land is worth half as much as similar land would bring in northern Ohio. It is said that a million dollars was received from the "round" potato crop in Accomac County last year. The result is a remarkable growth, not only of the new railroad villages, but of the old towns like Onancock. Another evidence of prosperity is the excellent living which the country affords. Such oysters, such poultry, such potatoes, such Maryland biscuit as the hotel at Belle Haven affords are not to be had in any city market. On the other hand, the guest at the Grand Central Hotel at Onancock sees something of the old slavery times in the two slatternly, ragged, and unpleasing negro girls who serve the table with somewhat indigestible food.

In no part of the Union have I seen greater evidences of prosperity and content than on the peninsula of Cape Charles. The races live side by side without friction and with pleasant relations; wealth increases from year to year, and is widely distributed; no foreigners have come in to create or to participate in these advantages. Such as it is, the Eastern Shore of Virginia is a bit of American soil peopled only by Americans.

ALBERT BUSHNELL HART.

IRELAND ON THE CENSUS DAY.

DUBLIN, April 6, 1891.

WITH time, we realize more fully the extraordinary character of the split that crushed Irish hopes and shattered the Irish party in the early days of last December. There is nothing similar recorded in history. When great differences have arisen, there have always been some previous indications, some tendencies of mind, some seeds of thought already sown, some sectional interests already apparent,

hoping to enlighten as to the reason of the course taken by each man. In this instance, persons who had worked together harmoniously in a common cause for a lifetime, became instantaneously bitterly opposed to each other. Result as it may, this divergence adds an unexpected sombreness to life, seeming to undermine all firm standing as to bases of belief and judgment and political thought. After the divorce revelations, Mr. Parnell's infamous abuse of his colleagues, his attack on Mr. Gladstone, his language at Kilkenny and Sligo, I could hardly be more surprised at the adherence of many excellent individuals to Mr. Parnell than I should be if they had attempted to justify petty larceny—some, indeed, have gone so far as to defend and excuse the late brutal assault on Mr. Healy. But such is the fact, another of the numerous, unexpected, inscrutable developments marking Irish history, in which nothing appears certain except disappointment and unrest. The present contest is now fully joined, and there can be no appreciable change in party relations until after the general election. Not even the release of O'Brien and Dillon in August will make any material difference. Their undecided action at Boulogne has considerably lessened their importance. While they retain the respect and love of their fellow-countrymen, and while their adherence to either side would still doubtless be a source of strength, and their retirement from the scene would gratify the adherents of the Government, the preponderating influence they might have exercised early in the struggle is no longer theirs.

The National party started under serious disadvantages. The organization of Ireland was in the hands of the Parnellites. The daily paper that for a generation had led and mirrored National sentiment was unreservedly with Parnell. Perhaps no journal in either England or the United States occupied the same commanding position in proportion to its circulation as the *Freeman's Journal* in Ireland. Catholic and a clerical organ, it has now committed itself to a life-and-death struggle with the Church. While the Parnellite members adopted a course that excluded them from all the privileges attendant on London political life in alliance with a great English party, and most of the anti-Parnellites seemed to deprive themselves of all means of living, the *Freeman's Journal* adopted a course that has called into the field a powerful rival and reduced its shares from £7 to £4 10. Irishmen on this occasion cannot be accused of acting from sordid motives. It may be one of our defects that we are too little swayed by prudential considerations. Within three months a new daily paper, the *National Press*, has been started in opposition to the *Freeman's Journal*. It has secured the finest premises of any newspaper in Dublin. The machinery, second-hand, picked up on the moment, is still defective, and the staff, hastily got together, is not yet fully trained, so that the position the new daily is likely to take in the newspaper world remains uncertain. As Mr. Parnell would have had all his own way but for some such paper, the initiatory shortcomings may well be pardoned. A few days after the appearance of the *National Press*, the Irish National Federation was inaugurated at an enthusiastic and representative gathering in Dublin. It is intended to take the place of the Irish National League, now in the hands of the Parnellites. The Federation can hardly espouse the cause of coerced and evicted tenants, as did the League in its palmy days. And if, without espousing that cause, the Federation attain to anything like the former influence of the League, it will succeed in doing what no purely political organization has effected since the famine of 1846. If, as seems probable, the agrarian combinations cannot be maintained, and if the people conclude that little more directly affecting their pockets is to be gained from politics, the much-disputed question will be finally settled as to the extent to which, apart from the land, Irishmen really care for home rule.

The present is a trying ordeal. It is, however, in the interests of Truth. In spite of shouting, swaggering, and threatening, not free from violence on both sides, the way is being cleared for her to assert her supremacy. What else should we desire? Where the large funds necessary for the next general election are to come from, is a problem. The Land League ten years ago was established mainly on money drawn from the States and Australia. Beyond the maintenance on small allowances of some of the Irish Parliamentary party (a maintenance drawn chiefly, it is understood, from finances banked in Paris), election expenses in Ireland were but trifling. Mr. Parnell's nominees were invariably returned. The certainty with which they held their seats gave a peculiar force to the party. This easy state of affairs is ended. The country, never rich, lavishly supporting its own religious institutions, and having with a diminishing population almost every year raised some £30,000 or £40,000 for one political purpose or another—for Mr. Parnell, evicted tenants, legal expenses, or the establishment of a newspaper—must now be considerably impoverished. To fight the battle out fully will cost not less than £50,000 on each side. As yet, within a month, the subscription lists in the *Freeman* and the *National Press* show collections of only £1,500 and £3,500. An ominous proportion of the latter sum is from clerical contributors.

The attitude of the ascendency papers and the action of the Conservative electors at Sligo show that the Government party in Ireland is determined to throw its weight into the scale with Parnell and the Hillside men. There is no concealment regarding the alliance. The secretary of a Liberal Unionist association in Ulster lately told his near relative, a friend of mine, that if he had fifty votes, he would cast them for the Uncrowned King. This is doubtless good party tactics, but it is a course which those who profess to desire good order in Ireland would not dare to follow if they felt themselves responsible for the conduct of their own government. It is a suggestive commentary on the system under which we here live, illustrating the extent to which so many Irishmen regard politics as a mere joke, a recreation, or a means of advancing their own interests apart from all considerations of public welfare. The present juncture cannot but seriously endanger our prospects at the English polls. The violence at recent Irish elections—all unnoticed as such conduct would pass in Englishmen—the mutual implications and vilifications of the controversy, must tend to lower Irishmen in the estimation of Great Britain. Philosophically considered, in the minds of men like Gladstone, Morley, Earl Spencer, Mr. Bryce, and the writers in the *Speaker*, the necessity for home rule is more than ever apparent. But how will the subject be regarded by the average English electors, reared in anti-Irish and anti-Catholic prejudices, influenced by the Primrose League and by able and insistent witnesses from Ireland such as Mr. T. W. Russell? For the present the full combination of English and Irish home-rule advocates on English and Irish platforms appears at an end. The offices of the Irish Press Agency in Westminster are closed for want of funds, and its staff is scattered. The revulsion against political thought prevalent here, leading men to curtail their newspaper reading, and banishing Nationalist portraits from photographers' windows in our principal streets, must act with additional force on the other side of the Channel.

It is twenty-one years this spring since the home-rule agitation was started by Mr. Butt. Never during that period were there so few Protestants of standing prominently connected with the movement as there now are. The Government is improving its opportunity with consummate tact. Its adherents were never in better spirits. It claims to its account the increased contentment and prosperity resulting from the land legislation conceded by the Liberals or exacted by the Irish party. No Englishman for half a century was so popular with the classes in Ireland as is Mr. Balfour. His portrait is for sale in the leading Dublin bookseller's window, where I do not recollect ever to have seen a portrait before exposed. The success, on the whole, of his relief policy in the west is assured. He has lately given singular proof of the strength of his position, and done what a Liberal or Home-Rule Government could hardly have ventured in the face of English and northern Protestant opinion, in trying before a coercion court and imprisoning two Protestant clergymen for "obstructing the thoroughfare" by street preaching in Arklow. Yet, to the majority of Irishmen, the hatefulness of his arbitrary sway was never more apparent than at the late Cork trials of men who had been savagely batoned by the police for asserting their right to enter their own court-house at Tipperary.

During my life-time millions of square miles of desolate places have been portioned into States and colonies, and accorded by great Powers freedom and self-government; while Ireland, a fertile country, inhabited by an ancient people who have acquired influence in every other corner of the globe, is held in a condition of intolerable subjection. To-day the census of her population is taken. It will show a decrease within the last decade. It will not amount to more than half what it indicated when I was first numbered among her inhabitants. That the present diminished population is less impoverished than the former greater one, is no sufficient compensation. There is not another nation on the face of the globe that has not, within the same period, increased both in population and in comfort and riches. Let who will be content with such a state of things. Census-day brings pride and joy, or at least satisfaction, to most peoples, but to us humiliation. Well may we, as Irishmen, abhor the present system of misrule, in going over Charlemont House and seeing the perfect preparations made for the enumeration, when we reflect on the hopes that centred there one hundred years ago, on our subsequent history, and the record of decline to which it seems doomed. However, it is well to remember that if in Irish affairs hope is often cheated, the worst forebodings are generally belied.

D. B.

THE MAFFIA ONCE MORE.

ROME, April 2, 1891.

THE tragedy of New Orleans makes the nature of the great Sicilian order of outlawry of more than ordinary interest, and I have taken pains to find what is the best Italian authority on the matter, so as to give a picture of it

which cannot be put down as the outcome of foreign ignorance or prejudice. Nobody can have travelled in the island of late years in leisure without having, here and there, discovered the proofs of the insecure state of society; but in justice to the Sicilians and their perception of the advantages to be derived from making an exception to the foreign visitors in their operations, I must say that foreigners are not the victims of their illegalities, and a European traveller may go, as I have gone, through districts where the population was continually overawed by the outlaws, without the least inconvenience. The old-fashioned brigandage, which owed its terrors to the sequestration of the person and the certainty of death if the required ransom was not forthcoming, has disappeared, I believe. The single case of it in late years resulted in the capture of so many of the criminals that a repetition of it is not likely, and that form of the activity of the Maffia may be studied as historically interesting, but not as showing the laxity of Italian policing.

The Maffia is not a single, formal, and organized association like the Camorra of Naples, but a state of society, existing in every part of Sicily, which is in revolt against the law, combines in any convenient manner to defeat it, and lives on the contributions it can levy on the industrious part of the community. In certain districts it forms bands, bound together for certain forms of crime and limited to the section, and these are regulated by their statutes and pay absolute obedience to their chiefs; but the general condition of the Maffia is that of a large number of people connected by no formality, but recognizing each other by certain characteristics, forms of speech, and to a limited extent by a slang, but mainly by the general deportment, and who invariably assist each other in any undertaking, legal or illegal, and as invariably combine for the mutual defence and misleading of justice. The religion and morality of the Maffia, if it is permissible to apply the terms to the inversion of our usual acceptation of those notions, is contained in the rule of conduct known as *omertà*, a word translated by some of the writers on the subject as humility, by others as manhood, and which is thus described by Prof. Tommasi-Crudeli:

"So it has come that little by little have obtained in the habits of the entire population the principles of a special code which is called *omertà*, which establishes as the first duty of a man that of doing justice with his own hands for all injuries received, and stamps with infamy and holds up to public execration and vengeance whoever has recourse to the tribunal or aids it in its investigation. On this account even the honest populace considers it a good work to hide an assassin from justice, or refuse to give evidence against him."

With these principles pervading the population (and they have a large currency in the entire population of southern Italy), the Maffia has a soil propitious for its operations. Bonfadini, in the 'Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Condition of Sicily,' describes the Maffia as "not exactly a secret society, but the cultivation and perfection of domination directed to all evil ends; the unity—instinctive, brutal, selfish—which binds for the detriment of the State, the laws, and the regular organizations, all those individuals or social ranks who prefer to gain their livelihood and their pleasures, not by work, but by violence, cheating, and intimidation." And Franchetti, in his study of the island, 'The Economical and Administrative Condition of Sicily,' says that it is "a union of persons of every class, of every profession, of every description, who, without having any apparent regular and continuous tie, are always agreed in promoting their mutual interests, without any consideration of law, justice, or public order. It is the mediæval sentiment of one who considers himself able to provide for the protection and safety of himself and his interests by his own powers and personal influence without regard to the authorities or the laws."

The Maffia draws its profits from every transaction in which the Sicilian is interested. If an auction sale is to take place, the intending purchaser is informed by an insignificant-looking individual that either some "man" has a desire to purchase the object in question, or that if he wants it at a reasonable price he would do well to remember the poor; or by some similar injunction is notified that he must buy off the Maffia by a proportional contribution, in default of which he is outbid, but paying which he has no competitor and gets it at his own price. If the occasion is an election, the candidate of the Maffia has a swarm of clients who advise people not to oppose him, lest disagreeable things may happen, and the advice is understood. If it is a matter of a contract for some public work, the payment of a commission to the Maffia is necessary to secure the contractor from all interference or competition. The majority of the population, distrusting the power of the law to protect them against the secret action of the Mafiosi, obeys the secret injunction and preserves silence, no matter how oppressive the tyranny. In case one of the Maffia has committed a murder, or any offence of minor degree, it is the duty of the affiliated to prove an alibi, to bribe the jury or overawe it, and prevent a conviction, or, failing in this, to punish the refractory and honest juryman or witness, by killing his cattle, if he has any, burning his forest or farm-house, boycotting his business if a citizen, or finally assassinating him—for the refusal to obey the Maffia must be prevented at any cost.

The Italian governments, one after another, have proved unequal to the entire repression of this organized illegality, this State within the State, defiant of all law and measures of police. The reason is that the governments have never dared attack the "high Maffia" (for this distinction exists everywhere).

"The distinction is made between the high and the low Maffia, Maffia in bonnet and in yellow gloves; but it is relative, being the distinction between protector and protected, patron and client, him who orders and him who executes, as is shown by the following extract from a letter from the late Prince of Galati, than whom no one knew better the historic and political conditions of the island: 'Leone, Nobile, and their companions, victims of the high Maffia, are dead. To-morrow there will be new instruments and new victims. Looking over the history of Sicily, do we find a single brigand who did not die on the gallows or by a bullet? All, beginning with Giangiorgio Lancia, hanged in 1582, and ending with Leone, killed in 1877, have had violent deaths; not one has died unpunished. The high Maffia has been spared by all the governments, beginning with that of Don Arrigo Guzman, Count of Alvarez, and ending with that of Nicotera. . . . It is true that Nicotera admonished a few barons; trivial punishment, illusory penalties. The high Maffia is intact. It has thrown to the police its agents in the country, but keeps those of the city.'" (G. Alongi, 'La Maffia': Turin, 1887.)

The wealthy are Mafiosi for the protection of their estates and herds, the poor from envy and want.

"For many of the rich, to be of or acquiesce in the Maffia is, if one may believe them, a necessity. But are there not many who take it up from taste or interest? Many, and I do not know if most belong to the former or the latter. The same necessity weighs on the peasant. In fact, while he is honest and laborious he is oppressed, insulted, prevented from attaining an independence, badly or half fed, worse lodged. If, on the other hand, he commits a couple of crimes, generally with impunity (the witnesses for the accusation being few, and those for the defence many), the obscure creature of yesterday has become noted, become a man of honor. The *gabelloto* [farmer of an estate] who has always a staff, a guard of honor of proved Mafiosi, and who has always treated him as a nobody, takes him into his esteem, partly from fear, partly from an eye to his services; protects him, and often, of the mere laborer, makes a formidable champion with a salary. And so the new criminal finds himself suddenly elevated morally and financially; the crime that was for him a reprisal or a necessity, has become a virtue and a convenient habit; inducements increase, and contact with the other Mafiosi does the rest." (Alongi, *ibid.*)

The great mass of the Mafiosi are the manutengoli, those who take the passive office of hiding, feeding (if need be), and protecting from the investigations of justice, the active agents of crime. Without the manutengolo the Maffia could not exist, but with him the criminal passes the tribunal unterrified.

"His work begins in the investigations, throwing, as the saying is, 'sticks between the legs' of the judges to divert them from the clues. False witnesses, anonymous communications, articles in journals—everything is brought into action to weaken the charge or break it down; and if the magistrate be persistent and send the man to the assizes, there is a new series of evolutions and intrigues which end only with the verdict—not always conformed to justice. These begin with the examination of the jury-list, seeing who must be rejected and who accepted. With these latter all the friendly relations are employed to soften their hearts, and when these are not sufficient they are informed that the accused has many and powerful friends who would defend him *at any cost*, and if necessary *avenge* him, etc. If the accused was of importance in the Maffia, the friends added to the appeals for sympathy *for a victim of partisan hostility*, the information that he had a host of friends *ready for any measures* to save him; and those who did not feel convinced by the first plea were moved by the second, knowing that under the expression *ready for any measures* were conveyed threats of reprisal and vendettas not far away. And on this point the Maffia has given examples so terrible that no one attempts to resist. It is known that witnesses and jurymen, after an affirmative verdict, have been assassinated in broad day, even in the city." (Alongi, *ibid.*)

The trial is followed with the same care—friends in court and witnesses ready to swear to anything so that the witnesses for the accusation may be invalidated, the fabrication of false testimony being an art cultivated to the highest perfection; alibis well supported, etc.

"In this state of things, which still obtains, is it a wonder, is it a great error, if the masses attending the trials are convinced that to lie in court is not dangerous, while by offending the Maffia one risks his life? However much one may love truth and justice, however courageous one may be, the certainty of a vendetta, or even the probability of it, makes the best hesitating and reserved, the more so that with ambiguous phrases one may evade the law, keeping up appearances of legality, while, in fact, it is the Maffia which is obeyed and triumphs." (Alongi, *ibid.*)

When the Maffia is in the country, the malandrino is the chief and director of its operations. He is apparently a quiet proprietor or tradesman who never takes any part in the enterprises of brigand, highway robber, or bands of cattle-thieves, but spies the opportunity and gives information, and directs the movements of the active members of the organization. He receives the booty and sells it, and aids in every way the operations, protected by his wealth or position, and sometimes betrays his

confederates to justice, remaining sole possessor of their hoards. He is the worst and most dangerous criminal in the Maffia.

In some parts of Sicily only do the Maffiosi form bands, with statutes, oaths, and forms of initiation. These somet mes are at war with each other, but always combine to defeat the law. These brotherhoods levy blackmail, rob, and revenge offences on their friends or company. The assessments are made, and warnings given, at first with due form and moderation; but, if not attended to, are followed by more rigorous measures.

"Before having recourse to assassination for little matters, the means of intimidation are exhausted—cutting down trees, sending crosses, etc., etc.; but when it is a question of some one suspected of watching the association or bringing it into the hands of the law, or one who has done an injury to a brother or to a rival group of the Maffia, the only and infallible means of action is murder. This even becomes sometimes a means of gain, and is let out. Anybody who has an enemy whom he wants to have put out of the way, has only to apply to the brotherhood, which, for a price varying from 50 to 500 francs, charges itself with the matter. The common method of procedure is the following: 'When the chief has tried the victim [he being absent, of course], or has recognized that his offence merits the punishment, lots are drawn for the executioner, or the job is given to a novice to prove his courage and obedience. But the work is not intrusted to him alone; he at most only takes the weapon [the gun always] from the hands of a colleague, and fires at the victim, who is sometimes unknown to him. The shot fired, the gun is passed from one to another of the associates posted at short distances, and disappears as if by enchantment, while the murderer, making a rapid turn through the by-roads, may run to the scene of the murder as if he were only a curious spectator."

One writer on the Sicilian brotherhoods (Colacino, 'La Fratellanza') says:

"In it [La Fratellanza] the purpose of robbery as an end of common gain was eliminated. La Fratellanza was not an association of robbers—attacks on property might be a mode of vendetta, since this may be accomplished even by the destruction of his property; the thirst for blood was stronger than the desire of gain. La Fratellanza neither wished to rob for greed, nor rise against property, nor attack the form of government. To bathe in the blood of the enemy or insulter, with avidity, savagely, undisturbed—this was its ideal. Its maxim was: 'Sweet is wine, but sweeter still the blood of Christians.'"

This is the testimony of Italians who have studied the condition of Sicily, and the list is long. Official reports, studies of crime, investigations of scientists, both for public information and for pure science, all accord substantially in their relations of which I have but indicated a small part—that which most imports to the people of the States where the Maffia is likely to be planted. The following from Alongi is worth remembering: "Once the first nucleus of the brotherhood is constituted, it spreads rapidly, recruiting adherents among the criminals and evil-livers of every kind. This force of expansion, given the anthropological and historical circumstances of Sicily, is frightful." W. J. S.

Correspondence.

INDEMNITY TO FOREIGNERS.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: "The Italian Trouble," in the *Nation* of the 9th inst., doubtless voices the sentiment of the country as to the cash value of Italy's loss at New Orleans; also in the statement that Blaine's answer to Baron Fava "is very neat and complete, and puts the whole case in a nutshell."

However, further on in the same article the *Nation* says:

"We do not know what Mr. Blaine means when he says that 'the United States has distinctly recognized the principle of indemnity to those Italian subj cts who may have been wronged by a violation of the rights secured by the treaty with the United States of February 26, 1871.' There was no such recognition in the case of the attack on Spaniards in New Orleans in 1850 or of the attack on Chinese at Rock Springs in 1885. In the latter case an indemnity was voted, but it was expressly stated at the time that it was a matter of grace, and not of right. In other words, any acknowledgment of 'the principle' has been expressly guarded against by Mr. Webster and by Mr. Evarts and by Mr. Bayard."

I assume that "the case of the attack on Spaniards in New Orleans in 1850" refers to the excitement in the United States in 1851 over the execution of a number of American citizens by the Spanish authorities for aiding an attempted insurrection in Cuba, which, at New Orleans and Key West, culminated in mob violence against Spanish subjects.

If I understand the history of that affair correctly, while there might not have been a distinct technical recognition of "the principle," yet our own Government did "recognize" the right sufficiently "distinctly" to pay every dollar of indemnity demanded by the Spanish Minister, amounting to $83,813.70, for Spanish subjects on account of damages caused by the riots at New Orleans and Key West. It also appears that Secretary Webster sent to the President the note of the Spanish Minister demanding the indemnity, with the suggestion "that Congress be recommended to make provision for the reparation desired." (Foreign Relations of the United States, 1886, pp. 152-3-4, title China.)

This matter was brought out fully by the Chinese Minister at Washington in his correspondence with Secretary Bayard over the Rock Springs massacre. When Cheng Tsao Ju had officially presented the facts of the Rock Springs horror to Secretary Bayard, he doubtless anticipated, from prior experience of his legation, some cheap and perfunctory expressions of condolence, with a denial of liability for indemnity; for he continued, p. 103:

"With this statement I might consider my duty discharged but for the fact that this legation, having had occasion to call the attention of two of your worthy predecessors to a similar but much less bloody and disastrous event, the honorable Secretary Evarts expressed some doubts as to the legal liabi ity of his Government to make pecuniary indemnity to the Chinese sufferers by the mob at Denver, in the State of Colorado, in 1880, and that the honorable Secretary Blaine concurred in the views of Mr. Secretary Evarts. I have, therefore, to beg the kind indulgence of your Excellency while I attempt to show why the present request for indemnification, in the opinion of my Government, ought in justice and equity to be granted, notwithstanding the views set forth in the notes of Secretary Evarts of December 30, 1880, and of Secretary Blaine of March 25, 1881. In doing this it is not my intention to either appeal to you from or to question the correctness of the interpretation of the laws of the United States as given by the distinguished jurist Mr. Evarts and confirmed by the experienced statesman Mr. Blaine. It would seem to me, however, to be just that, if the view taken by Mr. Evarts as to the obligation of the United States to make indemnity for injuries to private individuals from mob violence should be insisted upon and adhered to by your Excellency's Government, China should, in due reciprocity and international comity, accept and practise the same principle."

Then he proceeds to show, among other things, wholly from the records of our own Government, that China in one year paid as indemnity to American citizens $735,258.97.

I am aware that Secretaries Evarts and Blaine talked the Chinese Legation out of the indemnity claim for damages sustained by the Denver mob of 1880, and Secretary Bayard undertook to shelter himself under the same cover in his correspondence with the legation over the Rock Springs case. However, Cheng Tsao Ju was not so easily turned down as Chen Lan Pin. Yet, even in the Denver case, Mr. Blaine was so hardly pressed that he set up the fact, as a flimsy makeweight in his argument, that the Chinese were, at the time the mob commenced, also violating American law by being about a saloon on Sunday. Cheng Tsao Ju conducted his correspondence with a masterly ability and dignity. He not only refuted the doctrine of Evarts, Blaine, and Bayard, but demonstrated that China was right in this claim for indemnity, under our own precedents, and compelled our Government to do the only thing it in honor and consistency could do, which was to pay the indemnity in full, which it did.

While it is true, as the *Nation* says, that our Government, in so doing, said "it was a matter of grace and not of right," I submit that it was a matter of "reciprocity" and justice if not of strict technical right.

The judicial proceedings that followed the Rock Springs butchery—coroner's inquest, report of the Grand Jury, etc.—were such a grotesque travesty that no wonder Cheng Tsao Ju, in referring to the matter, said, with a sarcasm as keen as a Damascus blade, "The judicial proceedings which followed the sad event are described as 'a burlesque.' The conduct of the coroner who investigated the causes of death seems to me strange, *but with my imperfect knowledge of American procedure I prefer not to criticise it.*" (F. R., 1886, p. 102.)

It may also be interesting to note here, for the benefit of demagogues who bank upon the wickedness and depravity of the heathen Chinese, an incident that occurred in the distribution of this indemnity fund among the Rock Springs sufferers. When the money was paid over to the Chinese Minister at Washington, it was sent to their Consul in San Francisco for distribution. The list of claimants numbered 764, and their several demands ran from as low as $11 to over $3,000. It had gone through the red-tape office at Washington, and had been approved by the Commission, yet, on actual distribution, the Consul at San Francisco discovered that six names had been repeated in the list, making an aggregate over-payment of $480.75, which he promptly returned to the legation at Washington; and on the 24th of October, 1887, Chang Yen Hoon, the Chinese Minister at Washington, returned it to Secretary Bayard. (Papers relating to the F. R. of the U. S., 1888, pp. 243-4.)

J. T. Mayfett.

THE SICILIANS AT HOME.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: The following information may be found interesting and appropriate at this time. Some few years ago, being in Sicily, we heard much praise of a certain Gen. P., commanding there, who was carrying on, more successfully than his predecessors, a campaign against the brigands. His system was this: When the troops made any prisoners, they were bound and guarded so carelessly that they, as a matter of course, tried to escape, when they were immediately shot. This system was recognized as the only means of securing deserved punish-

ment for their incredible crimes, as no jury ever agreed in convicting them, the Maffia holding every one in complete subjection.

It is difficult to discover any fundamental difference between this system adopted by a general in the Italian Army and that practised at New Orleans. If there be any people who doubt the ultimate righteousness of the two processes, I think a few portraits of these Sicilians would convert them to a warm desire to have as many disposed of, and as rapidly, as could conveniently be done. They are not human in the ordinary meaning of the phrase, but very dangerous wild beasts.

Sicily has lain under a black pall of oppression through all the centuries, and has been almost untouched by the movements of civilization. Even now the efforts of the Government are of little or no effect, being so nearly neutralized by the feudal rights of the great landowners, who are almost totally without compassion for the people. A Sicilian of to-day is virtually a survival from the middle ages, absolutely incapable of understanding civilization and its laws, duties, and advantages. Force and fraud are the sole paths he knows of to his ends, and revenge is his cherished bosom companion.

This no doubt seems exaggeration and prejudice to some who have not lived where these people can be studied, but I fear the United States will have many a chance now to learn the correctness of the statement, since we are doomed by fate and the absence of common sense from our emigration laws to have many thousand of such fellow-citizens. Perhaps in this view it may not be amiss for those who do not already know the positive barbarism of these people, to have one or two facts set before them showing the precautions Sicilians find necessary against their country-people's ways and means.

Having letters to one of the greatest ladies of the land, we were one day taken by her to see one of her score of country places about two miles from the city. The house was fine, in the midst of gardens and park of extreme beauty, and everything in perfect order, but the owner herself could not live in it for danger of being carried off to the mountains. She could only drive there every day to enjoy its beauty, taking care to leave before twilight. Her town house, in a closely built street, had a veranda behind, about fifteen feet above the large garden. It was furnished with luxury, had pictures and statues, and was shut in for the whole length by heavy iron gratings—like a prison—for defence against the brigands.

The landlord of our hotel showed a ring which he put on when he drove out to his farm near the city, from which he drew his supplies. This ring contained poison for himself if he should be carried off to the mountains. He objected to having his ears and nose and fingers sent down to his family by instalments in default of ransom, and did not wish them to be ruined by paying it.

In one of the larger towns a friend of ours strolled into a doorway, before which stood a guard of soldiers. He found one or two judges on their bench, a few lawyers, and a crowd of prisoners—men, women, young girls, children, priests. It was the whole population of a village which had been a scourge for years for all the country round. Every imaginable crime and cruelty was proved, for the Government brought its full power to bear, and happily they were convicted—sent to the galleys, from which they escape or are discharged and go to us. We may be sure, though the letter of their law of murder and theft may vary in different countries, the spirit will remain the same, and our habits of letting things drift into order if they can, will presently seem to us, as it does now to the rest of the world, criminal neglect of precaution against a very great evil and burden.

M. G. L.

Florence, April 5, 1891.

A FRATERNITY OF STUDENTS IN PARIS.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: As a part of the great and hopeful movement which bids fair to give the world a more cosmopolitan intellectual life than it has ever had in the past, the recent banquet given under the auspices of the General Association of the students of Paris deserves attention. Not many months ago the University, recognizing the importance of the foreign element among the students, established a Committee of Reception whose business it should be to smooth the way for those coming from abroad. Of this committee the best-known members are perhaps MM. Taine, Pasteur, Lavisse, and Picot. Its secretary is M. Paul Melon. A further advance towards rendering the ties closer between the various universities of Europe and America was taken last week. Through the efforts of M. Bérenger, President of the General Association of the Students, and Mr. A. J. Herbertson, the most active member of the venerable Scotch College of Paris, a banquet was arranged at which the foreign students and the Committee of Reception might make each other's acquaintance. Mr. Leo S. Rowe of Philadelphia spoke for the Americans present.

The most important provisions of the project of organization to be submitted to the various universities are as follows: (1.) Each university shall organize a committee of reception for foreign students, such as already exists at Paris and Montpellier and in Sweden and Scotland, and in which the general body of the students shall be represented by a delegate. (2.) In each association of students (such as that at Paris) the foreigners shall group themselves according to "nations," in order to establish regulations between the foreign students themselves and between them and the General Association, as well as to diminish for those newly arriving the moral and material difficulties incident to establishing one's self in a strange land. (3.) These "nations" shall each choose a representative to serve as intermediary between themselves on the one hand and the Committee of the Students' Association and the Committee of Reception on the other.

Although the comparatively rare appearance of a foreign student at our universities would seem to render an organization of this character premature, there is reason to look forward to a time when our educational institutions will exercise an attraction upon the students of Europe in some degree equivalent to that which brings hundreds of our graduates across the ocean every year. It is at least clear that the steps taken at Paris, if followed by other important universities, cannot fail to make the intercourse among the students of different nations easier, and so do away in the rising generation with the narrow prejudices which have so long been falsely regarded as an element of patriotism.

James Harvey Robinson.

Paris, March 27, 1891.

JOHN WHITE'S DRAWINGS.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: In 1880 it was my good fortune to come across, in the Grenville Collection, British Museum, the original drawings from which De Bry's engravings of Virginia (or rather of North Carolina) Indians as seen by Raleigh's colonists were made. Part of these I had photographed and reproduced in the *Century Magazine* for November, 1882, and May, 1883. John White's very remarkable map of the coast was first brought to the attention of scholars by its publication in the number of the magazine for November, 1882. It is in the same volume with the other drawings—a volume sold to the Museum by Henry Stevens after it had been offered to our own Government.

I was not aware, when I made my publication of these drawings, that Mr. Edward Everett Hale had discussed many years before another volume in the British Museum purporting to contain John White's originals from which De Bry's engravings were made (*Arch. Americana*, iv., 21). This volume is in the British Museum, in the collection known as Sloane and Additional Manuscripts. I concluded, on reading Mr. Hale's paper, that the two volumes contained the two parts of a complete collection of White's drawings. I believe they were so treated by Mr. Winsor, who cites Henry Stevens's description of the one and Mr. Hale's of the other. Yesterday, by the kind assistance of Mr. Richard Garnett and other officers of the Museum, I was enabled to compare for an hour or so the two collections, with a very unexpected result.

I find that the Sloane volume has, as Mr. Hale states, an inscription describing its contents as "the originalls" from which De Bry made his pictures, and as made by John White, "who accompanied" Sir Walter Raleigh on his voyage, etc. This inscription is written in a handwriting unmistakably of the seventeenth century. But as Raleigh did not make the voyage in person, the inscription must have been made by some one ignorant of the facts, and it is therefore without authority. I am inclined to think that the writer of the memorandum meant to say that these were copies of the originals of De Bry's drawings. There is another memorandum in the book, unimportant except that it is dated 1673, which shows that the pictures were made not more than eighty-eight years later than White's originals.

I did not compare closely the botanical and zoölogical drawings, but many of them coincide in subject in the two volumes, and *all* the figures of American Indians in the Sloane book are in the Grenville with many more, for the Sloane has but eight American-Indian pieces, including the two Esquimaux and the view of Pomeioc. The Grenville drawings are immensely superior in technical quality to those in the Sloane, and I thought at first that the Sloane lot might be the original sketches, and the Grenville the completed pictures. But this hypothesis proved untenable. The Grenville figures are Indians. No one acquainted with Indian characteristics will doubt for a moment that the artist had known the real savage. The figures in the Sloane collection have lost all race character, and could not possibly have been made by any man who had ever seen Indians.

Two things are evident:

(1.) That the pictures in the Grenville are the originals used by De Bry. The correspondence of the inscriptions, both in handwriting and phrasing, proves this.

(2.) They are by the same hand as the map of the coast, in the same volume, and that hand is presumably White's. The correspondence between the handwriting and the execu-

tion of the map and the figures shows that they are by the same clever artist.

Both collections have drawings of costume other than Indian, but these non-Indian drawings are not identical in subject throughout. Among those found in both are the Ancient Britons, reproduced by De Bry. Lastly there is nothing in De Bry that he could have found in the Sloane book and not in the Grenville, while there are many of De Bry's subjects in the latter which are not in the former. I am forced to conclude that the drawings in the Grenville are John White's originals, which were used with some changes by De Bry, and that the Sloane pictures are not originals, but early and rather clumsy copies. Only a more critical examination than I had time to make will show whether they were copied from White, from which they vary considerably, or from De Bry's printed pictures.

EDWARD EGGLESTON.

LONDON, April 9, 1891.

CARDINAL NEWMAN.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I think the thoughtful public owes a debt of gratitude to "F. H." for his plain-spoken words about Cardinal Newman—and this in spite of the vein of capticusness running through the whole communication. The letter did scant justice to Newman's better and nobler traits, yet I think it is the truest thing that has yet been written about him. It showed pretty clearly the real character of Newman's mind and thought, and in showing it revealed its narrowness and worthlessness. His moral character was very far from worthless—that goes without saying: grave, pure, lofty, and austere, it was a power for good wherever its influence was felt. But his intellectual influence was pernicious just so far as it was felt.

It is true, Mr. Hutton, in his recent essay upon Newman, speaks of his great powers of mind and of his great mind. Now, great powers of mind he certainly had, for he possessed wide scholarship, first-rate dialectical skill, considerable intellectual penetration and subtlety, and extraordinary command of language. But I claim that such powers as these do not make a great mind. It is the use of them that determines that, and the use that Newman made of them was an exceedingly poor one. Following the ascetic and mystical bent of his nature, he found his light and inspiration in the grim theology of the early Christian Fathers, and set his back upon all the broadest thought of the age. He was familiar with history, but he used it to support the narrowest dogmas. He was acquainted with the trend of modern thought, but he believed it corrupted men's minds. Luther, one of the greatest figures in history, was to him a creator of heresy and schism. The 'Apologia' is a great piece of dialectical writing, but the intellectual pettiness it reveals is to many minds simply pitiful. I am convinced that Kingsley could have written a crushing answer to it if he had chosen.

Probably Newman's style will secure for his works, at least for some of them, a permanent place in English literature; but I think it is safe to say that his influence as a thinker will be small. He will help to confirm some in those narrow ways of thought in which his own mind moved. He will give spiritual refreshment to many who turn to the finer and more beautiful things that are scattered through his writings. His ideals of Christian virtue will always be found helpful and ennobling. His thought will contribute not one jot or one tittle to the world's intellectual progress.

And may I trespass on your space to say just one thing more? Does not Mr. Hutton's pseudo-liberalism attest the pernicious character of Newman's influence? A tree is known by its fruits, and the Christianity that sees no moral obliquity in a union of Church and State, and in the Tory methods of governing Ireland, does not impress me as a thoroughly admirable thing. I am a most uncompromising believer in what is loosely termed Evangelical Christianity, but I prefer the non-religious morality of the *Nation* to the non-moral religion of the *Spectator*, which cannot tell bigotry and brutality when it sees them at its very door.

EDMUND H. SEARS.

BOSTON, April 12, 1891.

LANDOR'S BAD ENGLISH.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In corroboration of the statement made by your indefatigable correspondent, "F. H.," that the use of our language, "even by eminent Britons," is fairly open to criticism, I submit the following:

"The family of Sir Thomas [Lucy] became extinct nearly half a century ago, and the estates descended to the Rev. Mr. John Hammond, a respectable Welsh curate, between whom and him there existed at his birth eighteen prior claimants."

This remarkable specimen of English is by no less eminent a Briton than Walter Savage Landor (Works, ii., 457).

I am, sir, etc.,

WM. HAND BROWNE.

THE RANGE OF RATIO OF THE PRECIOUS METALS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: There has been printed for private circulation by Mr. John Henry Norman of London a paper which he read before the Royal Statistical Society, which ought to be in the hands of some of our frantic statesmen, *i. e.*, those who propose to remove all evil by making fiat-money, either of paper or of the inferior of the two most precious metals of monetary use. Mr. Norman shows that, from the Conquest to this day, whether under a double or a single standard, the price of wheat has varied from other influences than those of the coinage. He shows also that the per-capita theory is the vainest of delusions, "as every wise man's son doth know"; that the proportion of gold to silver has varied from 1 to 12.54 in the time of Edward III. to 1 to 5 in the time of Edward VI., and back to 1 to 14 28 in the time of George III. This shows a much greater range than Prof. Laughlin gives, as I remember his tables and charts, in his 'History of Bimetallism.' The variation in the gold price and silver price for wheat is great, notwithstanding there was free (*i. e.*, unlimited) coinage of silver. The number of grains of gold, and the number of grains of silver, relatively to a quarter of wheat, varies 3 or 4 per cent. in the number of grains required of gold to silver.

The lesson for the fiat people to be found in Mr. Norman's table is in the shrinkage in the weight of the pound sterling from 5,328 grains of fine (pure) gold in 1066 to 113 in our day, and of the shilling from 266 grains of silver to 80 grains in George the Third's time. It is, as Locke said, not the sound or name of the coin, but the fine metal it contains, which gives its purchasing power. The pound of to-day and of the Conqueror's time vary exactly as their grains of gold (laying aside archaic reasons).

The little book of a dozen pages is full of meat for the student, and it is to be hoped that Mr. Norman will issue it for sale.

POSEY S. WILSON.

DENVER, COL., April 12, 1891.

Notes.

DODD, MEAD & Co. are preparing to issue in the autumn the fifth and concluding volume of Mr. James Schouler's 'History of the United States.' It covers the period from 1847 to 1861, or from the Mexican to the Civil War.

J. B. Lippincott Co. are about to publish 'The Old Navy and the New,' by Admiral Ammen; and 'Man Immortal,' an allegorical poem by William Stitt Taylor.

Mrs. Caroline E. Upham, with the aid of Mr. Wm. P. Upham, has made a popular abridgment of C. W. Upham's 'History of Salem Witchcraft,' now a costly book, compressing the narrative into a hundred pages. The Salem Press Publishing and Printing Co. will bring it out in two editions, one, limited, on large paper.

Welch, Fracker Co. announce 'Ohio in Art,' by Francis C. Sessions, a subscription work, freely illustrated. The list of artists embraces Thomas Cole, Hiram Powers, J. Q. A. Ward, Kenyon Cox, the Beards, Robert Blum, J. H. Twachtman, etc.

The Historical Printing Club, No. 97 Clark Street, Brooklyn, N. Y., offers in a limited edition 'The Press of North Carolina in the Eighteenth Century,' with a bibliography, by Stephen B. Weeks.

Mr. Thomas A. Janvier's 'Stories of New Spain' is to be published immediately by D. Appleton & Co. One of the collection, "A Mexican Night," has not appeared before.

'Balaam and his Master, and Other Stories, by Joel Chandler Harris, and 'Fourteen to One,' short stories by Miss Phelps, are on the summer list of Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

D. C. Heath & Co., Boston, have in press 'American Literature,' for high schools and colleges, by Julian Hawthorne and Leonard Lemmon; and 'French by Reading,' a new inductive method, by Louise S. and Mary Houghton.

John Wiley & Sons are preparing 'The Mechanical Engineer's Pocket-Book,' by William Kent, C.E.

The Memorial Volume of 'Essays and Monographs,' by the late Prof. William Francis Allen of the University of Wisconsin, has been issued in a worthy shape by the committee in charge of the editing, with a fairly good likeness of this pure-minded and genial scholar. A sufficient biographical sketch is prefixed, and a very full bibliography appended, from which Prof. Allen's enormous block of contributions to the *Nation* is obvious at a glance. Of the Monographs, two are upon Roman topics; the rest constitute a valuable group of studies of primitive and mediæval communities among the Germans, French, and Anglo-Saxons; with a trace of the survival of land community in New England. Of the Essays, again, two relate to Rome; others are historical, educational, and religious. The volume, finally, of nearly 400 pages, has a good index. It may be had of Mr. David B. Frankenburger, Madison, Wis.

'Pepero, the Boy-Artist' (Houghton, Mifflin & Co.), more fully described on the title-page as "A Brief Memoir of James Jackson Jarves, jr., by his Father," gives an account of the short life of one who was believed by his family and friends to be destined to become the fu

ture great artist of America. It is illustrated with some thirty of his drawings—copies and original compositions. What he would have accomplished had he lived—he died in his fifteenth year—it is, of course, impossible to say; but these examples are certainly very remarkable work for a child, and the text gives a glimpse of a character as remarkable as the work and very beautiful. Born in Florence and dying in Rome, it is not unnatural that he should have been profoundly influenced by Michael Angelo, but he seems to have been almost as much affected by William Blake. The result is strangely pompous and academic for the work of a child, and shows little freshness or naïveté of vision. It may be doubted whether the influence of such powerful temperaments is the best to which a beginner in the arts could be submitted, but doubtless that study from nature which his ill health rendered impossible would in time have corrected what was unhealthy in the exclusiveness of his admiration.

'Student's Atlas of Artistic Anatomy,' by Prof. C. Roth, comes to us from B. Westermann & Co. It is likely to be as useful to students of art as such books ever are. The plates are excellently done, and the addition of the larger drawings of parts of the body greatly increases the value of the atlas. It is a singular oversight that there are no illustrations of the actions of pronation and supination of the arm. The notes are written in an extraordinary and, to us, quite unintelligible style.

'Paris of To-day' (Cassell Publishing Co.) is a bright and readable bit of journalistic work, and has been translated out of the original Danish of Richard Kauffmann into excellent English by Miss Olga Flinch. It manages to convey a great deal of the peculiar charm of Paris, together with considerable miscellaneous and not very important information. It is profusely illustrated with clever sketches by French artists, of which those in "tone," however, suffer by indifferent reproduction.

The collection of "Les Grands Écrivains Français" grows slowly but steadily, and the latest volume to appear is M. Arvède Barine's biography of Bernardin de Saint-Pierre (Paris: Hachette; New York: F. W. Christern). It is a careful sketch—a little cold-blooded, but appreciative in the best sense, since it is founded on a thorough study and an exact understanding of Saint-Pierre's contradictory character. Perhaps the most interesting passage is that in which the author of 'Paul and Virginia' is shown to have been one of the very earliest of Frenchmen to appreciate the beauties of landscape, of sea and of sky, of nature out-doors and under the changing conditions of the seasons. Another passage likely to surprise some is that in which the critic quotes Sainte-Beuve and Gautier to show that 'Paul and Virginia' is no colorless pastoral, but an amorous idyl worthy of comparison with 'Daphnis and Chloe.'

The second volume of the second series of the oddly named 'Journal des Goncourt'—since this second series is the journal of one Goncourt only—covers the years 1872-1877, and is preceded by a preface in which the surviving M. de Goncourt tries to break the force of M. Renan's indignant disclaimer of words put in his mouth in the first volume of this series. M. Renan declared that M. de Goncourt was incapable of apprehending a general idea. The latter's preface and these pages from his diary are unwittingly strong evidence in support of M. Renan's opinion. But this is the most interesting volume of the journal, for it abounds with quotations from the talk of Flaubert, Turgeneff, and Zola. From these pages we get strange side-lights on the little knot of men who met at Flaubert's on Sunday afternoons. These curious revelations repay the reader for the wearing conceit of the diarist—a conceit colossal almost beyond parallel in literature, and as sickly as it is swollen.

We have already noticed Señora Bazán's latest novel, of which the first part is now done into English under the title of 'A Christian Woman' (Cassell Publishing Co.). The translation, by Mary Springer, is painstaking and sufficiently accurate, though it often fails to convey the sprightly vivacity of the original. A portrait of the author, of rather dubious artistic value, forms the frontispiece of the volume, which is attractively and, on the whole, accurately printed.

The latest Bulletin of the Boston Public Library contains a list of recent works on American domestic architecture; a list of Spanish and Portuguese books given circulation by the Library; and a noticeable finding-list of works by and relating to J. J. Rousseau.

One generally distrusts a publication which offers a premium to subscribers, as if it did not of itself return an equivalent for the subscription price. Such distrust may be dismissed in the case of that excellent periodical, the *American Bookmaker* (New York: Howard Lockwood & Co.), which freely endows its subscribers with an important work, 'The American Dictionary of Printing and Bookmaking,' calculated to extend to 600 quarto pages, profusely illustrated, and to take three years in the finishing, during which time the parts will not be for sale. Part I. (A—Blanks) has appeared this month, and gives promise of filling worthily a vacant niche in our technical books of reference. Noticeable is the inclusion in one alphabet of French, German, and Italian terms of the art along with English. The international biography of printers, engravers, type-founders, publishers, binders, etc., is naturally fullest in the American portion. The portraits and the illustrations in general can be praised without reserve, and the proof-reading has been carefully looked after.

Dr. Daniel Sanders's *Zeitschrift für deutsche Sprache* will be hereafter published at Paderborn by Ferdinand Schöningh. It is now entering on its fifth volume.

We have received three more parts of the new Flügel's 'English-German and German-English Dictionary' (New York: Westermann), viz., two in continuation of the former section, which is carried as far as the word Horse; and the first of the German-English section (A—Capital). It is needless to discuss the rank of this great dictionary, but we must postpone a critical examination of it till it is somewhat nearer completion.

From the publishing-house of Delagrave in Paris we have received the first four parts (A—Brouette, pp. 1-304) of the epoch-making 'Dictionnaire de la Langue Française' to which the late lamented Arsène Darmesteter put his hand with so much learning and industry for nearly half his short life of forty-two years. His colleague, Prof. Adolphe Hatzfeld, has associated with himself a pupil of Darmesteter's, M. Antoine Thomas, and the three names are associated upon the title-page. There will be thirty parts. To this work, too, we must return later.

In a brief notice of the new edition of Mr. Herbert Spencer's "Essays" the *Academy* of Apr. 4 says: "The truth is that Mr. Spencer, like De Quincey, has been more honored during his lifetime in the United States than in his own country. It was otherwise with Darwin, not one of whose works, we believe, have [*sic*] ever been reprinted in America down to this date." This is the most amazing piece of literary news that we remember since Funk & Wagnalls's famous statement of last autumn that they had sent Prof. W. C. Wilkinson to Europe "to consult, in the interest of our Dictionary, the celebrated French lexicographer, M. Littré, the author of what is unquestionably the most admirable dictionary of any language," and mentioned the fact as "another indication of the thoroughness with which the work upon this Dictionary is being pushed."

The American Society for the Extension of University Teaching, whose headquarters are at No. 1602 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, purposes publishing a journal, called *University Extension*, to serve as a medium of communication with the local centres or branches.

The Committee on English Research of the New England Historic Genealogical Society appeals for funds to continue Mr. Henry F. Waters in the work which he has so brilliantly illustrated in the case of Washington, Harvard, and Roger Williams, while following out in no narrow spirit American clues such as no other person possesses. The Society also desires to accelerate the rate of publication of his "Gleanings" in the *Register*, and to that end needs a contribution of $2,000 annually for at least five years. A quarter of this sum has been already subscribed. The Society's address is No. 18 Somerset Street, Boston.

Mrs. Augustus Craven died at Paris, on April 2, at the age of eighty-two years. She was a daughter of M. de La Ferronays, sometime Minister of Foreign Affairs and Ambassador to St. Petersburg under the Restoration. Many Americans will recall the intimate acquaintance that they gained with Mrs. Craven's family some twenty years ago through her book, 'A Sister's Story,' which, in spite of its sentimental Roman Catholic pietism, may still be called a good book. Besides this 'Récit d'une Sœur,' Mrs. Craven wrote 'Souvenirs de Famille,' 'Fleurange,' 'Le Mot d'Énigme,' and other volumes. Her papers and unpublished writings are bequeathed to her nephew, Count Albert de Mun, the well-known Catholic-Socialist Deputy.

Ten years have elapsed since the American School of Classical Studies was organized at Athens, and it is gratifying to learn from the ninth annual report of the Managing Committee that, while the desired endowment has not been wholly raised, the contributory colleges are mostly ready to renew their stated support. The School can point to its pupils as now occupying important positions, principally as teachers, in eighteen States of the Union, from Maine to Texas and South Dakota. Together with this report, the Archæological Institute of America sends out an Index to its publications during the decade, by William Stetson Merrill of the Newberry Library, Chicago. It is a very thorough piece of work, filling, with a Greek index, eighty-nine pages.

Mr. F. Gutekunst of Philadelphia sends us a large photograph of the late Lawrence Barrett, one of the best of the many fine portraits of contemporaries which have left his photographic gallery of recent years. The portrait shows the strong face of the actor, with its fiery eyes, its determined mouth, and the grizzled hair over the forehead. A study of this photograph will go far towards explaining the reason why the lean and hungry *Cassius* of "Julius Cæsar" was always Lawrence Barrett's highest achievement on the stage. Physical gifts and personal limitations count for

more in the theatre than in any other walk in life. Mr. Gutekunst has not been less fortunate in his "imperial panel" of the late P. T. Barnum, a vigorous presentation of a remarkably youthful personage.

—"S. A. B." inquires:

"Can any one explain the law or custom regulating the seals formerly in use in the United States Custom-house? In Boston Thomas Melville was Naval Officer from 1811 to 1829. In 1819 he appointed Samuel Parker to be his deputy, and the commission bears the following seal: The inscription around the margin reads, 'Custom House of the District of Boston and Charlestown.' The centre bears the American eagle, grasping the arrows or thunderbolts, and he holds in his beak a shield whereon are displayed the arms of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. I desire to know for what period this seal was used, what preceded and succeeded it, and also whether a similar device was used in other customs districts, presuming that the State arms varied in each."

—"C. C." writes to us as follows:

"Can you put me on the track of the author, or the origin, of the phrase, *esprit d'escalier*? Is it a French phrase, or, is it, like *nom de plume*, an English manufacture, and not French at all? It has long been familiar to me, and without examination I had believed it classical, or at least accepted. It is not, however, in Littré, under either word, and the other day, when it was used by an acquaintance of mine, he was asked what it meant; and as it turned out, he and I were the only ones present who had ever heard it. Moreover, an accomplished Frenchman to whom I have put the question, asks me what it means, and says he has never heard it used nor seen it in print."

In Meyer's 'Konversations-Lexicon' (4th ed.), under *Esprit*, we read: "*Esprit d'escalier* (Treppenwitz) is in Germany jocosely applied to the man who on the stairs, *i. e.*, on taking leave, thinks of something he ought to have said in the room."

—One of the most interesting and important public documents issued recently by any State is the first report of the Free Public Library Commission of Massachusetts, a volume of nearly 300 pages. It embraces the text of all the State's legislation concerning libraries from 1798 to 1890, when the act was passed by which this Commission was called into being; a classified list of the towns and cities provided with free public libraries in a special sense (viz., such as are wholly supported and controlled by the authorities), the towns where the support and control are partly a town concern, those in which it is not a town concern, and those which have no public libraries at all; and an extensive history of the rise and present state of such libraries as exist, in alphabetic order, together with numerous views of the library buildings. No more cheering reading can be found. Exactly one-half of the 351 towns and cities enumerated have libraries entirely under municipal control, and two-thirds are provided with public libraries. The 103 towns destitute of any comprise a population of but 134,719, or an average of about 1,300 souls; and sixty-seven of these have declined in population in the past five years. In many of these it may be doubted whether the public library would have any greater staying power than the churches which are deserted by the inhabitants. Nevertheless, the State will make the effort to put down the stake if the townsfolk will assist. Some of the public libraries have grown out of social libraries originating in the last century, like that at Boylston, which had maintained an unbroken and active existence for eighty-eight years. At Franklin, some ninety volumes are yet preserved out of a gift establishing a library by the town's namesake, then Minister to France, in 1785. In one case, Ludlow, the free library is wholly supported by the local manufacturing company, the building having been erected as a widow's memorial to her husband, and presented to the town, and the books having been at first intended for the company's employees. The founders or promoters have frequently been women, as well as clergymen and professional men. Natives who have gone out from the little towns to seek their fortune have remembered their birthplaces with these best of monuments. Sometimes the dead soldiers of the civil war have furnished a motive. In two or three instances special efforts are made by the libraries to secure an exhaustive collection of publications relating to the locality. The photographic views of library buildings are numerous and most interesting. Among the newer structures are some of the finest examples of architecture in the State. Subsequent reports are not likely to be so full as this, since the historical sketches have been written once for all; but perhaps more views will be provided. We could wish, also, for a map of the State showing all the towns, and coloring or otherwise distinguishing them as having or not having libraries. Another map might be shaded to show the number of volumes accessible in every part of the State. Such graphic illustrations would do much to promote emulation.

—We regret to record the death of Dr. James K. Thacher, Professor of Physiology in the Yale Medical School, who died suddenly of pneumonia on Monday last, at the age of forty-three years. He was a man of remarkable power, but his professional duties so far interfered with continuous scientific work that the results of his labors are to be found in short monographs, chiefly known to specialists. He won an international reputation by his studies on "Median and Paired Fins" in the Transactions of the Connecticut Academy for 1877, in which he opposed Gegenbaur's views, and developed the theory, since elaborated by Mivart, of the evolution of the limbs of the higher vertebrates from the fins of archaic fishes. Of late he has principally devoted himself to the study of heart-action and pulse-waves. His most important paper on the latter subject appeared in 1888 in the Transactions of the Association of American Physicians, of which he was one of the original members.

—To Mr. Stewart Culin, who has made himself familiar with the inner life of the Chinese among us, we are indebted for a clear and interesting account of 'The Gambling Games of the Chinese in America.' The pamphlet, neatly bound in boards, is issued as the fourth number in the first volume of a series in philology, literature, and archæology, published by the University of Pennsylvania, in Philadelphia. The two most popular games of risk are Fan T'an, "the game of repeatedly spreading out," and Pak Kop Piu, or "the game of white-pigeon ticket." The first is a very simple procedure, in which a handful or two of Chinese coins are covered with a brass cup, whence they are repeatedly spread out on the table with a tapering rod by "the ruler of the spreading out." The players deposit their wagers on or beside the numbers they select on the plate, which is a sheet of tin in the centre of the table, with its edges marked off from right to left, with the numbers from one to four. The master of the game sits at one end of the table, and the clerk or cashier at the other. In extemporized games, a mat will suffice, the plate with numbers being simply a square marked in ink. With slight variations, the game consists in the players guessing what remainder will be left when the pile is divided by four, the bets being upon the result. The fan t'an companies, of which there are eight in Philadelphia and over thirty in New York, have in each case a capital of fifty or a hundred dollars. Each of the smaller companies makes a profit of about five dollars a day; the tables in the gambling cellars being often used by several companies alternately during the twenty-four hours. Various changes in furniture and method are made from time to time, to turn a run of bad luck, or to make conviction difficult when the place is raided by the police. Somewhat more respectable is the other game of lottery, which is played in upper rooms and appears to be a simple game of chance. The cards used are made in China, and stamped or printed with the first eighty characters of the Thousand-Character Classic, which are so well known by all Chinese from boyhood as to serve for numerals. In China, where lotteries are illegal, they are frequently carried on among the hills near the cities, and it is said that pigeons are used to convey the tickets and winning numbers between the offices and their patrons—whence the name applied first to the tickets, and from them to the lottery itself. The upper room, instead of the cellar, is a survival of the loft used in China, but neither this nor other precautions here used seem to be necessary, for the United States mails serve as carrier pigeons, and the runners daily traverse the cities from laundry to laundry, soliciting custom. The pamphlet of seventeen pages is packed with suggestive information about the guilds, habits, and superstitions of the wonderfully well-organized people among us who have come from the freest country and greatest democracy in Asia. How their gambling habits and their religion are well mixed together, and how the proprietors of the gambling-dens are among the most orthodox, and often of the straightest sect of the Celestial pharisees, in keeping alive the traditions and religious ceremonial of their native country, is clearly shown by Mr. Culin. In a word, here among us are seen survivals of methods by which some of our oldest colleges and philanthropic institutions were endowed, but which are now in vogue chiefly in Louisiana.

—It is well known that the German historian Leopold von Ranke intended to write his autobiography, but was diverted from this purpose by what he deemed the more pressing claims of his 'Weltgeschichte' and a new edition of his "Sämmtliche Werke." After his death the latter task was completed by Dr. Alfred Dove of the University of Bonn, who published, as the twelfth and concluding volume of the work, a mass of interesting contributions to the venerable historian's life, entitled 'Zur eigenen Lebensgeschichte' (Leipzig, 1890). This volume, as the title indicates, is made up of autobiographical material, consisting of diaries, fragmentary memorabilia, relations of important events (such as Ranke's interview with M. Thiers at Vienna in 1870), but chiefly of letters to members of his family and his most intimate friends. Ranke's younger brother Heinrich, a distinguished theologian and pulpit orator, settled at Rückersdorf, near Nuremberg, in Bavaria, was afterwards appointed professor in the theological faculty at Erlangen, and finally made consistorial councillor at Munich, where he died in 1876, and where his two sons, the physician Heinrich and the anthropologist Johannes, are now professors in the University.

It was to this branch of the family that the greater number of the three hundred and twenty-nine letters, nearly all of which are here printed for the first time, were addressed. Of the remainder, the most noteworthy are those written to his wife, to his youngest brother Ernst, professor of theology at Marburg, to the philosopher Heinrich Ritter of Göttingen, and to his pupils Giesebrecht, Sybel, Waitz, and Maximilian II. of Bavaria, who as Crown Prince studied in Berlin in 1830, and whose warm friendship Ranke enjoyed from that time until the sudden and untimely death of the King in 1864. Ranke states that King Maximilian had often spoken of the policy which Bavaria ought to pursue in case of an armed conflict between Austria and Prussia, and is firmly convinced that, if this monarch had been living in 1866, he would have taken no part in the war, and certainly not as Austria's ally. His aversion to Beust was intense, and he was too broad-minded and level-headed to be carried away by local patriotism.

MADISON'S SECOND ADMINISTRATION.—II.

History of the United States of America during the Second Administration of James Madison. By Henry Adams. 3 vols. Charles Scribner's Sons. 1891.

THERE was, it must be admitted, a plentiful lack of executive energy in the political, military, and financial administration of Madison during this period of storm and stress. Yet there was no lack of constancy. The "pertinacity" of Madison now stood him in good stead. After a whole chapter devoted to a description of the "exhaustion" which overtook the Government in the latter part of the year 1814, Mr. Adams devotes another chapter to the exposure of the ineptitude betrayed by Congress in dealing with the currency, the restoration of which to something like a solid basis was seen to be the first condition of financial reform. The plan of finance adopted by Gallatin at the outset of the war had assumed that all deficits were to be covered by loans, but the Government had now reached a stage, at the beginning of the fiscal year in July, 1814, when further loans were found impracticable. Dallas did not conceal from his political friends the sharp points of the trilemma on which the public credit was impaled. Yet, to the honor of Madison, of the Treasury Department, and of Congress, be it said that even at a time when "the Treasury was suffering under every kind of embarrassment," the Republicans of that day set their faces like a flint against the cheap and easy expedient of legal-tender paper money. Jefferson, it is true, had argued that inasmuch as the State banks had virtually declared their *déchéance* by suspending specie payments, it was now competent for Congress to issue promissory notes "founded on specific taxes" to give them currency. Mr. Adams thinks that though Jefferson "did not touch on legal tender," his assumption of power implied in the issue of paper "seemed to require that the Government should exercise its right of obliging its creditors to accept it." We do not know on what authority this statement is made, as the implication was expressly negatived by the language of Jefferson in his correspondence at this epoch. He confined himself entirely to a method of finance which, "based on specific redeeming taxes," would, as he said, enable the nation to anticipate, in its yearly paper emissions, the resources of the next year and of the future peace. He openly denounced a resort to "juggling tricks" or "banking dreams," and held up for warning the example of the nations that had tried "every path of force or folly" in the "fruitless quest to make money out of nothing."

Dallas, in a letter to Eppes, the Chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, written under date of October 19, 1814, rejected even the temporary expedient of Treasury notes emitted on the basis of future taxes, and excluded the alternative of a possible resort to "juggling tricks" by significantly adding that "the extremity of that day cannot be anticipated when any honest and enlightened statesman will again [that is, after the experience of our Revolutionary war] venture upon the desperate expedient of a tender law."

Mr. Adams dismisses this episode in our financial history without a word of comment beyond the remark that, "without a tender law, the Virginia scheme would have hardly answered the purposes required." But seeing that a tender law was avowedly excluded from the thought of Jefferson, and was indignantly scouted by Dallas, we could rather have wished that the opportunity might have been utilized for pointing a moral in favor at least of the perspicacity and probity with which the financiers of that time, though weltering in fiscal mire and bog, refused to clutch at the makeshift of legal tender. Ten years later, when a Georgia politician of the strict-construction school would fain portray the last enormity of the Federal usurpations that might one day be risked in the name of the "implied powers of the Constitution," he predicted that, under the pressure of war, the Government might possibly assume the power to pass even a legal-tender act. The prediction was fulfilled in 1862, under the stress of our civil war. The moral sophistication wrought by that untoward act in defence of a good cause soon spread to the intellect of the country, and so darkened counsel that in 1883 the supreme judicial sensorium of the nation was brought to believe that Congress has the constitutional power to make Treasury notes a legal tender in payment of private debts, in time of peace as well as in time of war. There was certainly much of irresolution in the civil and military conduct of our second war with England, but there must have been some saving grace in the men who preferred to stand by the moral order of the world, in spite of the strong temptation to break it. When, in November, 1814, Bolling Hall of Georgia introduced into the House of Representatives a resolution authorizing the issue of Treasury notes with the quality of legal tender attached, the House refused even to consider the proposition, by a vote of more than two to one.

Doubtless it is easy for Mr. Adams to show that the Government, in the estimation of many Federalists, was standing at the brink of dissolution in the closing months of the war. He reminds us that Timothy Pickering confidently expected a division of the Union; that less extreme Federalists looked to a dissolution of the Government from pure inanition; and that only a year after the war, Joseph Hopkinson, "a distinguished Federalist of Philadelphia," publicly expressed the opinion that, when the war ended, the Federal Government "was at the last gasp of existence," and that if the war had lasted six months longer, the Union would have been dissolved into its original elements. Mr. Adams quotes, it is true, the contrary opinion of Mr. Calhoun, but he thinks that Calhoun failed to understand the real temper of the New England States.

It seems to us that Mr. Adams, while not exaggerating at all the difficulties of the crisis, has not sufficiently allowed for the pressure in the year 1814 of the same considerations which in the year 1813 defeated, as he says, all the expectations and prognostications of the Federalists. In 1813, he argues, there was a popular movement of concentration "which acted in direct resistance to the movement of events." "Under circumstances following each other in necessity so stringent, no Federalist," he adds, "could doubt that society would pursue the predicted course—but it did not. Illogical and perverse, society persisted in extending itself on lines which ran into chaos"—only the chaos did not come. When the news of peace reached the United States in February, 1815, "no one stopped to ask," says Mr. Adams, "why a Government which was discredited and falling to pieces at one moment should appear as a successful and even a glorious national representative a moment afterwards." Perhaps no one stopped to ask this question, because the "collapse" of the Government failed at the time to assume the questionable shape in which it now appears under the scorching analysis of Mr. Adams. There is a certain easy-going optimism in the American people which often keeps them in heart and hope under the gravest trials, and which too often makes them over-tolerant of deplorable evils in their political methods and of deplorable breakdowns in their civil administrations. Perhaps it is indigenous in a democracy. Certainly the Athenians had it in a high degree, if we may judge from the self-complacent panegyrics which Thucydides puts in the mouth of Pericles. Whether we call it optimism, or whether we call it insensibility to peril, certain it is that the Administration of Madison never ceased to balance its hopes against its fears at every stage of the struggle, whatever might seem the fate of war, even when Ross and Cockburn thought it proper, as Mr. Adams expresses it, to burn the national Capitol "as they would have burned a negro kraal or a den of pirates." The one single merit conceded by the historian to Madison as an administrative officer is that he would cling to a favorite measure, like the embargo, for instance, with "a degree of obstinacy that resembled desperation." And Mr. Adams might have found the same optimistic persistency in the views of Jefferson, even at the darkest hour of the "crisis." In the closing months of the war, when the philosopher of Monticello was looking forward with dread to "another year of sufferance for men and money," and when he felt that the best hope of the nation was peace, he steadfastly refused to despair of the Republic. He admitted that the apprehended defection of Massachusetts was "a disagreeable circumstance," but argued that if it took place, she would probably remain neutral, and so leave the United States more "sufficient for one enemy without her"; while if she should join the enemy, and if the Federalists should call in the English army, it would only be a transfer of the scene of war, and would make it easy to get ten men to march against her for one who was willing to march against Canada.

In the closing chapter of his ninth volume Mr. Adams indulges in some philosophical reflections on American character which bear directly on the question in hand. After showing that antipathy to war ranked first among the traits of American character at the beginning of the present century, he adds:

"No European nation could have conducted a war as the people of America conducted the war of 1813. The possibility of doing so explained the national trait and assured its con-

tinuance. . . . A people whose chief trait was antipathy to war, and to any system organized with military energy, could scarcely develop great results in national administration; yet the Americans prided themselves chiefly on their political capacity. Even the war did not undeceive them, although the incapacity brought into evidence by the war was undisputed, and was most remarkable among the communities which believed themselves to be most gifted with political sagacity. Virginia and Massachusetts by turns admitted failure in dealing with issues so simple that the newest societies, like Tennessee and Ohio, understood them by instinct. That incapacity in national politics should appear as a leading trait in American character was unexpected by Americans, but might naturally result from their conditions. The better test of American character was not political but social, and was found not in the Government but in the people."

Mr. Adams gives a very circumstantial and accurate account of the negotiations at Ghent which resulted in the treaty of peace with England. The superiority of the American negotiators, John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay, James A. Bayard, Albert Gallatin, and Jonathan Russell, over the British plenipotentiaries, Lord Gambier, Henry Goulburn, and Dr. Charles Adams, is easily shown. The honors of the negotiation are frankly conceded to Gallatin. Only those who are familiar with the bitter controversy which subsequently arose between John Quincy Adams and Jonathan Russell concerning a disputed point in the negotiation can measure the forbearance practised by the historian in portraying the part which Jonathan Russell took in it. The only hint we have of this controversy, which for years contributed a new word to our political dialect, is the incidental statement that John Quincy Adams never forgot that Russell had once voted with Henry Clay against him in the matter of the fisheries and their retention under the treaty.

We have left ourselves no room for comment on the interesting generalizations with which Mr. Adams concludes his history, when summing up the results of the social and political evolution accomplished in the United States during the sixteen years covered by the Administrations of Jefferson and Madison. He thinks that in 1815, after the war had tested their political and social character, the people of the United States ceased for the first time to doubt the path they were to follow. The American was then ascertained to be, in his political character, "a new variety of man." And the results of the war gave a new direction to the whole social movement—"widening the breach between European and American tastes." The South and West gave to society a character more aggressively American than had been known before. In a word, "American character was formed if not fixed."

In so writing it seems to us that Mr. Adams has given the best of all answers to a moral more frequently pointed in these nine volumes than any other—the moral aimed at puncturing, as an historical delusion, the idea that the Republican accession of 1801 involved any real break with the Federalist practices of 1798. There *was* such a break. The American "variety of man" dates, in his political character, from 1801 rather than from 1798. The Federalists of 1798 worked on political ideals which had European, and especially Anglican, history behind them. The Republicans of 1801 pitched their ideals, for good and for evil, to the newly evolving forces of the popular democracy which had a history before it. And hence it was that Federalism melted into Republicanism during "the era of good feeling" under Monroe.

It would be ungracious if we should here take our leave of Mr. Adams and his important work without confessing the obligations due to him for unflagging industry, for critical research, for philosophical breadth of view, and for a high degree of literary art in fusing his copious materials into a consistent story. In the case of a writer who has such pronounced opinions, and who never disguises them, abundant room is left for challenging his point of view, but small room is left for challenging his accuracy in statements of fact. He was called to deal with the elements of a new formative epoch in our political annals, and the history of such epochs must needs be rewritten again and again, according to their divergent aspects, and according to the changed perspective of men in the drift of human events. But it will rather be in the interpretation of the facts than in the discovery of new facts pertaining to the sixteen years of Jefferson's and Madison's rule, that future historians of the same period are likely to win their best applause.

With Stanley's Rear Column. By J. Rose Troup, late Transport Officer of the Emin Pasha Relief Expedition. With illustrations. 2d edition. London: Chapman & Hall; New York: Scribner & Welford. 1890. 8vo, pp. xii., 361.

THE first chapters of Mr. Troup's book, giving an account of his duties in connection with the Stanley Expedition up to the time of his arrival at the entrenched camp at Yambuya, are the most interesting of all. He went directly to the Congo from England to provide carriers for the thousand and more loads of the expedition from the head of navigation to Stanley Pool. Having been three years an officer of the Free State, he was able to accomplish this task promptly and efficiently, so as to merit his leader's warm approval. From his simple narrative a good idea is obtained of the transport service of this part of the river, as well as of the character of the goods carried and the manner in which they are made into loads. He gives an animated description of a market in which the "perpetual and almost deafening roar of voices" seems to have been the most striking feature. In this district there were four markets held regularly in different places on successive days, and the "Congo week" consists of these four days. Another entertaining passage is the account of the departure of the expedition from Stanley Pool, Mr. Troup having joined it the evening before. Naturally he was disappointed on finishing his special work to find himself attached to the rear column, but he apparently took it in manly fashion, and finally reached Yambuya about two months after Mr. Stanley left that station for Lake Albert.

The record of his life in camp is for the most part dreary reading. It is composed principally of extracts from his diary containing little information of general interest. This is caused, however, by his voluntary omission of "reference to affairs of a purely personal nature as well as others that I thought it best to omit," moved, it is evident, by a proper consideration for the memory of his dead comrades. As Major Barttelot apparently did not treat him with ordinary courtesy at times, especially when he was ill, this reticence is very commendable. In an account of his first conversation with this officer, he says: "It did not take me long to discover that he had an intense hatred of anything in the shape of a black man, for he made no disguise of this, but frequently mentioned the fact." Whether this hatred was shown in action as well as in words, he does not disclose. The monotony of camp-life was broken by a visit to Stanley Falls, where Mr. Troup seems to have become convinced that Tippu Tib was acting honestly by the expedition, and that it was actually out of his power to furnish men sooner than he did. This was followed by a trip across country to the Congo, in returning from which he had a bad fall that brought on a serious illness, and he was sent home in the midst of the final preparations for the eastward march.

The closing chapter contains the author's correspondence with Mr. Stanley in respect to the charges made by him against the officers of the unfortunate rear-column. In connection with the "introductory remarks," we think that Mr. Troup clearly shows that Mr. Stanley was both unjust and ungenerous in much that he wrote concerning that column. It is plain to us that there was no disobedience to their instructions, but that, so far as moving the rear-column was concerned, the officers were perfectly justified in remaining in camp until they received the carriers Tippu Tib had contracted to furnish. He is equally successful in demonstrating the absurdity of some of the specific charges made against him personally, and we are unable to find any excuse for Mr. Stanley's persistence in making them. But we cannot agree with Mr. Troup in his contention that he was not to be held in any way responsible for the condition of the rear-column, because he was a subordinate officer. If he was convinced, as he apparently was from the beginning, that Maj. Barttelot was unfit for his position, he should have done what he could to remove him from it, by force if necessary, in the interests of the expedition. And in referring to such a measure as mutiny, deserving of death, he is writing pure nonsense. To a certain extent—how great we are not called upon to state—he must be held jointly responsible with the others, including Mr. Stanley himself, for the wreck of the rear-column.

The diplomatic correspondence respecting the formation of the expedition is given in an appendix. The book is attractive in its appearance, with several interesting illustrations and portraits and a map of the Congo.

Warren Hastings. By Capt. L. G. Trotter. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Macmillan. 1890.

THERE is nothing new in Capt. Trotter's Life of Warren Hastings, which was written for the "Rulers of India" series; but it gives a fairly readable account of the life and doings of a most interesting man, and it describes a very important period of Anglo-Indian history. Hastings was the first Governor-General of all British India, for before his time the three Presidencies of Bengal, Bombay, and Madras had been independently governed; he held that office longer than any of his successors, and during eleven years he was incessantly contending with bitter adversaries who were also his official colleagues, with formidable enemies abroad, and with the factious animosity of a formidable political party in England. He did his country great and manifold services for which he obtained no reward; while his zeal for the public interest led him into some errors for which he was impeached by the House of Commons, and acquitted after the longest state trial on record.

The story has been often told, and Macaulay's glittering essay is well known; but on the whole the ill-luck of Hastings has survived even his death, for he has not been very for-

tunate in his biographers. Capt. Trotter does his best to explain the somewhat complicated events and transactions which have made this Governor-Generalship historically famous, and over which a sharp controversy had been kept up for more than a century—the Rohilla war, the hanging of the Brahmin Nand Kumar, the revolt at Benares, the duel with Philip Francis, and the treatment by Hastings of the Oudh begums. These things have furnished texts for some of the grandest orations in the English language and for some of the fiercest debates in the English Parliament; nor is Capt. Trotter to be blamed if the disputes are in these days mainly worn out and the discussions have taken a musty flavor. He is considerably entangled among outlandish names and places; he has to guide his readers through an unfamiliar Anglo-Indian phraseology; and perhaps he has scarcely succeeded in drawing a full-length portrait of Hastings, or in sketching the broad outlines of his policy.

Hastings was a bold, skilful, and masterly administrator, a true ruler of India, who set his country's advantage far above all personal wishes, and served it at the sacrifice even of his reputation. He carried his Government safely through one of the most perilous periods of Anglo-Indian history (1774–1784), when the English position in India was seriously threatened by two very formidable fighting Powers, Mysore and the Marattas, and when England herself was at war not only with all the maritime nations of Europe, but also with the American colonists. It is a remark of Sir James Mackintosh that Englishmen in a single generation lost one empire and gained another; he meant that they won India soon after they had lost their American possessions; and to Warren Hastings, more than to any other individual, it is due that England fared so much better in the Eastern than in the Western Continent.

While Capt. Trotter's work is somewhat defective in that breadth of treatment and artistic grouping of salient points which are needed to strike upon the popular mind clear impressions of confused incidents and remote scenes, he writes, nevertheless, with accuracy and good judgment, upon careful study of original records; so that this volume will be useful to those who desire to follow the course and understand the vicissitudes of a very remarkable career.

A System of Sight-singing from the Established Musical Notation. By Sedley Taylor. Macmillan & Co. Pp. 132.

One of the musical fads of unmusical England is the Tonic Sol-Fa system of notation—a partial return to antiquated mediæval methods, which has not found favor in the musical countries of Europe for the reason that it applies only to vocal and not to instrumental music, thus necessitating the learning of both systems, the Sol-Fa and the staff notation, while even in vocal music its advantages disappear in modern compositions, with their numerous chromatic intervals and constant changes of key. Mr. Sedley Taylor's book is an attempt to combine the advantages of the two systems. As he remarks on p. 115, "In the graphic up-and-down-ness of its pitch notation the staff has a very palpable advantage over the dead-level lettering of the Tonic Sol-Fa. It has been my object in the preceding pages to show how we may keep unbroken hold of the *tonic principle*, which is the soul of the T. S.-F., without sacrificing the *pictorial representation of pitch*, which is the special and conspicuous merit of the staff notation." He justly complains that most vocalists can sing nothing but what they have carefully learned beforehand, like school-boys who can only read from their own books; and he holds that "the complicated repulsiveness of the pitch notation in the old system must be held mainly responsible for the humiliating fact that, of the large number of musically well-endowed persons of the opulent classes who have undergone an elaborate vocal training, comparatively few are able to sing even the simplest music at sight."

Unquestionably our present notation is capable of simplification and improvement, but we doubt if anything is gained by an alliance with Tonic Sol-Fa. The pupils in the solfeggio classes of our national conservatory read music readily, and if such books as Riemann's or Ritter's on Dictation were more generally used, sight-reading would be a less rare accomplishment. It is all very well for the Sol-Faists to speak about "throwing at the singer's head a mass of gratuitous complications for which the assumed convenience of players on instruments with only twelve notes in the octave forms the sole excuse," but it must be remembered that it was Bach who was chiefly instrumental in securing this device, which is to be regarded as one of his greatest achievements in behalf of practical music. Mr. Taylor's attempt to help out his plan with darkened and colored lines and spaces is more ingenious, we fear, than practical. Nevertheless, there are many valuable suggestions in this book, which may be cordially commended to all teachers and students who take a more than merely mechanical interest in their art. The style is clear, and the publisher's work gives the book an elegant and distinguished appearance.

Appendiculæ Historicæ; or, Shreds of History Hung on a Horn. By Frederic W. Lucas. London: Henry Stevens & Son. 1891.

Mr. Lucas is the possessor of a curious relic of early American wars in the shape of a powder-horn on which is engraved a rude map of the Hudson, the Mohawk, Lake Ontario, Lake Champlain, the St. Lawrence, and parts adjacent, with the towns and forts pertaining to them. In explaining this curiosity, Mr. Lucas quotes a passage from Parkman's 'Montcalm and Wolfe,' in which, speaking of the New England militia at Lake George in 1755, that writer says: "At their sides were slung powder-horns on which, in the leisure of the camp, they carved quaint devices with the points of their jack-knives"; and Mr. Lucas adds that his horn also, on close examination, proves to have been carved with the point of a knife and not with a graver's tool. Such powder-horns are not uncommon. They are often, in spite of the difficulties of the case, engraved with maps or attempts at maps, though Mr. Lucas's horn is a remarkably elaborate specimen of this untutored cartography. His book is devoted to illustrating and interpreting this curious performance, which may have been the work of one of Rogers's rangers in 1757 or 1758, or of some New England soldier encamped with Amherst on Lake Champlain in 1759. In any case it does credit to the artist's ingenuity and patience.

Mr. Lucas's exposition is extremely comprehensive and far-reaching. He begins with a chapter on the discovery and exploration of America, from pre-Columbian times to the year 1600, followed by another on the early settlements, a third on the contact of Indians and Europeans, a fourth on the wars down to the year 1755, and then several others telling the story of the last French war, during which the horn came into being. All these chapters are well-executed compendiums.

Then comes the section of the book entitled *Tabula Cornea*, in which the author follows with skill and research the indications furnished by the horn, and gives an excellent résumé of the topography of the regions in question, together with facsimiles of maps, some of which are so rare as to be almost inaccessible in the original. This feature of the book gives it substantial value to students on this side of the Atlantic, as do also Mr. Lucas's notes and his list of authorities, which indicate diligent research. Besides the very valuable maps, the book is illustrated with a portrait of the horn, and a projection *in plano* of the curious tracings upon it.

Spectacles Contemporains. By Vte. E. Melchoir de Vogüé. Paris: Armand Colin & Cie.

In this volume of newspaper and magazine articles, M. de Vogüé has, as he says, "endeavored to note down some moments of contemporary history." The earliest, on "Affairs of Rome," dates from 1887; the latest, that on the opening up of Africa, which is compiled from different books, was published in October, 1890. Although these end articles are well done, in the author's familiar light style, the chief interest centres in those on "The Death of William I. of Germany," "Letters from Asia [the Inauguration of the Samarcand Railway]," and "Gen. Loris Melikoff." It is curious to see a French ex-diplomat striving to be impartial, in print, to the conqueror of his country. He succeeds very well, but adds nothing new to our knowledge, whatever effect his writing may have produced at the moment, which is now somewhat antiquated, according to our rapid notions. The letters from Asia are lightly written in an easy, picturesque way, with occasional well-turned epithets; but one gets, on the whole, a poor view of the famous opening ceremonies because of the very facilities which the writer enjoyed, on account of his relationship by marriage to Gen. Annenkoff, the builder of the railway. Delicacy prevents decided reference to the personal details and (through apprehension of over-friendly estimation of the family talent) to the engineering difficulties. Hence, there is an element of weakness where strength would have been looked for by people acquainted with the state of affairs. The article upon Loris Melikoff, on the other hand, is a perfect cameo portrait of a remarkable and highly interesting man. Melikoff's career, which is instructive in many ways, and was run at a peculiarly exciting epoch of Russian modern history, is handled with precisely that amount of sympathy and criticism which sets both the biographer and his old acquaintance in the most favorable, yet also the most just, light. It constitutes an important page in the perplexing Russian situation preceding the death of Alexander II., and its value lies in its coming from the pen of a foreigner whose endeavor is to be always honorable and impartial about a country with which he has the advantage of personal knowledge.

A Memoir of George Cruikshank. By Frederic G. Stephens. [The Great Artists.] Scribner & Welford.

The illustrator of the 'Sketch-Book' and the 'Comic Almanack' has not been fortunate in his biographers. Mr. Blanchard Jerrold was very ill-qualified for the task. Mr. Stephens is more critical and better informed, but his

mind is disorderly, and his style careless, discursive, and involved. His personal prejudices and literary and political predilections cannot be repressed. He jealously calls Prof. Wilson "this lumbering impostor of an admirer," and says that his "clumsy, half-tipsy, or quite tipsy exercises . . . in what he was pleased to call 'Noctes Ambrosianæ' (the popularity of which is one of the wonders of literary history), gave him occasion to praise George Cruikshank." Again and again he seeks to make his memoir an anti-home-rule tract; and with a fine deficiency of the sense of humor *ex officio* ascribable to him, he avers that "no account of Cruikshank approaches completeness which does not take note of the terrible indictment embodied in his illustrations to Maxwell's book [the 'Irish Rebellion']." This is 'The Verdict' with a vengeance.

The life of a caricaturist is preëminently in his work; and the biographer who has not unlimited facsimiles at his command, is under the necessity of describing design after design with the certainty of wearying both himself and his readers. We sympathize with Mr. Stephens in this particular, and can but applaud his courage in appending to his own narrative Thackeray's *tour de force* called an 'Essay on the Genius of George Cruikshank' (1840), in which the writer's own genius is taxed to vivify these descriptions of plates not visible to the reader's eye. Even he admits, as he nears the end, that "it is very difficult to find new terms of praise, as find them one must, when reviewing Mr. Cruikshank's publications, and more difficult still (as the reader of this notice will no doubt have perceived for himself long since) to translate his designs into words, and go to the printer's box for a description of all that fun and humor which the artist can produce by a few skilful turns of his needle." This Essay occupies half of the thin volume, and in point of readability is much the better half. Both parts are freely sprinkled with facsimiles, both rare and familiar, and at the close there is a chronological list of the principal books illustrated by Cruikshank.

Fathers of Biology. By Charles McRae. London: Percival & Co. 1890. 8vo, pp. 108.

THAT biology has a history reaching back more than twenty centuries will come to many as something of a revelation. Fully occupied with the present, the past has had none of their attention, and a vague idea has established itself that this branch of science, like geology and others of recent prominence, has no history worthy of notice previous to the current century, or at furthest before the time of Linné. Mr. McRae's neat little volume efficiently dispels this impression by tracing the advancement of our knowledge through the lives of Hippocrates, Aristotle, Galen, Vesalius, and Harvey—as he aptly styles them, fathers of biology. A better choice of men could not have been made. Each marks an epoch that is a decided advance upon that of his predecessors. Excellent judgment is also shown in the selection of the facts presented. The book is the result of a careful study of the best sources of information. The sketches are complete in themselves, yet the connections and the amount of dependence are sufficiently evident. It is apparent from their records that the great claim of these early biologists to our remembrance and gratitude rests on their accurate observations. These have been built into the foundations of science, but their theories have been thrown aside or forgotten. Comparisons of conditions indicate that future histories based upon the present will not differ greatly in these respects from those of the past.

Attractive and short, the essays before us are such as one enjoys in his half-hours of leisure. The volume is a good one to put in the hands of any naturalist, young or old, whose conception of his science has become narrow and distorted through exclusive attention to modern progress.

The Hittites: Their Inscriptions and their History. By John Campbell, M.A., LL.D., Professor in the Presbyterian College, Montreal. Toronto: Williamson & Co.; New York: A. D. F. Randolph & Co. 1890. 2 vols., 8vo, vii. 399, iv. 349.

No ancient inscriptions have more stubbornly resisted attempts at decipherment than the Hittite; they have excited keen interest, but they remain, along with the Etruscan, among the unsolved problems of our day. Lenormant and Halévy have hazarded conjectures as to Hittite ethnography, Sayce has offered tentative translations of inscriptions, and Conder has undertaken to read them all; but the learned world has remained unconvinced, and has declined to venture an opinion on the question whether the Hittite language is Semitic or non-Semitic. It is all the more interesting, therefore, to find a man who offers, as Prof. Campbell does, what he believes to be a perfect key to the enigma.

The quantity of material collected in these two volumes is enormous, ranging over the whole world. Drawings of the inscriptions have been furnished the author by Mr. W. H. Rylands of the Society of Biblical Archæology. The work is divided into two parts; the first treating of the decipherment of the inscriptions, the second tracing the history of the Hittites from a point three generations before Abraham. "The materials for this history," says Mr. Campbell, "are furnished by the Egyptian and Assyrian monuments, by the Greek historians, and by almost universal tradition, arising from the fact that the Hittites were in many respects the greatest of ancient peoples, and constituted the substratum of all early civilizations." Accordingly we have chapters on the Hittites in Palestine, Edom, Egypt, Mesopotamia, Western Asia, Eastern Asia, and America. Historical episodes, hitherto unknown, are narrated at length, and the history of the world assumes an undreamt-of unity. Hindus and Japanese, Italians and Aztecs appear as brethren; it is possible from this point of view that we ourselves are in part Hittites. These conclusions are reached by an unrestrained use of all existing historical and linguistic material. Hittite words are explained from the Japanese, Corean, and American vocabularies. The value of the characters is obtained from the Cypriote syllabary, the Corean alphabet, and the Aztec hieroglyphics. The Hittite first personal pronoun and substantive verb are found to be identical with those of the Lesghian, the Basque, the Corean, the Aztec, and other languages. "Turanian" is the name which our author adopts for this widespread family of languages. The new historical combinations made in the work are beyond computation. Tyndarus, King of Lacedæmon, father of Helen, is stated to be another form of the Syrian Hadadezer. The Semitic deity Baal is explained to be nobody but Bela son of Beor, the first Edomite king. The Iroquois League, we are told, goes back to the time when Chaldean Kings of Hittite birth called themselves lords of the four races.

Sober evidence for this enormous construction of history Prof. Campbell does not offer. The study of the material he has so laboriously collected has not unnaturally aroused in him an enthusiasm which has blinded his eyes to the principles of critical investigation. He permits himself to combine things which have no connection with one another. The Hittite monuments are worthy of study, but they will yield solid results only to patient, scientific examination. The volumes under consideration do not further the solution of the question. Even the collection of historical data is dangerous; facts and fancies are so commingled as easily to mislead the unwary reader.

Hannibal: A History of the Art of War among the Carthaginians and Romans down to the Battle of Pydna, 168 B. C., with a detailed account of the Second Punic War. With 227 charts, maps, plans of battle, and tactical manœuvres, cuts of armor, weapons, and uniforms. By Theodore Ayrault Dodge, Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel, U. S. A., retired. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Pp. xxiii., 682.

THIS is the second in the "Great Captains" series prepared by Col. Dodge. The first traced with fulness the career of Alexander of Macedon; the present covers the development of the Roman military system, and shows how it was perfected under the severe teachings of Hannibal. Like Napoleon, the great Carthaginian taught his enemies by numberless defeats, till they mastered his art and learned how to defeat him with his own weapons. The organization and instruction of both armies is analyzed with minute care, and every point is lavishly illustrated.

The debated questions regarding Hannibal's Italian campaigns are treated in much more than common detail, especially the question of the route he followed in crossing the Alps when first invading the Latin territory. Although Col. Dodge follows in the main the conclusions of Mommsen, he marshals the evidence from which the conclusions are drawn, and fills the story out with whatever authentic material has survived, and thus gives local color and increased interest to the whole. He has gone over the ground with his Polybius in his hand, and judged for himself the questions of strategy, in regard to which the conformation of the ground is often decisive.

Compared with the Alexander, there would seem to be a purpose to make the style more colloquial, with an occasional approach too near to slang as the result. Clear-cut simplicity is of all things to be most desired in a military narrative, and this is consistent with a high level of dignity, as well as with terse and idiomatic English. The Hannibal reaches this level generally, but there are some marks of carelessness which suggest a caution. The volume is in many ways a model for treatises of the kind, and the authentic copies of arms and equipments from ancient monuments are a constant aid as well as pleasure as one turns the pages.

Life of Richard Brinsley Sheridan. By Lloyd C. Sanders. [Great Writers Series.] London: Walter Scott.

BY a stroke of good fortune, the author of the "School for Scandal" has at last found a friendly biographer. Until now almost the only biography of Sheridan which was not evidently hostile or offensively "superior," was that prefixed to an American edition of

his two chief comedies issued in Boston five or six years ago. Watkins was a political opponent; Moore was a trifler who betrayed his hero; Prof. Smyth was another traitor, whose book drew from Sheridan's granddaughter, the Hon. Mrs. Norton, a castigation as severe as it was deserved; and Mrs. Oliphant combined the acme of incompetence with the utmost carelessness. It is scarcely disputable that Mrs. Oliphant's sketch of Sheridan is by far the most slovenly volume in the series of "English Men of Letters," which Mr. John Morley has generally maintained at a high level. It is pleasant to be able to record that Mr. Sanders's sketch of Sheridan is one of the very best volumes in the series of "Great Writers"—perhaps it may even be called the best after Mr. Austin Dobson's admirable biography of Goldsmith.

Mr. Sanders is not blind to Sheridan's very obvious faults, and he makes no attempt to gloss over his many failings. He has gone to the sources for his facts, although he is able to add but little to the discoveries of earlier investigators, except possibly in his fuller use of more recent political biographies to illustrate Sheridan's public life. He has been unusually successful in the proportion of his biography: the literary career of Sheridan and the political are well balanced against each other; and there is no effect of broken continuity when we pass from the chapters treating of the production of the "School for Scandal" and the "Critic" to that treating of the trial of Warren Hastings at Westminster and the Begum speech.

There is a sufficient index; and to this as to the other volumes of the series Mr. John Anderson of the British Museum has appended a bibliography consisting chiefly of a transcript of the entries in the British Museum catalogue, with a few stray additions from Poole's Index and elsewhere.

Imperial Germany. By Sidney Whitman. [Vol. 2691 of the Tauchnitz Edition of British Authors.]

THE first edition of this reprint was published in London in 1888. It is not remarkable for anything unless it be extravagant praises of the beauties of paternal government, and slipshod, not to say ungrammatical, English. It may be warmly recommended to college examiners in English who are in search of rank specimens of "English as she should not be wrote." The following examples may serve out of the many with which the book is studded:

"The pen that indites therein an anti-German article, has nobody at its back, but he who holds it in his hand, the single individual, who produces this lucubration in his study, and the protector that a Russian paper usually possesses, some high official who has got entangled in party politics, and who perhaps happens to grant this paper his protection, both weigh but as a feather against the authority of his Majesty the Emperor of Russia." (P. 276.)

"Some people aver that even now there are very few items the Germans produce that they do not owe their latest improvements to English or American ideas." (P. 249.)

"Thus at the Academy of Vienna, in the year 1880, there were 400 pupils in piano playing, and of these 350 were girls, most of whom were presumably let loose on the community as piano masters and mistresses." (P. 59.)

"This school holds that parliamentary party government is unsuited to direct the destinies of a great nation; that the opinions of a majority offer no guarantee of its soundness." (P. 93.)

"The cost of forcing the concessions through Parliament have in course of time cost the companies millions." (P. 113.)

The author devotes a whole chapter to Bismarck, and his admiration for that statesman warms him into a series of metaphors that might have excited the emulation of Sir Boyle Roche. Some of them deserve preservation; the three that follow are average samples:

"After being identified for years with open antagonism to the Papal See, it must have cost his pride no trifling pang to step out lustily on the road to Canossa—he, a stanch Protestant—smoking the pipe of peace with the placidity of an honest purpose." (P. 130.)

"Also the thunderbolts that the late M. Gambetta hurled from his jaws only served to reëcho the cry of a defeated country." (P. 140.)

"Bismarck's is not a nature we can imagine turning out well-oiled periods or emitting polished Ciceronic shafts. But if his periods are nervously jagged and lack rotundity, they fly as straight as a dart, and, where they strike, they pierce the enemy through and through, and thence pursue their winged course right across the country, to be remembered as sledge-hammer blows of conviction and hard-striking reason." (P. 141.)

Royal Edinburgh; Her Saints, Kings, Prophets, and Poets. By Mrs. Oliphant. With illustrations by George Reid, R.S.A. Macmillan & Co. 1890.

IN the present work Mrs. Oliphant appears as the real Scotswoman devoted to her illustrious country and its glorious capital. Not that she ever disguised her Scottish nature, or wrote a word untrue to it. But here she drops the English households and Florentine painters that have so often and so well occupied her pen, and comes forth as the historian of her own "land of cakes." The book is not a topographical guide or an architectural handbook. A large number of the striking buildings and spots in Edinburgh are reviewed, but solely as the scenes of touching and picturesque incidents in the lives of illustrious men and women, high dames and mighty earls, princes, prophets, and poets. The Castle and Holyrood, St. Giles's and the Kirk of Field, the Cowgate and the Canongate, the Nor' Loch and the Lawnmarket, are there; but as soon as the fortunes of the drama point to other spots, the Maiden City is left, and other scenes, Falkland and St. Andrew's, Stirling and Perth, await the reader, while the story of the hero or heroine is discussed. It is a book of persons, not of places, and one who did not know Edinburgh well already would gather but a fragmentary notion of it, and acknowledge that he could find a better guide-book in the 'Heart of Midlothian.'

Mrs. Oliphant begins with one long and interesting chapter on the person through whom the wild Celtic kings of Scotland were first brought into relations with the empire and the other great kingdoms of Europe, Margaret the Atheling, great-grandmother of Henry II., and Queen of Malcolm Ceanmohr. She traces with a loving hand the memorials we possess of this remarkable woman, who, almost single-handed, founded a home in Scotland for all the arts of refinement and culture which that age possessed, and brought camp and cottage under the softening influences of the Court and the Church. Passing lightly over the remarkable monarchs of Margaret's blood who did so much for Scotland in two centuries, and likewise saying but little of the strife for the throne and the reigns of the Bruces, Mrs. Oliphant devotes half-a-dozen chapters to the "Stewards of Scotland," as she somewhat fantastically calls the Stewart family—Robert II., Robert III., and the five Jameses.

To the strange fascination which hangs round every member of this ill-starred house, except, perhaps, Robert II., the author surrenders herself entirely. The strange succession of brilliant and sombre adventures—the coronations in childhood, repeated again and again, the captivities, the assassinations, the civil wars—the gorgeous pageantry and the ghastly crime which seem to blaze and lower over every step of the Stewart line, take possession of her whole being. She has studied the ancient historians diligently, and when they do not afford material enough for her, she does not hesitate to draw avowedly on her imagination to paint in full the gorgeous or crimsoned scenes which she thinks the books have sketched too lightly. She will not let one of the Stewart kings depart without a blessing. It is hard work with all except James I. Even through the halo of the fifteenth century, they all have too much of the qualities that overthrew them in the seventeenth—self-will against the wisest counsellors, weak devotion to the most unworthy favorites, recklessness in rewarding services, implacability in the pursuit of injuries, rashness where caution was most needed, timidity where firmness might have saved them. The early Stewarts were constantly trying to govern well, and as constantly finding out that no king that ever lived can govern a country all by himself, especially if he contrives to alienate most of its great men. We suspect that if James IV. could rise from his nameless grave at Flodden he would never know his own portrait as Mrs. Oliphant draws it.

It is rather disappointing, when one looks for Edinburgh under the most celebrated of the Stewarts, to find three chapters following the adventures not of Queen Mary, but of John Knox and George Buchanan. Not that it is a mistake; for readers nowadays are likely to know much more of the Enchantress Queen than of her two greatest subjects, and Mrs. Oliphant's account of them is lively and valuable. It is very amusing to see how she deals with the question of the Queen's guilt. Professing to leave it aside, she finds it forcing itself upon her notice, and, like Scott in 'The Abbot' (she is Sir Walter's own child in literature), she does not quite know what to do about it. She wants very much indeed Queen Mary to be innocent; she sees the irrelevance of many of Knox's charges; yet she equally sees the absurdities involved in the position of the Queen's defenders, and, on the whole, she is very glad that saying what she has got to say has taken up so much room that she has to leave out the main issue.

The book closes with interesting and appreciative chapters on the three poets whose connection with Edinburgh, whether long or short, was so important in its influence on their literary career—Allan Ramsay, Burns, and Scott.

The Goodwins of Hartford, Connecticut, Descendants of William and Ozias Goodwin. Compiled for James Junius Goodwin. Hartford: Brown & Gross. 1891. 8vo, pp. 798.

IT appears from the preface that the American portion of this genealogy was prepared by Mr. F. F. Starr, while the English notes were furnished by the Rev. Augustus Jessopp of Scarning, England, and by Mr. Henry F. Waters, whose knowledge extends over Old and New England. The American portion shows a commendable industry in collecting the history of a widely spread race, few of whose members have arrived at great distinction; but this labor is rendered almost useless by the adoption of a peculiar system of arrangement which renders it almost impossible to trace any individual or to form any idea of the extent of the branches. It is cumbrous,

and, in its system of cross references, very unnecessarily expensive. As we have often said in these columns, it is passing strange that genealogists will deliberately ignore the simple and well arranged plan used in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, and throw all their valuable material into a shapeless mass.

As to the English portion, the ancestors of the two emigrant brothers, William and Ozias Goodwin, are still to be found. It seems certain that one Robert Woodward of Braintree County, Essex, in 1640, gave ten shillings to his daughter Mary, wife of Ozias Goodwin, now in New England. But even with this most valuable clue the emigrants have not been found among the Goodwins of Essex or of Suffolk. It seems that the search has not been abandoned, and if any living man can be expected to succeed, certainly Mr. Waters is the one. We sincerely trust that this success is not far off, and then we may hope to see the publication of the volume herein referred to, which shall give the full results of the search among the remaining evidences of the Goodwins of Blaxhall and other families of the name.

Sir Francis Drake. By Julian Corbett. [English Men of Action.] Macmillan & Co. 1890 209 pp. 8vo.

A SATISFACTORY life of Drake is still to be written. Those which have appeared hitherto have been defective, imperfect in method, inaccurate in detail, though they could not be uninteresting. The little volumes of the "Men of Action" series are not to be judged as elaborate biographies, yet we may reasonably expect to find the main facts and dates somewhere stated in a sober manner, or, as reasonably, be annoyed if we do not. In the present case we do not. The narrative is turgid and pretentious; its affectation of insight into the workings of all men's minds, at the time of Drake's adventures, is irritating in its absurdity: one knows not whether that which is stated here is an attested fact, a surmise of the author, or an excursion of unbridled fancy. The book is destitute of nearly everything which should characterize a good biographical sketch. Yet so extraordinary was Drake's career, so heroic his adventures, so romantic his daring and his success, that, like others before him, Mr. Corbett has not been able to make his tale unreadable, nor entirely deprive his work, however feeble, of the brilliancy reflected from his subject.

Even if it had been pure fiction, the book, for its proper understanding, should have had a map. Considered as biography or history, the absence of such a key to its better comprehension is difficult to explain.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Arène, P. The Golden Coat. Harper & Bros. 50 cents.
Allen, William Francis. Essays and Monographs. (Memorial Volume.) Boston: Geo. H. Ellis. $2.
Austin, A. The Human Tragedy. Macmillan & Co. $1.75.
Aveling, E. An Introduction to the Study of Botany. Macmillan & Co. $1.10.
Belot, A. The Woman of Ice. St. Paul: The Price-McGill Publishing Co
Bridgett, Rev. T. E. Life and Writings of Sir Thomas Moore. Catholic Publication Society Co. $2.
Capp, W. M. The Daughter—Her Health, Education, and Wedlock. Philadelphia: F. A. Davis. $1.
Chittenden, L. E. Recollections of President Lincoln. Harper & Bros.
Cooley, Alice K. Asaph. United States Book Co. 50 cents.
Döllinger, Ignaz von. Declarations and Letters on the Vatican Decrees. Charles Scribner's Sons. $1.50.
Dowling, R. A Baffling Quest. United States Book Co. 50 cents.
Edwards, M. B. Forestalled. United States Book Co. 50 cents.
Fantasy. United States Book Co. 50 cents.
Fine, H. B. The Number System of Algebra. Leach, Shewell & Sanborn.
Fleming, Agnes. A Wronged Wife. G. W. Dillingham.
Gay, E. H. Municipal Bonds. Boston: Damrell & Upham. 50 cents.
Gordon, A. C. Staunton, Va.: Its Past, Present and Future. The South Publishing Co.
Gordon, Mrs. J. E. H. Decorative Electricity. Charles Scribner's Sons. $3.75.
Harrison, Mrs. B. The Washington Cook Book. G. W. Dillingham.
Harvard Studies in Classical Philology. Vol. II. Boston: Ginn & Co. $1.50.
Heimburg, W. Hortense. Chicago: Rand, McNally & Co.
Henty, G. A. A Hidden Foe. United States Book Co. 50 cents.
Higginson, T. W. Life of Francis Higginson. Dodd, Mead & Co. 75 cents.
Holder, C. F. Charles Darwin. G. P. Putnam's Sons. $1.50.
Irving, W. The Alhambra. Boston: Ginn & Co. 50 cents.
Kant's Principles of Politics. Charles Scribner's Sons. $1.
Keith, L. A Lost Illusion. United States Book Co. 50 cents.
Latham, Rev. H. Pastor Pastorum. James Pott & Co. $1.50.
Lenep, J. Van. The Story of an Abduction of the 17th Century. W. S. Gottsberger & Co.
Macleod, H. D. The Theory of Credit. Vol. II., Part II. Longmans, Green & Co. $3.50.
Maeterlinck, M. Blind, The Intruder. Washington: Wm. H. Morrison.
Major, G. M. The Background of Mystery. De Vinne Press.
Marley, C. R. A Social Meteor. Street & Smith.
Maxwell, Wm. H. Advanced Lessons in English Grammar American Book Co. 60 cents.
McLaren, E. T. Dr. John Brown and his Sister Isabella. 4th ed. Edinburgh: David Douglas; New York: A. D. F. Randolph & Co. $1.50.
Memoirs of Prince de Talleyrand. Vol. I. G. P. Putnam's Sons. $2.50.
Memoirs of the Prince de Talleyrand. Vol. II. G. P. Putnam's Sons.
Moore, G. Impressions and Opinions. London: David Nutt.
Müller, Prof. F. Max. Physical Religion. Longmans, Green & Co. $3.
Murray, D. C., & Henry Herman. He Fell Among Thieves. Macmillan & Co. $1.25.
Neiderberger, J. German Colloquial Grammar and Composition Book. Part I. Boston: Carl Schoenhof.
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Fine Arts.

PORTRAITS AT THE ACADEMY.

WHATEVER may be the general average of merit at the spring exhibitions at the Academy, in one branch at least of the painter's art, and a most important one, the display is always good. There is usually a considerable number of excellent portraits, and sometimes one or two of surpassing merit. If the hanging is badly done, if quiet pictures are placed in jarring contrast with noisy and obtrusive ones, if good pictures are often placed over doors and very bad ones on the line—if, in short, the general aspect of the annual exhibitions is not what it might be if the Committee were allowed to work with no other recommendation for putting pictures in good places on the walls but their merit—the portraits somehow make themselves felt, and this year is no exception. There is bad hanging and confusion of tone, but half-a-dozen notable works in portraiture have been very well placed, and they constitute the most interesting feature of the exhibition. Mr. Sargent's beautiful portrait of a young lady in a pink gown with gray ribbons, holding a couple of orchids in her hands, "Portrait," No. 230, must be classed among the best of his works, and it is one of the most charming of all of the portraits of women he has painted. Another portrait from his hand, that of a gentleman, "Portrait," No. 388, is life-like and most cleverly done. It seems as though the painter had "forced the note" a little in this head as in other recent work, such as the portrait of Joseph Jefferson, now at The Players, which was exhibited in the last autumn exhibition at the Academy. The reds and blues are violent, and it looks as if the artist made them so purposely, counting on the effects of time to give tone and not detract in strength from the painting. As they are now, freshly painted, these pictures are rather harsh and just a little common in color. No such criticism, however, applies to the portrait first mentioned. The young lady is suavely and delicately painted; and while the color scheme is not on the whole a striking one, such as it is it is pleasing and harmonious, and the canvas is one of the most attractive which this very able painter has yet shown.

Very good work in drawing, in modelling, and in the observation of values is contained in the excellent picture, by André Castaigne, "Portrait," No. 454, a young man, in a black velvet jacket, sitting astride a chair; and there is excellent painting, much dignity and repose, and the most competent sort of general treatment in the portrait of a lady by Mr. Vinton (No. 162). It is solid and luminous, and if it only had just a trifle more individuality in it, it would overstep the line that divides thoroughly good work from masterpieces. It is good enough as it is, though, to be ranked with the best portraits of the year, and it undoubtedly shows Mr. Vinton at his best as a painter of portraits of women. Mr. Beckwith, too, is notably successful in characterization in his picture of a lady in street costume, "Portrait of Mrs. A. R. F.," No. 103, quite as skilfully handled as any of his better work and particularly clever in the treatment of the dress; and there is a head of a lady by Alfred Q. Collins, "Portrait of Mrs. L.," No. 468, which, in spite of a distressingly aggressive blue gown, is a nice canvas to look at because the head is pleasing and the painting good enough to study. There is something good in the way of sobriety and force, and not a little quaint charm, in the large picture of three little girls, "Portraits of the Misses H.," No. 279, by Eleanor Norcross, but it is placed over one of the doors and cannot be more than half seen.

Mr. Chase has painted the portrait of a well-known artist, "Portrait," No. 118, in just about the way one painter ought to paint another—without the slightest affectation, seriously, and with more thought of things artistic than of those other annoying things that friends of the philistinic sitter are always imposing on the portrait-painter in the way of costume. Mr. Whittredge has seated himself in Mr. Chase's studio, palette in hand and a canvas before him, and Mr. Chase has apparently occupied himself with the problem of making the picture on his canvas look as much like what he had before him as possible. There isn't any composition—it is a study on a large scale, but it is a very good study, it is a very life-like picture, and it is painted with all Mr. Chase's knowledge. His knowledge, it may be said, is seen in this canvas quite as much in what he has made little of as in what he has most insisted upon.

Mr. Blashfield's "Portrait of a Lady," No. 134, is an excellent work and one of the very good things of its class in the exhibition. It is hung higher on the wall than it deserved. A full-length portrait of a lady (No. 54), by Joseph F. Mathews, has been very badly placed in a dark corner of the corridor. It is quite impossible to see it except by gas-light when the exhibition is open in the evening, and that is not much better than not seeing it at all. It seems to be very good, and enough of the lower half of the canvas receives light upon it to show that the dress is well painted and interesting in color. William Bailey Faxon in "A Lady's Profile," No. 5; Harper Pennington, in a striking portrait of a boy (No. 49), C. Coventry Haynes, in "Portrait," No. 69; J. Wells Champney, in a pastel head of a lady (No. 76); Will H. Low, in "A Girl in Black," No. 101; W. Howard Hart, in "Study," No. 106; Samuel Isham, in "Portrait," No. 220; Robert Gordon Hardie, in "Portrait of Prof. E. Charlier," No. 322; Howard R. Butler, in "Portrait," No. 380; S. Mary Norton, in "Portrait—Mother and Child," No. 393; A. Menocal, in "Portrait of Mr. G.," No. 465, and Charles Noël Flagg, in "Portrait of Mark Twain," No. 378, are among the artists who have contributed other notable works in the class we are speaking of, and whose pictures for one reason or another deserve to be mentioned among the better things on the walls.

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, APRIL 30, 1891.

The Week.

SOME whimpering is observable in the tone of the leading Republican newspapers on the subject of the national finances. Secretary Foster, it is stated, will soon issue a circular to the banks and "to large employers of labor," offering to exchange the fractional silver in the Treasury, amounting to something over $20,000,000, for paper. In other words, he finds a necessity confronting him of using an unavailable non-legal-tender fund to meet the current expenses of Government. It is not likely that either the banks or the large employers of labor will consent to any such exchange. The fractional coin is just as unavailable to the banks as it is to the Government. There is plenty of fractional coin in circulation now. When a cup is full, it will hold no more. If this twenty millions could be poured in, it would overflow and come back to the Treasury for redemption, and it would have to be redeemed too. The large employers of labor, if they are wise, will be chary about passing off upon their employees a kind of money that is not legal tender for more than ten dollars in one payment, and is bulky and inconvenient also. Such a course would be strongly provocative of strikes and would besides be politically unwise, since it would acquaint the working classes with the fact that the Government, which was left by the Cleveland Administration with an enormous surplus, is already in financial straits.

Near the close of the first session of the Fifty-first Congress, Senator Edmunds said in public debate that he apprehended that there would be a Treasury deficit before the 1st of July, 1891. That condition is evidently nearer than the public had supposed. What with pension profligacy, public-building profligacy, the direct-tax refund, and other squandering, coupled with the repeal of the raw-sugar duties and the increase of the tariff on other things, with the avowed purpose of preventing importations, the Secretary is in danger of seeing his last dollar unless he sells bonds to replenish his cash. This he has authority to do if he has the courage also. In the natural course of things he will be obliged to trench upon the $100,000,000 gold fund held for the redemption of the greenbacks. We say he will be obliged to do this, because he is obliged to pay his debts as they mature. The law has provided for a contingency of this kind by authorizing him to sell bonds to maintain specie payments. Accordingly, whenever he is for any reason short of money to redeem greenbacks with, he is not only authorized but required to sell bonds for this purpose. It may be a trial to his nerves, but it would be a greater trial if he should go to protest. There is a matter of $54,000,000 of 4½ per cent. bonds maturing on the first of September, and already we hear of plans to extend these bonds instead of paying them. This implies that the Sinking-Fund Law is not to be executed until Congress meets. This law requires the Secretary to redeem about $49,000,000 of the public debt during the fiscal year, which begins July 1, 1891. If the law were executed, it would very nearly extinguish the 4½ per cent. debt. But evidently it will not be executed in a hurry. The Secretary can wait till Congress meets. Then he can make recommendations as to the repeal of the Sinking-Fund Law *and* the imposition of new taxes. Altogether the financial situation of the Government is as bad as its worst enemy could desire. Fortunately this badness has not extended to private business, and it is not necessary that it should. The Treasury may be on its knees to the banks and the "large employers of labor" without the latter being any the worse for it.

President Harrison's remark at Galveston about subsidies to shipping, that, whether we approve of the principle or not, we must go into the business, inasmuch as "all other nations do," is a good illustration of the uncritical use of facts. It is very easy, for instance, to point to the example of France, and show how her generous bounty laws, for both the building and sailing of ships, have apparently had a strikingly good effect. In 1873 the French flag flew over only 292 steamers of above 100 tons, while the number had increased by last June to 471. Nothing could be more conclusive: no ships without subsidies. But how about the growth of the German merchant marine during the same time, without subsidies? In 1873 the steamers of German ownership above 100 tons numbered 200; last June they numbered 689. In 1888, Germany without subsidies succeeded to the second place among the nations using steam navigation, and France, under her bounty system, yielded it. Nor has the latter been outstripped solely in the number of craft and gross tonnage; she has nothing afloat to place beside the *Spree* and *Havel* of the Lloyds, or the *Columbia* and *Augusta Victoria* of the Hamburg-American Line. This splendid transatlantic service has been built up absolutely without subsidies. Why have the French lagged so far behind? It would interest President Harrison to read the explanation given by an old French captain in a late number of the *Monde Économique*. The trouble is all in the French subsidies, says this practical sailor; with a bounty assured for fifteen years, the steamship lines settle back in luxurious ease, let well enough alone, and leave it to unsubsidized Germans to utilize the latest refinements of shipbuilding. In fact, before advancing to the experience of "all other nations," it would do the advocate of subsidies a world of good to make a close study of the experience of France and Germany. It would at least show him how misleading and dangerous is an inference from an isolated set of facts.

A correspondent calls our attention, apropos of the New Orleans massacre, to the recently decided case of De Brissot and others against Venezuela, in which the defence interposed by the Venezuelan Government (*i. e.*, that the officers of the States of Apure and Zamora, by whom the injuries complained of were alleged to have been committed, were outside the scope of Federal authority and control) was overruled by the United States and Venezuelan Commission that closed its labors in Washington last September. All the passengers on board the steamer *Apure*, which was attacked at Apurito by forces from the adjoining State of Zamora, were Venezuelans. The steamer was the property of the Orinoco Steam Navigation Co. of New York, and the officers of the steamer, De Hammer and De Brissot, who were killed, and Stackpole, who was wounded, were citizens of the United States. There was no discrimination: several casualties occurred among the Venezuelans on board the steamer. Two of the three Commissioners held the Venezuelan Government liable for its failure to put the leaders of the attacking party on trial, although it was claimed for the Venezuelan Government that, by the Constitution of Venezuela, they were not subject to the Federal jurisdiction. The Venezuelan Government was held liable for damages by a majority of the Commissioners. There is no doubt that the Federal bond is looser in Venezuela than in the United States, and the Federal Government, therefore, less responsible for the doings or misdoings of the several States. Our latest treaty with Venezuela, that of 1867, provides for a commission such as has been sitting in the case above mentioned for the adjustment of American claims, whether of individuals or of corporations, against the Government of Venezuela, and we can only account for the late decision on the theory that the Commission holds it to be a simple matter for the Federal Government to coerce a State, owing to the long familiarity of the Republic with intestine wars and commotions.

The Republican National League, in session at Cincinnati, adopted on Thursday a platform which consisted of "glittering generalities," and elected as President ex-Assistant Postmaster-General Clarkson, after a letter had been read in which he constructed his own platform and indicated his idea of the issues which the Republican party should make prominent next year. This Clarkson platform is a most remarkable outburst of "gush." There is no end of rhetoric, but hardly a single defi-

nite idea in it. Take, for example, this passage:

"There are questions lying nearer the hearts of the American people to-day than the price of a tin cup or whether the color of the money of the realm shall be yellow or white. The greater questions are those of human liberty, the protection of the weak in their rights, the insurance, under the Constitution, of a republican form of government to the several States now without it, and as absolute security and peace to the poorest citizen and family on the Yazoo as to the richest citizen on the Hudson."

The insurance of absolute security and peace to the citizen, whether he be a poor man on the Yazoo or a millionaire on the Hudson, is a mouth-filling phrase; but the Supreme Court, in annulling the Civil-Rights Act for unconstitutionality, declared that the Federal Government had nothing to do with the insurance of security and peace to the citizen anywhere, and that any attempt by Congress to usurp such power would be promptly pronounced null and void, as in conflict with the Constitution.

The Michigan Legislature, which has a Democratic majority in the House, and a Democratic majority in the Senate also when the four Patrons of Husbandry vote with them, is just passing a law which makes a radical change in the manner of choosing Presidential electors in that State. The bill has already passed the House, and there is no doubt that the Senate will concur this week. Its effect upon the Electoral College of 1892 will be so marked that the whole country is interested in the measure. The Constitution provides that "each State shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress." For many years after the establishment of the Government, the common practice was for the Legislature to choose directly the whole number to which the State was entitled. In a few of the States, however, other systems were followed which tended in the direction of a decision by popular vote. Thus, in Massachusetts the people of each Congressional district nominated three electors, of whom the Legislature chose one, the two electors-at-large being also chosen by the Legislature. Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina for some time chose all the district electors by popular vote in the districts, without any interposition of the Legislature.

There has always been more or less complaint against the existing system by which all the electoral votes of a State go to one candidate, even if he receives only a few more than half of the popular vote. In the early days of the Republic the party in power did not hesitate to make sudden changes in the way of choosing electors when it saw a chance of seizing an advantage. Thus, in 1812 Vermont, New Jersey, and North Carolina all had laws by which Presidential electors were to be chosen by popular vote. But just before the day fixed for the election the Legislature of each State repealed the existing law, and assumed the right to choose the electors themselves. In Vermont and North Carolina it was a Democratic majority in the Legislature which did this; in New Jersey, a Federalist. The opposition carried Michigan over the Republicans last fall, but they doubt their ability to repeat the performance in 1892. They feel reasonably sure, however, of carrying about half of the twelve Congressional districts, and one of the two large districts into which they will divide the commonwealth for the choice of the two electors-at-large. The chance of securing all fourteen electoral votes in a popular election is so small that they have concluded to make sure of several of the number by introducing the district system of choice. The enactment of this Michigan law throws Michigan into the category of doubtful States for 1892. The only sure thing about it is that the Republicans will not have all the fourteen electoral votes. The Democrats will have some, because they always carry more than one of the Congressional districts, but how many nobody can tell. If the result elsewhere throughout the country should be very close, we may have to wait for a careful count of the votes in some of the Michigan districts before we shall know who has been elected President.

Ohio is the latest State—the twenty-fourth—to adopt a ballot-reform law. The measure, so far as we can judge from the outlines of it published in the Ohio papers, is similar in its provisions to the Indiana and Maine laws. It provides for the Australian system of nominations and compartment voting, with exclusively official ballots, the names of all candidates to be grouped by parties in parallel columns upon a blanket ballot. The law has been secured in spite of the opposition of the leading Republican journals of the State, which have steadily ridiculed the Australian system as the "kangaroo reform." The popular demand for it was so great, however, that the Democratic majority in the Legislature had the aid of many members of the Republican minority in the final victory. With Indiana, Maine, and Ohio holding their elections under the reform system, it can be said at last that the chief citadels of corrupt voting in this country have been carried by the reformers.

Since the new Treasury ruling in respect to carpet wools went into effect, the duty on them has been advanced to nearly 100 per cent. ad valorem. And still the Ohio wool-growers are not satisfied. They have induced the Secretary of the Treasury to appoint a committee to recommend changes of the samples by which wools are classified for duty. Probably in the end they will get Bagdad, East India, and other coarse wools put into the first and second classes, dutiable at 11 and 12 cents per pound unwashed. Then by applying the washing clause and the sorting clause, they will get the duty up to 33 and 36 cents per pound respectively, which would be prohibitory. At all events, that is what they are aiming at, as Judge Lawrence is candid enough to say. Meanwhile, Ohio wool continues to decline. The remarkably low figure of 32 cents per pound was recently quoted in Boston, and unreported sales were made which were thought to be close to 31 cents. This is a decline of 7 cents per pound since the McKinley Tariff Bill became a law. But some other American wools have advanced in price. The class known as "Territory" has been steadily improving towards the character of clothing wool, thus putting further off the day that Judge Lawrence predicts, and Uncle Jerry Rusk sighs for, when we shall "produce all of our own carpet-wool." The far Western wool-grower, with a perversity unexampled in the world's history, works and breeds towards high-priced instead of low-priced wool. This carries him further and further away from the rôle assigned to him by Lawrence and Rusk. It has had another effect, which none of the parties in interest anticipated at first. It has evolved a wool that works admirably as a mixture with Australian. Hence the large importations from Australia (double those of any former year), and the advance in the price of Territory wool. Hence also the comparative neglect of Ohio fleeces. What Judge Lawrence really needs is not a duty of 100, or 200, or 300 per cent. on carpet wools, but a law to prevent manufacturers from mixing different kinds of wools together. It is this infernal Australian-Territory compound that is doing the mischief.

Until the details of the so-called reciprocity agreement with Spain are made public, it is of course impossible to say just how far they go. The telegrams from Madrid have been sufficiently confusing. But, in any case, it is altogether ridiculous for the *Tribune* to say that "American diplomacy" had given Spain the alternative of reciprocity or a revolution in Cuba. Cuban complaints of the commercial policy of Spain do not date from yesterday or the day before, nor have they any very great connection with the reciprocity clause of the McKinley Bill. There is one feature of that measure which mightily afflicts the Cubans, and that is the increased taxes on tobacco. But that article does not figure in the reciprocity clause, and it is significantly reported from Madrid that negotiations over tobacco have been deferred to a later date. If Mr. Blaine could offer Cuba free tobacco in return for free flour, then indeed it might be a question of a revolution were Spain to refuse. But that offer can now only be made by means of a reciprocity treaty properly so called, and Spain will believe in it when it passes the Senate. Meanwhile, it is not to be supposed for a minute that Cánovas was frightened by any threat of imposing duties on Cuban sugar. He remarked some months ago to a Cuban delegation that the November elec-

tions in this country showed the popular disapproval of the McKinley Bill, and that there was no occasion to live in fear and trembling on account of it. The truth is, Spain has been for ten years steadily liberalizing her commercial policy in regard to her colonies, and these latest concessions to the interests of colonial trade are but one step more in a path long travelled. A sliding scale of duties which Cuban products were to pay in the Peninsula was made law in 1882, under the terms of which all duties whatsoever were to disappear by July 1, 1892. And the same law provided for the abolition of the Cuban tariff, as against Spanish products, on July 1, 1891.

The latest case of "journalism" is that which the *Herald* supplies by censuring Mr. Cleveland for denying the accuracy of an interview with himself on the part of Mr. Stephens, the State Treasurer of Missouri, which the *Herald* published in its evening newspaper and then transferred to its morning newspaper, the *Herald* proper. The interview was on the subject of silver and silver legislation, and it went far to contradict and neutralize the letter which Mr. Cleveland wrote to Mr. E. Ellery Anderson some weeks ago. Mr. Stephens denies that he has had any interview with any reporter, and he surmises that somebody has had an interview with somebody who has had an interview with him (Stephens), but that the interviewer in the second degree has got things badly mixed in the published report. Mr. Cleveland contented himself with a general denial of the accuracy of the pretended interview. Now what says Jefferson Brick in the columns of the *Herald*? Why, that "Mr. Cleveland believes himself to have been misrepresented by Mr. Stephens." Neither Jefferson nor any body else connected with the *Herald* has seen Stephens at all, or had a word with him. But the sin of believing himself to have been misrepresented by Mr. Stephens must be expiated. So Jefferson asks whether Mr. Cleveland "has a silver policy for the East and another for the West and South." Then, waxing righteously indignant at the skulking, double-tongued Cleveland, he begs to inquire whether he remembers "the fate of the accommodating weather-vane that presented itself to all the winds of heaven, and swung serenely upon its pivot until an unaccommodating cyclone came an unexpected way and carried it off into the uttermost part of nothing." That is the right way to put it. Jefferson never said anything better than that. He makes it hot by anticipation for all other persons who have not been interviewed by the *Herald*, and who think that they are liable to be misrepresented by interviews imputed to them.

The increase of the population of Rhode Island during the decade between 1880 and 1890 was absolutely greater than in any preceding decade, and relatively greater than in any except those between 1840 and 1850 and 1870 and 1880. The census bulletin giving the population of the State by minor civil divisions shows, however, that this increase was not evenly distributed. Of the thirty-six cities and towns which existed in 1880, thirteen, even after allowance is made for the effect of change in boundaries, have actually lost inhabitants. Examination shows that, as in New Hampshire and Massachusetts, this loss has fallen most heavily on the smallest towns. Again, in Vermont, of the 244 cities and towns whose population was separately returned both in 1880 and in 1890, more than three-fourths (or 186) had fewer inhabitants in the latter year than in the former. Essex is the only county in which the majority of the towns have not lost population in the decade. In the six southernmost counties of the State more than six-sevenths (or 111 out of 129 towns) show a loss, while in the two southeastern counties of Windsor and Windham, out of 47 towns only 5 (or less than one-ninth) have more inhabitants now than they had a decade since. As in the other New England States, the rule has been that to them that have shall be given, and the gains have been in the larger towns.

The English Ministry have apparently got themselves into another nasty little mess in the Evelyn vs. Hurlbert case. Mr. W. H. Hurlbert was sued by an actress named Evelyn for breach of promise of marriage. She had no adequate proof of the promise, but she had a batch of 150 rather disgusting letters to her in what she and other witnesses swore was the plaintiff's handwriting. He said that they were not written by him, but by a man named "Wilfrid Murray," who was at one time his secretary, and had learned to imitate his handwriting so successfully that he himself could not detect the difference. But he could produce no one who knew or had ever seen this Murray, and the Judge in his charge commented strongly on the improbability of the story. The jury thereupon found a special verdict—not "for the defendant" generally, but that "there was no promise of marriage," leaving the authorship of the letters an open question. The public then said, naturally enough, that, although it was plain there had been monstrous perjury on one side or the other, the verdict left it unsettled which it was, and that there must be further inquiry in the shape of a criminal prosecution. This criminal prosecution can only be instituted, however, at the instance or with the permission of the Attorney-General, and the Attorney-General, in answer to a question in the House of Commons on Thursday night, said the Government were considering the matter. Here is where the politics comes in. The Attorney-General, Sir Richard Webster, was, apparently very indiscreetly, as in the Pigott case, Hurlbert's counsel, so that he is now considering whether he will prosecute his own client or the plaintiff for perjury in a case in which he was himself engaged professionally. From this it would appear that Sir Richard had not learned wisdom from his annoying experience before the Parnell Commission.

The explanation of his taking Hurlbert's brief, however, seems easy. Hurlbert, who has been for some years resident in England, took it into his head, or had it put into his head by the Liberal-Unionists and Tories, to write a book on Ireland, and, although he knew nothing about Ireland, he promptly produced the book, which showed, from personal observation, that the Home-Rulers were a bad and dishonest lot, and the landlords kind, good men, and the government of Ireland an admirable one. It had a good sale, and furnished the Tories, as coming from a disinterested foreign observer, a most useful defence against the wicked Radicals and Separatists. Indeed, the *Spectator* put it on higher than merely political ground, for it said the book was the work of an "American Catholic," who was far more troubled by the moral condition of the Irish than by their economical condition. Consequently it is now of some importance to the Conservative party to keep Hurlbert up on this lofty moral plane, where the Radicals and the Separatists cannot get at his character. Hence the Attorney-General's willingness to appear in the case.

The Manipur troubles in India are apparently approaching their close, but they well illustrate the risks and difficulties attendant upon all dealings between civilized and barbarous men. The rebellious captain of the half-armed, undisciplined soldiery of one of the most insignificant States has been able to inflict a sharp blow and serious humiliation upon the powerful government of a great Asiatic empire. Just fifty years ago the British Resident in Afghanistan, Sir William Macnaghten, was seized and assassinated at an interview with the leaders of an Afghan insurrection; and twelve years ago, Sir Louis Cavagnari with all his escort. But Afghanistan is to Manipur what a tame cat is to a tiger: if one goes among bloodthirsty fanatics, the slightest imprudence is fatal. There were, indeed, symptoms that the Manipur usurper would fight rather than surrender; yet English officers are so accustomed to carry matters with a high hand and to trust in the enormous power behind them for overawing resistance, that the dispositions for arresting him were evidently made carelessly. The result has been a lamentable loss of life, the discomfiture of a detachment of British troops, and a temporary fall of British credit among the natives of India, who do not dislike to see some of the conceit taken out of the unconquerable Englishman. It is not improbable that the affair may cause some fermentation among the half-subdued tribes in the vicinity of Manipur, and we may hear of sporadic outbreaks on the two borders of the wild country that lies between India and Burmah, which contains a peculiarly restless and intractable population. All overt resistance to the advancing reinforcements will be easily put down, and Manipur itself will be occupied without trouble; but the English reputation for skill, adroit daring, and for the favor of Fortune—a goddess much beloved in India—has received an awkward scratch.

SECRETARY TRACY'S DUTY.

When Secretary Tracy put Commander Reiter in command of the *Thetis*, a very attractive post, the impression made by the act on the public was very well expressed by that ardent Republican journal, the Philadelphia *Press*, as follows:

"The restoration of Commander Reiter to a command in the navy is not as complete a reinstatement nor as gracious as the Secretary of the Navy ought to have made it. The vessel assigned to him is inferior to the one from which he was taken. Nevertheless, the public will be disposed to look upon Reiter's reinstatement as an acknowledgment, partial and tardy though it be, that the hasty action of last January, under which Commander Reiter was censured and suspended, was ill advised and unjust."

But the Secretary, instead of letting the matter be just where the *Press* puts it, tries to minimize the importance of his tardy and imperfect atonement, by insinuating that he still thinks Commander Reiter unfit to command a man-of-war, and has therefore only given him a surveying-ship, "which does not carry a single gun."

All this is very unworthy of the Secretary, and most mischievous as regards the service. Nothing could more effectively illustrate the danger of introducing politics into the management of the military and naval and diplomatic service than this Barrundia incident has done. Our diplomatic service is, unhappily, now and has long been wholly given over to the politicians, so that when Mr. Blaine determined to make capital out of Barrundia's death, and in doing so to sacrifice Mr. Mizner, there was, although Mr. Mizner had a perfect answer to Blaine's charges against him, little or nothing for the outside world to say. Mr. Mizner is an independent man, who knew well when he accepted a foreign mission what he was about, and to what risks such service in our country would expose him. He knew there was no security of tenure in it, and he knew that when Mr. Blaine was placed at the head of the State Department, he (Mizner) might any day be "decapitated" with or without cause.

But hitherto the army and navy have been kept out of politics. The officers in both services have had nothing to fear from political jobs and intrigues as long as they did their duty as defined by the United States statutes and by the regulations. Secretary Tracy, in order to help Mr. Blaine in his jingo venture in Guatemala, broke through this valuable tradition, and proceeded to sacrifice a naval commander on the same altar as Mizner. He wrote to Commander Reiter insulting letters, and inflicted on him illegally, as the best authorities believe, a public reprimand in time of peace without trial before a court-martial. When the matter came to be examined, it was shown clearly enough that he had no case in law or morals against Commander Reiter. No lawyer and no newspaper of any weight came to his aid. When assailed in the House by Mr. Dalzell, he had no one to put up against him but Mr. Lodge, who made a bunkum and irrelevant speech, and attempted one bit of deception, by giving his audience to understand that Hall, in his 'International Law,' made a distinction between the duty of a naval commander in a foreign port towards a fugitive reaching him by sea and one reaching him by the shore.

The debate left the Secretary in an extremely uncomfortable position, because it revealed the fact that he had wantonly and unjustifiably attacked a subordinate officer, in both his private and professional character, without a shadow of right. His conduct since then explains why the law and usage put officers in the military and naval services under the protection of courts-martial. Their reputation as officers is their whole fortune and all they have to bequeath to their children. Therefore, says the law, it shall not be assailed except before an impartial court, where the accused can be fully heard and have the advice of his friends in making his defence. It shall not in time of peace be subjected to any one person's caprice, or passion, or conceit of power, or pride of opinion. The decisions of courts-martial can be revised, overruled, or modified, but there is no appeal from the abuse or obloquy or degradation inflicted by an individual superior, who may be an enemy, or an intriguer, or a party politician. No officer shall, therefore, be placed at any one man's mercy. Could there be a better illustration than the Reiter case of the wisdom of all this?

The effect of the affair on either Gen. Tracy's reputation or Commander Reiter's has, however, comparatively small importance. The public aspect of it is of vast importance, and the Secretary must be urged to deal with it. Both Mr. Mizner and Commander Reiter acted in the Barrundia affair not only in accordance with the law of nations as laid down in all the text-books, and as settled by United States precedents, but with the ruling of Secretary Bayard in the Gomez case so late as 1885. Here is his despatch to Mr. Hall, then our Minister in Nicaragua:

"[No. 226.]

"Department of State,
"Washington, March 12, 1885.

"Sir: I have to acknowledge the receipt of your No. 316, of the 10th ultimo, in which you enclose copies of the correspondence between the Legation at Guatemala and Mr. Leavitt, the United States Consul at Managua, respecting the case of José Dolores Gomez, and request more definite instructions for such cases.

"It appears that Mr. Gomez, who is said to be a political fugitive from Nicaragua, voluntarily took passage at San José de Guatemala for Punta Arenas, Costa Rica, on board the Pacific Mail steamship *Honduras*, with the knowledge that the vessel would enter en route the port of San Juan del Sur, Nicaragua.

"The Government of Nicaragua, upon learning of this fact, ordered the commandant of the port of San Juan del Sur to arrest Gomez upon the arrival of the *Honduras* at that port.

. . . . . .

"It is clear that Mr. Gomez voluntarily entered the jurisdiction of a country whose laws he had violated. Under the circumstances it was plainly the duty of the Captain of the *Honduras* to deliver him up to the local authorities upon their request.

"It may safely be affirmed that when a merchant vessel of one country visits the ports of another for the purposes of trade, it owes temporal allegiance and is amenable to the jurisdiction of that country, and is subject to the laws which govern the port it visits so long as it remains, unless it is otherwise provided by treaty.

"Any exemption or immunity from local jurisdiction must be derived from the consent of that country. No such exemption is made in the treaty of commerce and navigation concluded between this country and Nicaragua on the 21st day of June, 1867.

"I am, etc., T. F. Bayard."

Now, it would appear from the action of the Department of State and of the Navy Department in the Barrundia case that both Mr. Blaine and Gen. Tracy dissent from Mr. Bayard's view of the law, and dissent with such vehemence that they consider that any officer who acts on it is punishable as for a crime or offence. If this be true—and they have taken great pains to call attention to it—they are bound to furnish both the public and the army and navy with a full and authoritative exposition of the law, as they understand it, touching the powers and duties of our naval officers commanding public ships in foreign ports. Since the Reiter case the navy is left absolutely without guidance. The officers can simply guess from what happened to Reiter, in the first instance, that they may get into trouble for not rescuing foreign fugitives from their own police; but from what has happened since he took the command of the *Thetis* they may also guess, that the only consequence of such trouble would be their transfer to a more luxurious ship without guns. So that the whole subject is surrounded with obscurity and confusion. They ought to have an official statement of the law in black and white. The abusive letters to Commander Reiter do not contain any such statement. We have pressed Secretary Tracy to give us one, but in vain. He will not even say what statute or regulation Commander Reiter has violated. This is a most dangerous situation, and if any further trouble arises out of it, Secretary Tracy will be responsible, and his responsibility will be more serious than Mr. Blaine's, because he has a very different reputation from Blaine's to maintain. He is a lawyer, and has passed until now as a sober-minded, fair-minded, and safe man.

THE IMMIGRATION PROBLEM.

Our suggestion, week before last, that the only really practical and useful test to apply to immigrants was the English-language test, has called forth more or less comment from the press in various parts of the country. Some commend it cautiously; others think well of it, while perceiving the impossibility of getting it embodied in legislation. The Hartford *Courant* thinks it "too severe," and suggests in its stead the application to voters at the polls of the test of ability to read English. The Rutland *Herald* also proposes this test for naturalization. The New York *Press* suggests that the immigrant should be required, we presume at the wharf, "to read and write his or her own language." It may as well be said plainly, however, that no test to be applied to voters will contribute in the smallest degree to the solution of the immigration problem. When once a foreigner lands here and gets a residence, no test can long keep him from taking part in the Government. Not only are all the influences of the time opposed to restrictions on the exercise of the

electoral franchise, but the political parties, especially in the great seats of population, are bent on making a voter as soon as possible of every foreigner they can set eyes on whose vote they think they can secure for their own side. Consequently, there is not a large city in the Union in which the managers of both parties would not combine to make nugatory at the polls any test of either intelligence or character. Both the reading and writing tests in any language would speedily be made a farce. Every party worker in a political canvass feels that the duty nearest him is to win the election, and not to save the country from ignorant or vicious voters. The only place to apply tests of fitness to the immigrant is either the port of departure or the port of arrival, before the politicians catch sight of him. If he is once let loose, all precautions about him are idle.

The *Times* offers as a substitute for our suggestion "a substantial poll-tax." It says truly: "That the immigrant was able to pay this would be evidence that he was a person of some substance and of frugal and industrious habits, and it would thus be the very best guarantee we could have that he would be a useful member of American society." In order, however, to put a substantial poll-tax into operation we should first have to make a successful fight for the principle of the thing—which would be no easy matter, for we should have to face the deep popular dislike of a property qualification. After this we should have another fight, and a more desperate one, in order to make the poll-tax "substantial." The most strenuous opposition would be offered to any sum which would really indicate previous thrift or good social standing in the Old World, and it wou'd be backed by the enormous number of more or less successful citizens of foreign birth in various parts of the country who landed without a cent. When something of this sort was proposed in the House a few years ago, one of the members from Minnesota, a Norwegian by birth, and a prosperous and much-respected resident of the State, rose up and said that any such tax would have shut out his mother when she came here with several fatherless children. A very few such protests and illustrations would sweep the scheme away under a torrent of popular indignation. If not totally repudiated, the tax wou'd be cut down to an amount which would simply make it a slight increase in the cost of the ocean passage.

We confess freely that our suggestion about the English-language test was an academic and not a practical suggestion. It is, in our opinion, the only test which, if applied, would accomplish the objects at which those who are most alarmed about the flood of foreign ignorance now pouring in on the country, are aiming. It is the one which a wise and benevolent despot, if put in charge of the Government at this crisis, would apply at once. It is the only one which can be defended *à priori*, *à posteriori*, and *à fortiori*. It is true it would shut out a large number of immigrants, especially Germans, who would be of great value to the country; but so would any test whatever, except idiocy or crime. Under any other test we can think of, we should reject a host of possible Andrew Jacksons, Lincolns, Grants, Greeleys, and Schurzes. Probably every shipload of immigrants contains the makings in abundance of statesmen, soldiers, and scientists of the first order. But the great objection to the English-language test is a fatal one, namely, that there is not the smallest chance of its being adopted.

One has only to read the report of the proceedings at the Republican Club Convention to see plainly that no political party will, at present at least, further a measure of exclusion on any grounds. One of the resolutions proposed the prohibition of further immigration of paupers and criminals, and "people so alien that they cannot be assimilated in the body politic." When first introduced, the Convention seemed delighted with it, but when two or three speakers from the Northwest announced that as it stood it would ruin the party in that region, the last clause was promptly stricken out. So it will be in every party convention as long as the foreign vote is as large and distinct as it is now. There will be much complaint about the conduct of Europe in pouring her floods of barbarism over the continent, and much description of its evils and horrors in Fourth of July orations and Thanksgiving sermons, but nothing will be done to check it. We are passing through a crisis of immense and rapid material development, accompanied by what may be called legislative paralysis touching all schemes of construction and purification. Vigorous legislation cannot be procured except in aid of attacks on property, or in aid of schemes for the rapid accumulation of property through some form of protection. The care of the moral and intellectual interests of the country seems to be left wholly, or almost wholly, to the colleges, the growth and development of which in every direction constitute, perhaps, the most remarkable phenomenon of the close of the century; but the effect on legislation will not be visible for some years.

THE SAVING REMNANT.

THE fact that 456,707 voters in this State, in a total of 1,460,295 who had taken the trouble to register in October of last year, declined to go to the polls in November, continues to excite attention in the press of the State. Various reasons are given for this remarkable abstention, amounting to nearly one-third of the entire registration—the most generally accepted being that advanced by us last week, namely, Republican dissatisfaction with the McKinley tariff. Several Republican commentators admit that this was a more powerful cause than any other, but declare their belief that it will not be in operation when the next election comes around, because the voters have discovered already that they allowed "Democratic clamor" to prejudice them against a bill which was really a most beneficent and wise measure.

Without discussing the probabilities of a return of these missing voters to any particular party, we wish to call the attention of the leaders of all parties to the fact that there is a very large body of voters, mainly Republican in their tendencies, who are susceptible to independent influences, and therefore do not vote blindly with their party. They have not been able to go over to the Democratic party, as many other former Republicans have gone, but have simply reached the point where they will not vote at all rather than vote their party's ticket. The Republican party can win them back only by convincing them of the wisdom of its policy. The Democratic party can gain their confidence and support only by showing them that it is more worthy of trust than the party with which they are dissatisfied. They have begun the dangerous practice of thinking in politics, and, like all other voters who have taken that step, they will never be "safe party men" again. Their minds will be open to the reasoning and appeals of independent men and journals, and the uncertainty about their conduct on election day will increase with every campaign.

It is not necessary to point out that one-third of all the voters of the State is a sufficient body to constitute a formidable balance of power. Whichever side gets the support of that third is certain to win. This is the fact in the situation in this State which ought to give reformers the highest encouragement. It is to this unmoored third that they should address their arguments for genuine ballot reform and for separate national, State, and municipal elections. Therein are to be found the voters who will listen to them, and will sooner or later follow them and carry their causes to success in spite of weak-kneed and tricky politicians in both parties. The voter who has begun to think about tariff legislation, has begun to think about the effects of other kinds of legislation, and the more he thinks the more of a menace will he become to the legislators who stand in the way of the enactment of desirable laws.

The election in this State in November is likely to turn largely on State issues. Undoubtedly the nearness of the Presidential contest of next year will have some effect, but it will scarcely be a deciding one. The tariff can only be brought in as an extraneous issue, for there will be no election for Congressmen, and no reason for introducing national issues beyond the general one of getting the moral effect of a victory for one party or another in the Presidential campaign. Gov. Hill's partisan and selfish administration of his office has not been calculated to win for his party the support of the abstaining third of last November's voters. In fact, the municipal elections of the spring showed very plainly that many thousands of the abstaining third in all parts of the State had returned to the Republican party, temporarily at least, for that party showed striking gains in nearly all localities. Whether they will remain with the party in the November elections is a point about which speculation is easy, but we should say that their conduct would be decided by what the party and its candidates stand for in the contest.

Neither party will come out of the legislative session with such a record as will prove attractive to thinking voters. No distinctive reform measure has been passed or can be expected, and one reform measure, the Ballot Law, has been so amended that, in case the Governor approves the changes, it will be converted from an inadequate reform statute into an extremely partisan one. For this transformation, both political parties are to be held to account, for the representatives of both have united to make it. The attention of the thinking third of voters ought to be directed to the necessity of sending to Albany men who would devote their energies to giving us genuine reform in this and other directions, and the advocates of the various reforms which we have already enumerated cannot exert themselves to better purpose than by the dissemination throughout the State of educational literature on those questions. The county table of abstaining voters shows that they were pretty evenly distributed over the entire State, the proportion of absentees to the total registration being about the same in all cases. A campaign of education would be certain to bear fruit, and would be certain also to show both political parties the necessity of taking a stand either for or against the reforms in the platforms of their conventions.

MOLTKE.

THE death of Gen. von Moltke leaves a great gap in the list of distinguished military men in Europe, and presents the problem whether another hand can wield that great but complicated machine, the German Army. His career as a soldier has been as remarkable for its unlikeness to that of other renowned generals as for its wonderful successes. It has been the fashion to think a great leader of armies must be a young man in the height of physical vigor and ambition; but Moltke directed his first campaign when he was sixty-six years old. Other generals have learned their duties and tested their capacity in inferior commands in actual war, but Moltke had never been in an important battle nor commanded even a battalion in the field. He might not unfairly be described as a theoretic student of the military art, who was called upon to direct great campaigns when he was already an old man. This certainly was true so far as strategy was concerned, though the administrative work of the army might be partly learned by experience in time of peace.

He was not of titled origin, and was not made Count till the fall of Metz in 1870. Born on October 26, 1800, at Parchim, a little town in the Grand Duchy of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, he entered the Danish Army as a cadet when he was a mere boy, but was transferred into the Prussian service soon after he became of age. At thirty-two he was assigned to staff duty, in which he permanently remained. In 1835 Sultan Mahmud asked the temporary assistance of Prussian officers in the reorganization of the Turkish Army, and Moltke was one of those who were appointed to this service. By the Sultan's request he was allowed to remain in Turkey till 1839, when, on Mahmud's death, he returned to the Prussian staff. In this interval he had advised and directed the improvement of the Turkish fortresses in Bulgaria, and the intelligence with which this had been done was very significantly acknowledged by the Russians nearly twenty years later. On his return home he published in 1841 a memoir, on the condition of Turkey, which is still an authority in matters pertaining to the "sick man's" estate.

In all this there was nothing strikingly different from the experience of other well-instructed staff officers of his time. The long peace which followed the downfall of the first Napoleon continued unbroken, and though all the great Powers kept up their immense standing armies, there was little for the ambitious staff officer to do but to perfect the administration of the peace establishment and perfect himself in the theory of his art. At forty-two Moltke was only major in the staff, though noted as an officer who was reported to have mastered and well digested everything that had been written on the art of war, ancient or modern. He had practical familiarity with and easy use of seven languages, and was a clear-headed and indefatigable student.

In person he was of medium height, slender rather than stout, but compact, vigorous, and active. He had the genius of system and the rare faculty of enforcing his own ideas of order and accuracy, without losing the character of amiability and comradeship. His talents were recognized, and for the thirteen years preceding 1859 he was for the most part the military adjutant of one of the royal princes, or chief of staff of a corps. At the last-named date he was made Chief of Staff of the Army with the rank of Lieutenant-General, and then, as he was entering his sixtieth year, his great career may be said to have begun. Yet hardly another career of modern times shows so plainly the effect of long and systematic training for the precise work he had to do. For half-a-century he had been fitting himself for this thing, and seems to have followed resolutely such a regimen of body and mind as would be likely to keep all his powers unimpaired, and preserve for him the physical strength and mental elasticity which might best realize the proverbial "old head on young shoulders." When we follow him in the Bohemian campaign of 1866 against Austria, and the French campaign of 1870–71, it requires a positive and conscious effort for us to realize that before these great events were over he was an old man of seventy.

The reorganization of the Prussian army was not the work of one man or of one generation. It began in 1813 under Stein and Scharnhorst, and has been steadily progressive. It does not appear that Moltke has made any radical changes in the system. A succession of able war ministers, ending in Gen. von Roon, had brought the organization to a high pitch of accuracy and harmony, and Moltke's pre-eminence consists in his having been the man to direct and handle the great army in actual war, with a systematic skill in strategy and a strength of grasp in the multitudinous details which should be worthy of the splendid organization itself. King William doubtless spoke from his own complete knowledge of the fact when, in the banquet after the surrender at Sedan, he toasted Gen. von Roon as the minister who had whetted the sword of Germany, and Gen. von Moltke as the arm that had wielded it.

Moltke's method of wielding it, however, was only possible by reason of his having prepared the way for it by a long course of education and discipline of the officers who were to carry out any plan of campaign. He was himself a lucid and attractive lecturer, and succeeded in inspiring the staff schools with an enthusiastic interest in their work. He systematized the knowledge efficient officers should possess, put them in the way of getting at it in every department, and taught them how to make it practically available. A constant interchange of line and staff duties kept the staff at ease in the actual discipline, drill, and handling of troops, and in the administration of the business of each corps and division. Special talents were marked and recognized wherever they appeared, but no officer was excused from responsibility for the most accurate and prompt performance of every duty pertaining to his post, whether high or low.

He made a study of the cause and cure of the common discrepancy between the nominal and actual numbers in an army. The detailing of men from the ranks for administrative duties was practically abolished. Teamsters were enlisted for that duty, and formed a corps by themselves, including a certain number of train guards. Stretcher-bearers and ambulance men were organized in the same way. So were hospital attendants and the like. The battalion must mean so many effective men under arms whenever a campaign should open, and the officers in command were held strictly responsible for the agreement between the figures and the fact. The looseness of administration in France turned out to be so great that hardly two-thirds of the nominal strength of the army could be assembled under the colors, while the German force corresponded accurately with the staff estimates, and was renewed from the depots, the reserves, and the *Landwehr* with mathematical certainty and regularity.

Nothing was left to chance, little to the invention or the inspiration of the moment. It was intended that the arms of the German soldier should be, if possible, better than those of his enemy; at least, they should be as good. It was intended that his drill, equipment, physical condition, and mental and moral forces should all be superior. It was intended that a superior number of these equally brave, equally strong, equally armed men should meet the enemy at the critical points. The means of locomotion by railway or on foot, the scientific use of these means, the capacity of trains, the endurance of men's bodies, were all calculated as the physicist calculates forces and resistances in the laboratory, and were perfected with a scientific care which should make the practical campaign in the field as certain to realize the plan as the skilful professor's experiment in public realizes the theory elaborated in his study. In all this Moltke was the professor of the art of war; the army, the staff, the telegraph, and all the tremendous military engines of modern warfare were the apparatus by which he exhibited to the world the startling demonstration of the scientific distinction of a dynasty and a great military power. He did not appear with dazzling decorations at the head of the army in the field; a plain, thoughtful man in his cabinet, out of sight of the troops and out of hearing of the guns (for the most part), manipulated the wires which carried orders as they might have carried an explosive spark to a mine or a torpedo.

In the Austrian campaign of 1866 the King and Moltke did not leave Berlin till the three converging columns, from west, from north, and from east, were nearly united in front of Sadowa, and a strategic success was practically secure. In 1870 the King and Moltke did not enter France till the victories at Wörth and on the heights of Spicheren had

been won, till the armies of Steinmetz and Prince Frederick Charles were under the walls of Metz, and the army of the Crown Prince was turning the line of the Moselle by the south. Yet here again, in a strategic point of view, the campaign was already decided; the French were put upon a passive defensive, and the blows followed each other with such relentless continuity and force that no opportunity was given for new combinations or for reorganization. The French Emperor had thought that he was ready and could seize the initiative as the first Napoleon had done. Gen. Leboeuf, his chief of staff, had assured him that all was prepared, "to the last gaiter-button;" but a single month taught him a sad lesson as to the true meaning of military preparation.

French critics have, not unnaturally, pressed the question how all this would have worked if the initial success had been on the other side. Would the German system have appeared so good if put upon the defensive? No doubt the successful initiative is more than half the battle; but the value of a system and the ability of those who direct it are shown in securing this advantage. It is for this that all the great and elaborate preparations are made. Still, we have every reason to believe that Moltke had studied the defensive as well as the offensive campaign, and was prepared for the state of things which would have existed if the French had been first to cross the Rhine. We certainly know that his army would not have found, as the French did, that they had been supplied with maps of the enemy's country only, and knew less of the topography of their own land than their opponents.

There still remains the important question how far instruction, discipline, and system may be perpetuated so that results may be secured by men of average natural abilities, and how far (now as heretofore) it is the great leader that is necessary to combine, to direct, and to command victory by his personal superiority of mind and will. This is the problem the German Empire has to solve; and, even granting that Moltke has introduced a more scientific spirit into military affairs than has ever before been known, it does not follow that his successor will be found able to make equally clear and true combinations of the great forces under his hands. Admitting that war is a collision of forces guided by fixed laws, and keeping up the analogy with the laboratory use of other forces, we must still remember that not every physicist is a Tyndall nor every chemist a Bunsen. The man counts for much in combinations of the strictest science.

In war, however, there is an element of another sort. The conditions of the problem cannot all be foreseen. There is truth in the old habit of regarding it more like a game of chess than the combination of the scientist in the laboratory. The variability of circumstances is so great that, after all has been done that scientific study of the fixed forces can do, there is still room for the master of the art to make combinations which shall disjoint and derange the purposes of his adversary in proportion to his superiority of insight and of nerve.

It looks, at first sight, as if all the subordinates in the Prussian Army had been educated in their duties to a pitch which made them independent of their chief. In the campaigns of both 1866 and 1870, the orders issued to army commanders seem very simple and brief, and nearly everything appeared to be left to their discretion. Indeed, many of the most important directions were framed as suggestions more than commands. The initiative in what proved a great battle was on several occasions taken by a corps or even a division commander, with undoubting confidence that it was sufficiently in accord with the general plan, and that the rest of the army would certainly come to the sound of the cannon. This was sometimes in very striking contrast with the rigidity often shown by officers of a regular army in limiting themselves by the letter of their orders.

On occasions when German generals were intrusted with independent movements, they have seemed to use a strategy as bold and a vigor as great as when acting with the principal column. This was notably the case in 1866, when the column under Gen. von Falckenstein, and afterwards under Gen. Manteuffel, prevented the mobilization of the Hanover troops, captured or defeated them in detail, separated the Bavarian Army from its allies, again defeated first the one and then the other, and completed the campaign with an éclat hardly inferior to that of Königgrätz itself, though upon a smaller scale.

Such facts show the high degree of proficiency in their art which is attained by the general officers of the German Army; but it forces our attention, at the same time, to the other fact that this is the result of systematic and continued education enforced in time of peace. The Austrian and the French wars only disclosed the results of many years of close application to study of their art by officers of all grades in the Prussian service, under rules which allowed none but thoroughly well-instructed men to advance to the command of a division or a corps. In the highest departments of this work Moltke had been himself the instructor, bringing into personal relations to himself and under the influence of his own lectures such men as Voigts-Rhetz, Blumenthal, Stiehle, and others, who distinguished themselves as chiefs of staff to the royal princes or as corps commanders. Such men needed only to be informed of the general plan of campaign — the details they could work out for themselves; and they were so indoctrinated with the importance of accuracy of performance of subordinate parts, as to both method and time, that they could be reckoned upon to be at the right place at the right moment, as confidently as a railway manager would reckon on the carrying out of his schedule by the conductors of the various trains.

We cannot think of Moltke without recognizing the advance in the art of war which he brought about by this introduction of the modern ideas of scientific and business exactness, based upon full knowledge of the conditions under which an army must be used, and of the principles controlling its organization and handling. This part of his work will survive him, and the good results of his system may be seen for generations to come in an abundant supply of officers in the German Army whose education in their art will compare favorably with the preparation which the great universities offer to men who devote themselves to other professions and to the sciences. Yet he was more than an organizer and instructor; he was a great strategist. His insight into the great game of war was that of a master, and his systematic calculations in the details were subordinate to his unrivalled grasp of all the varying conditions of the problem, physical, mental, and moral. It would be rash to predict who his successor may be in this the highest qualification for a great general, or how long a period must elapse before his own country or any other will look upon his like again. It is a unique testimonial to his powers that, when almost ninety years old, the whole world as well as his own countrymen looked to him to conduct a new campaign, if war should occur, without a thought as to his age, or a doubt that his action would be as vigorous as if he were but forty.

THE FIRST JAPANESE PARLIAMENT.

Tokio, March 7, 1891.

It may be said of the first session of the Japanese Parliament, speaking theologically, that it should seek a justification by faith and not by works only. The chief anxiety was not, What will it do? but, In what spirit will Parliament and Government meet in this their first encounter? The important question now is not, What work has Parliament accomplished? but rather, What was its temper and its capacity, its bearing towards the Ministry, the character of their mutual relations, and their respective positions before the nation at the end of the session?

Looking back upon the past four months, the facts that stand out are, first, the conciliatory and statesmanlike attitude of the Government; secondly, the strength of the Lower House. Three most important Government measures—the immediate enforcement of the Commercial Code, the Advocates' Bill, and the Budget—have been either crippled or rejected. but defeat has been accepted with a resignation which was quite unlooked for. The reduction of the Budget has ruined many cherished projects and seriously hampered the Administration; but fairness, temperateness, and readiness to yield their prerogative have characterized the Ministry on almost every occasion.

That the Lower House (for, except in the case of the Advocates' Bill, the Lower House has been chiefly responsible) was strong enough to inflict these blows is the other notable fact. Whatever may be said of the wisdom of some of its acts, it is clear that it has drawn its strength from the nation itself, and this the Government has not failed to recognize. The signal victories of the people's representatives have been those in which public opinion had already been clearly indicated. That the spirit, however, of the Lower House towards the Government was one of challenge, of attack, even of rancor, not of harmonious coöperation and joint endeavor, was from the beginning unmistakable. A note of suspicion and petty fault-finding ran through the speeches made and the bills offered. Perhaps it could scarcely be otherwise after the long years of repression, of exclusion from the secrets of Government, of impotence to realize political aspirations. But it was none the less regrettable. The conduct of the moderate members could not redeem the extravagant and ill-judged action of the majority. But in the end Radicalism undid itself. The session closed with the influence of the Extremists much weakened; and the next session will probably see the Moderates compact and paramount.

But, though the legislative results of the session are of secondary consequence and are of no considerable size, they merit some review. For one thing this first Parliament must be specially credited: it did not attempt to legislate hastily or voluminously. The total number of bills introduced in the Lower House was eighty-one, and not more than fifteen of these

were finally acted upon; while in the Upper House the numbers were even smaller.

At the very first of the session the postponement of the date of operation (January 1, 1891) of the new Commercial Code—adapted from the German Code—was brought up. The state of public opinion on this subject had been a disputed topic, but postponement for two years was voted in the Commons by 189 to 67, and in the Peers by not so large a majority. It was noticeable that the debate dealt very little with facts, that each one's opinion seemed to be already made up. The issue of the matter is, on the whole, satisfactory, for there is need of some further adaptation of the Code to Japanese mercantile usage. But the question is full of difficulties, and is complicated by the desire of the Government to expedite treaty revision by advertising the completion of these imported codes.

Four other important measures, two of which passed and two did not, concerned characteristic conditions of the country. The Registration Bill (passed) revised the system of *koseki*, or personal registration, an historic feature of Japanese social regulation dating back a thousand years. Every family is allotted a page in the district register. When any member of the family marries, moves, goes on a journey, changes his name, or what not, it all receives a mention in the register. Important questions of inheritance, paternity, legitimation, naturalization, and the like are thus involved in the regulation of the register. Without a parallel in our own social system, it is quite in harmony with Japanese habits; but it has too strong an influence in perpetuating the superiority of the official classes. The Weights and Measures Bill (passed) had for its object (1) the fixing of the present standards with scientific exactness; (2) the adjustment of relations of equivalence between domestic and Western standards. The favor accorded in the bill to the metric system brought forth a quantity of patriotic buncombe from some of the Conservative orators which almost equalled our insanity over British designs upon Columbia's commercial prosperity. A rectification and inspection of weights and measures is sadly needed here. One of the debaters, arguing against the bill on the ground of the widespread hardship it would cause, declared that scarcely a set of the existing weights and measures was up to the proper standard—a startling admission, and calculated, one would think, to expedite the passage of the new law.

The Advocates' Bill (not passed) dealt with the qualifications and privileges of lawyers. The Japanese bar is at present in a transition state, and the hundreds of unpractical, superficial young fellows who yearly graduate from the law schools do not help to improve it. In the old days, the suitor crawled on his knees to the judge, and the feed advocate was unknown. This has passed away; but the dignity and the rights of the bar are far from being recognized as we know them. One great merit of this law would have been its recognition of the advocate as an officer of the court. But think of briefless barristers paying license fees of two or three hundred *yen*! Think of a probationary practice of ten years before admission to the bar of the Supreme Court! It was such provisions as these (wise or not as they may be) that killed the bill.

The Poor-Relief Bill (not passed) was an attempt at partially solving one of the coming problems. The subject of charity and relief in old Japan, though little studied by foreign observers, is one of the most interesting. It was a striking example of the "back-to-back" principle put into practice. As in India, each family, each neighborhood, took care of its own poverty and distress. If a man met with distress, his relatives contributed food, his landlord remitted the rent, his neighbors made up a lottery, the *daimio* abated his taxes, until gradually good times came again. But all this is now beginning to change. Local life fades into national life. One sees in the future the family disintegrating and the individual becoming the unit of society. Modern methods must be adopted. The Germans are proposing agricultural insurance as one form of aid. My own opinion is that nothing will avail much until a greater class-amalgamation comes about and a healthy public opinion arises, to inspire and support voluntary organization for economic and charitable purposes.

The Poor-Relief Bill was the Government's. On the side of the people the remedy offered was a land-tax reduction bill, taking ½ per cent. from the 2½ per cent. tax. This tax averages 25 per cent. or 30 per cent. of the gross income, where the land-valuation is correct. But the tax is no more the cause of the agricultural distress than is the farmer's mortgage in our West the cause of his bankruptcy. The true causes lie deeper, among them being the rise in prices and in the standard of living; and investigations are now being made which will lead to surer conclusions. The Lower House passed this bill with scarcely a dissenting vote, but the Peers, receiving it at the close of the session, postponed its consideration. A bill to revise the land-valuations was also shelved for want of time. This was the only measure in which sectional opposition openly showed itself. For various historical reasons, the valuation is too high in some regions, too low in others; accordingly, the petitions for revision numbered 197, the petitions against revision, 85. The next session will see this issue a more prominent one.

Among interesting minor measures comes the appropriation of 500,000 *yen* for Japan's exhibit at the Chicago Exposition. It happened that the draughtsman of the bill had in the preamble spoken courteously of Japan's relations with the United States as closer than those with any other nation. Some cautious members of the Upper House took exception to this language, fearing that offence might be given to other nations. A spirited debate ensued. Apparently no one desired to contradict the statement or to offer any criticism upon our treatment of Japan, and the only ground of objection was the probable offence to other Powers. The words were finally struck out. Other special appropriations, showing a decided liberality to science and a regard for the reputation of the country, were the grants of 10,000 *yen* for the study of Dr. Koch's remedy, and of an extra 100,000 for hastening the official survey of Japan. In the Peers a proposition was made to change the mode of seating the members. The present system ranges the members according to the rank of each one, the rich commoners thus coming last; the proposal was to seat all by lot, the Princes of the Imperial Family excepted. Those who have said in America that Japan is democratic in its spirit will take notice that this change was rejected by a good majority, and that commoners themselves (who form nearly one-half of the body) spoke against it.

The Peace Preservation Regulations of December 25, 1887, will be well remembered in America. These came into prominence again in a peculiar way. They have always been obnoxious, especially to a certain class of politicians strongly represented in the Lower House, and it was well understood that their repeal would be among the first acts of the House. On December 22 the repealing bill was rushed through, the second and third readings being dispensed with, and the measure then went to the Peers for concurrence. But before the latter had time to act, the very *soshi* (political hoodlums) against whom the regulations were specially directed had begun again their deeds of violence. They seem to have been maintained in large numbers by various members, and were employed by them to intimidate political opponents in the House. But, though during the session some six or eight members in all were assaulted, the first person to become a victim to the *soshi* was, by a sort of poetic justice, one of the very members who had been loudest in demanding the repeal of the Regulations, Mr. Suzuki Shoji. The necessity for their continued existence and the premature character of the House's action could not have been better shown. The Government has been strangely lax in punishing these offenders, and the House itself, embracing influential employers of *sashi*, is powerless. Just as our Congressmen and Senators cannot shake off, if they would, the crowd of placemen that have lifted them into office, and must wink at practices against which they dare not protest, so here campaign necessities have surrounded the members with companies of idle and brainless youths. These have followed them from the country, and are now picketed upon them in Tokio, and the intrigues and bargains of Parliamentary life have put it more or less out of the power of the legislators to free themselves.

The Budget, which occupied two months in the Lower House, calls for little mention here. A reduction of 8,000,000 in a total expenditure of 94,000,000, was demanded, and the Government finally yielded nearly six and one-half millions. It is noticeable that the House left the military and naval estimates almost intact. Higher education suffered seriously, for the Female Normal School, the Music School, and several of the colleges have had a portion of their support withdrawn. But Japan has her problems, not dissimilar to our own, as to the length and content of the college course, and the action of Parliament has raised a discussion of the subject which cannot but do good.

People abroad probably did not realize how serious a situation the Budget caused, or how nearly the House came to precipitating a dissolution. The House approved the impossible reductions of the Budget Committee by a vote of 153 to 101; and as the majority held their own firmly on all the Budget votes, the Ministry passed many sleepless nights of indecision over the question of yielding or ordering a dissolution. The extreme Radicals were anxious to force a dissolution and throw themselves upon the country, but the more sensible members of their party were disgusted with the demagogic manœuvres of the Extremists, and seceded in large numbers to the ranks of the Moderates. In the end, Government and House met half way, and a crisis was averted. The Peers had but five days in which to dispose of the Budget; but they showed notable good sense and self-control by refraining from debate and by adopting the compromise Budget sent up from the Lower House. The House of Peers has come out of this first session with an excellent record for ability, sobriety, and legislative skill. J. H. W.

TALLEYRAND'S MEMOIRS.—IV.

PARIS, April 15, 1891.

IT is not impossible to find the philosopher in Talleyrand, as well as the writer, though he

seems to disclaim all literary merit as well as all philosophical pretensions. I read, for instance, at the beginning of his second volume, these lines: "Home life alone can replace all chimæras. But at the epoch of which I speak [1809] this home life, sweet and calm, existed but for very few people. Napoleon did not allow any one to become attached to it; he believed that people belonged to him only when they were homeless." It would be difficult to describe better a state of things, erected by despotism, which had inspired all Frenchmen with a sort of curious indifference and fatalism. Everybody felt that he was led by an all-powerful hand to an unknown destiny. The relations of Talleyrand to Napoleon had become difficult; on various occasions the Emperor publicly made "violent scenes." Talleyrand bore them with his unalterable calm. I have been told (this story is not in the Memoirs) that one day, after one of these scenes, he walked away, quietly saying, "What a pity that so great a man should have received such a bad education!"

In the month of January, 1810, Napoleon summoned an extraordinary council, composed of all the high officers of the State, and explained his intention to divorce the Empress Josephine, and consulted them as to the choice of a new Empress. There were three families from which he might take a wife—the Austrian, the Russian, the Saxon. Talleyrand, when his turn came, explained that an Austrian alliance would be the best for France. "My secret motive," he says, "was that the conservation of Austria depended upon the step which the Emperor was going to take; but it was not a suitable occasion to say so." Talleyrand was all his life a sincere partisan of Austria. He considered this empire as the corner-stone of the European equilibrium; he instinctively hated and distrusted Russia. In the circumstances, he could speak according to his most intimate convictions. The reason he gave was this: the appearance of an Austrian Princess in France would absolve France from the crime of the revolutionary faction and bring about a European reconciliation. He pronounced the word reconciliation several times, thus showing that he thought Napoleon had made wars enough and that peace was now a necessity. A few days afterwards, the Emperor asked for the hand of the Archduchess Marie Louise, and his offer was accepted. Berthier, Prince of Wagram, was sent to Vienna to marry the Archduchess by proxy, and the Emperor chose, as the lady-in-waiting of the new Empress, the widow of Marshal Lannes, the Duchess of Montebello. At the very moment when the guns of the Invalides announced the marriage to Paris, other guns were blowing up the fortifications of Vienna, according to the conditions of the last treaty imposed by Napoleon. It was by this means that Napoleon wished to associate his new union with the glory of his army. He treated his father-in-law with the greatest severity; peace was for him only a respite.

Talleyrand was well aware that Napoleon was fatiguing Europe. The Emperor had one day been so imprudent as to say that before he died his dynasty would be the oldest in Europe. He distributed to his brothers and to the husbands of his sisters the thrones which conquest or perfidy placed in his hands. Naples, Westphalia, Holland, Spain, Lucca, Sweden had become dependencies of his Empire. Talleyrand analyzes with much truth the feelings of these new sovereigns "par la grâce de Napoléon." He prophesied that they would soon escape from his tyranny as rapidly as Philip V. of Spain had escaped from the tyranny of Louis XIV. Each of these new creations was really a source of weakness for Napoleon. "Napoleon took pleasure in disquieting, humiliating, tormenting those whom he had elevated; and they, placed in a perpetual state of uneasiness and irritation, worked underhandedly against the power which had created them, and which they already considered as their principal enemy."

Talleyrand even finds fault with the special style of luxury of the new courts. "The luxury of these Napoleonic courts, we may here remark, was absurd. It was neither German nor French; it was a mixture, a sort of erudite, eclectic luxury. It had something of the Austrian gravity, something Asiatic, taken from St. Petersburg. It paraded mantles taken from the Rome of the Cæsars; but it showed very little of the old French Court, where luxury so happily concealed magnificence beneath the charms of all the arts and of taste." Talleyrand thinks that the Bonaparte family, issued from a half-barbarous island, would have seemed greater if it had adopted simple republican ways. Surely, the people remember the Emperor, not as David paints him in his famous pictures of the coronation or of the marriage, robed like a Cæsar, but as the soldier with the gray redingote, the "petit chapeau."

"I wish," says Talleyrand, "to avoid what might seem libellous, and I need not mention names in order to prove that, by their private manners, these new dynasties diminished the moral power of the Emperor Napoleon. The manners of the people, in troubled times, are often bad, but even when the populace has all sorts of vices, its morality is severe. 'Men,' says Montesquieu, 'corrupt in detail, are very honest *en gros*.' And the people who are honest in this way judge kings and queens. When their judgment is a condemnation, it is difficult for a Power, especially of recent date, not to be shaken by it."

Talleyrand is particularly severe on the attempt of Napoleon to place his brother on the throne of Spain; he sees in the Spanish war almost a sign of madness. He condemns also Napoleon's conduct towards the Pope; he enters into very minute details on the great question of the relations of France with the Papacy; but these details are not very new, and have now lost much of their interest. You will find the Bishop of Autun and the theologian in this long chapter. Talleyrand, though he was secularized, could never quite forget his clerical origin.

We come now to the eventful years which preceded the fall of the Empire and the Restoration of the Bourbons. Some passages show clearly that this part of the Memoirs was written during the Restoration and before the death of Louis XVIII. "Let him," says Talleyrand, "remember a moment all that was necessary after 1803 to pave the way for his return." The mistakes and illusions of Napoleon were one of those necessities. Talleyrand thinks that Napoleon could have remained on the throne and founded a dynasty under these conditions: "It was necessary (1) to effect the unity of Italy by transferring to her the House of Bavaria; (2) to divide Germany between the House of Austria, which would have extended itself to the mouths of the Danube, and the House of Brandenburg, which would have been enlarged; (3) to resuscitate Poland and give her to the House of Saxony." You will recognize here the great foresight of Talleyrand as well as his fear of the Russian domination in Europe. He distinctly foresaw the necessity of Italian unity, of the aggrandizement of Prussia, of a barrier against Russian ambition. "Napoleon might have done these things, and he did not do them. If he had, gratitude would have built statues to him, and his death would have been mourned by all nations." Talleyrand says that he felt a bitter grief on seeing the Emperor ruin himself. "I loved Napoleon; I was attached to his person, notwithstanding his defects. At the beginning I felt drawn towards him by the irresistible attraction of genius." He always told him the truth, but the truth had become unpalatable to the despot. He had become an object of the fears of Napoleon, and he was shadowed by Savary's police. Nevertheless, Napoleon offered him the Foreign Office in December, 1813, but Talleyrand refused it. Napoleon once said afterwards to M. de la Besnardière, when he found himself entangled in great difficulties: "Ah! if Talleyrand were here, he would draw me out of this." "He was mistaken, for I could only have done so, which I probably should have done, by accepting the conditions of the enemy; and on the same day, if he had had the slightest military success, he would have disavowed my signature." This was said during the negotiations of Châtillon, when the Allies were already in France.

When Wellington crossed the Bidassoa and entered the south of France, the Duc d'Angoulême made his appearance at Saint Jean de Luz. He excited some curiosity and was well received, but the English general did not let him ignore the fact that his Government was treating with Napoleon, and that he could do nothing for the Bourbons. The Memoirs of Talleyrand are in perfect accordance with those of Vitrolles, who boldly joined the headquarters of the Allies, and made himself the advocate of the Restoration of the Bourbons. Vitrolles had a mission from Talleyrand, and his instructions were these: "On the probable supposition of the definitive defeat of Napoleon, what would the Allies do? Would they treat with the Emperor, or would they allow France to choose freely another form of government?" Talleyrand, though he could not expect much sympathy from the Bourbons, had made up his mind that their return was the best solution for France, that it would insure peace, and that it would secure for France the best frontiers she could hope to preserve.

M. de Vitrolles fulfilled his mission with much zeal and intelligence; he saw Stadion, Metternich, the Emperor Alexander. When Alexander entered Paris, he went directly to the Hôtel St. Florentin, which was the residence of Talleyrand. In the first conversation which took place between them, the question of the government of France was immediately discussed. "How can I know," said the Emperor, "that France desires the House of Bourbon?" "By a resolution, Sire, which I will ask the Senate to pass, and of which your Majesty will immediately see the effect." "Are you sure?" "Quite sure." On the 2d of August the Senate was convoked, and in the evening, at seven o'clock, Talleyrand brought to the Emperor Alexander the memorable and unanimous address which pronounced the downfall of Napoleon and the reëstablishment of the Bourbons with constitutional guarantees. "The Emperor Alexander was stupefied, I must confess, when he saw amidst the names of the Senators who asked for the House of Bourbon the names of several men who had voted for the death of Louis XVI."

Talleyrand had invoked, in his conversation with Alexander, as he did afterwards with success at the Congress of Vienna, the principle which he baptized with the name of *légitimité*, and which has ever since preserved that name; he said to him:

"Neither you, Sire, nor the allied Powers; neither myself, to whom you attribute some influence—none of us, in short, can give a King to France. France is conquered, and by your arms; nevertheless you have not that power. An *imposed* King would be the result of an intrigue or of force; they are both insufficient. To do something durable and which can be accepted without a protest, you must act from a principle, . . . and there is but one in this case: Louis XVIII. is a principle, he is the legitimate King of France."

A provisory government had been named. Talleyrand was the President of it; the other members were the Duc de Dalberg, Count Jaucourt, the Abbé de Montesquiou, and Gen. Beurnonville.

Correspondence.

MR. HAMERTON ON "ETCHING."

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: One of your contributors blames me for having said that photogravure was etching. I have said it of a certain kind of *héliogravure*. "*Photogravure*," when the word is employed in its special sense for the Goupil process, is not etching at all; *héliogravure*, when tones are imitated without lines, is in fact a kind of aquatint, and is correctly called so by Messrs. Boussod & Valadon in their announcements. *Héliogravure* by Dujardin from pen-drawings is technically a kind of etching, but of course it would be misleading to call it "etching," without explanation, when addressing the general public. When Amand Durand used to copy the etchings of Rembrandt, Claude, Vandyke, and others, he employed photography only for the transfer of the drawing to a sensitized etching-ground. His process of biting was exactly that of an ordinary etcher. The difficulty was enhanced by the delicacy of the first sensitized ground, which he removed as soon as rebitings became possible, when he covered the plate again with an ordinary etching-ground and proceeded just as etchers do. The result is therefore *etching by division of labor*, the work being shared by an artist, a photographer, and a chemical operator for the biting. I am now told in various periodicals that to be an "etching" a plate must be drawn on the copper by the artist, and be bitten by himself. I have no objection, but can only remark that if this is to be so, the learned in art matters will have to give up calling Turner's plates "etchings," as, although the designs were drawn on the copper by him, it seems very probable, if not certain, that the biting was done for him by a professional engraver; and if not etchings, what are they?

The origin of my expression of opinion on the matter which has excited so much protest is briefly this: Mr. Pennell, in his book on 'Pen-Drawing,' tried to depreciate etching in comparison with his own art, referring to works as pen-drawings which had been so no doubt in their origin, *but which had been since transmuted into etchings by being bitten into copperplates, thereby borrowing the depth and power of the etched line*, which the real pen-line with ink on white paper cannot, in its flatness, possess. What I said was in substance this: "A fair comparison of pen-work with etching would be between pen-lines and bitten lines, not between bitten lines and bitten lines." A little anecdote about Sir John Gilbert may make this clearer still. Sir John had done a pen-drawing for the *Portfolio*, when I sent it to Amand Durand, who reproduced it as an etching. This did not please Sir John, who wanted the quality and the values of his ink lines. Amand Durand, on learning this, wrote to me and said: "I thought you wanted the pen-drawing *to be turned into an etching;* that is why I bit it in that manner, but in another reproduction I will imitate the quality of the ink lines," and he did so. In my opinion, all processes for the reproduction of pen-drawings in which the lines come as an intaglio etching or engraving, are inferior in fidelity to mechanical autotype.

One word more as to the matter of honesty. Those who blame me for imprudently revealing what is simply the truth about linear *héliogravure*, may be invited to discover a single instance (in the *Portfolio* or elsewhere) in which I have authorized by my example the practice of passing off reproductions as original work. I may add that a professional engraver of the greatest eminence once offered to bite my own plates for me to economize my time; but I thought that an artist ought to do all the work himself, even though, like some of the old masters, he was sometimes unskilful or unlucky in the chemical operations. However, a division of labor (and all this is nothing more) might be tolerated if it were always duly acknowledged.—Sincerely yours,

P. G. Hamerton.

Autun, April 15, 1891.

THE MODEL BALLOT LAW.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: In the *Nation* of the 16th of April, praising the new ballot law of New Hampshire, you call attention to what you style "a new feature" in such laws, requiring ballot-boxes with "a bell and mechanical device, for receiving, registering, and cancelling every ballot deposited therein." You say of this feature: "There is no obvious reason for the adoption of boxes of this kind, except that the owners of some patented device succeeded in inducing the Legislature to make use of it."

Will you kindly give me a chance to do an act of justice to the New Hampshire Legislature, and at the same time to explain, what is not generally understood, that the registering and cancelling ballot-box is an important part of the Massachusetts ballot system? These boxes were adopted and used in Massachusetts in 1884 (Acts 1884, chap. 299), and then and ever since have given the utmost satisfaction. The Australian-ballot law of Massachusetts was drawn with reference to these ballot-boxes. Without the existing use of these boxes, the Massachusetts ballot law would be defective. In England the ballots are numbered, and while this serves many other purposes, it also serves, in case of an election contest, to disclose how a voter has voted, and just so far impairs the secrecy of the system. The ballot-box used in this State cancels the back of the ballot as it is received, in red ink, with waving lines, and with the number of the ward and precinct, but in a uniform way so that the voter cannot be identified by his ballot. If by any chance two ballots are cast at once, only one of these is cancelled, and therefore the "stuffed" ballot is immediately detected. At the same time that the ballot is received a bell rings and one higher number is indicated on the register. At the close of the voting the number on the register is written down and certified to, the box is emptied of its ballots, relocked, and taken back to the City Hall, and this has to be done before the counting of the ballots begins. If during the counting, or at any time afterwards, any one in charge of the ballots tries to substitute any ballots for those actually cast, the fraud is easily detected, as the new ballots will not be cancelled. Without describing the details in full, I have said enough to show that we thus insure that the ballots counted are the ballots cast, which is a very important, but, unfortunately, a rare thing in this country. It is this provision which makes our recounts in Massachusetts of some real value.

The Massachusetts bill has been copied by some States without the knowledge, apparently, that we had a ballot-box law, and without making any provisions for otherwise accomplishing what our ballot-boxes do. Mr. George F. Page of Concord, N. H., Chairman of the Special Committee on Ballot Law of the New Hampshire Legislature, came to Massachusetts, and made a thorough study of our system. He consulted with the officers of the Ballot-Act League, with the Secretary of the Commonwealth, and some of our leading city clerks. He was persuaded that the registering and cancelling ballot-box was a very valuable feature of our Massachusetts law, and the New Hampshire bill, as reported and now enacted, by containing that and certain other features of the Massachusetts system not specified in the Massachusetts act of 1888, and by containing also a few changes recommended by friends of the Australian system of Massachusetts, seems to many of us to be the best model for States wishing to have all the election-law advantages we possess in Massachusetts.—Yours truly,

Richard H. Dana.

THE LANGUAGE TEST FOR IMMIGRANTS.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: The article in the *Nation* for April 16, entitled the "The Proper Sieve for Immigrants," proposing a language test for those who would become inhabitants of this country, calls to mind a series of very interesting investigations which were made by the writer, a few years ago, in an attempt to find out precisely from what nationalities the dangers resulting from alien ideas and training were most to be feared. The inquiry was made in the State of Minnesota, which by reason of the large percentage, as well as the diversity, of its foreign population, presented an unusually good opportunity for this kind of research. The result showed that in all the public institutions of the State, including both penal and charitable institutions, the percentage of inmates was very much smaller, in the case of every foreign nationality, according to their ratio of the whole population, than for the natives themselves—except the only two English-speaking peoples that come to our shores. These, *i. e.*, the Irish and the English (including Scotch), alone exceeded their quota; the former furnishing more than three times their proper quota according to the population. And yet these would have been those who could most easily have passed the test which your editorial proposes. It can be shown, not only from these, but from many other sources, that the dangers to which our national and social life is exposed, come to us much more from English-speaking than from any other peoples.

Sincerely yours, A. A. Berle.

Cambridge, Mass., April 22, 1891.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Your plan of making a knowledge of English a requisite for admission to our country would be an injustice to a large class of desirable immigrants. Nearly all Swedes and Norwegians cannot speak it when they first

come, but learn it in a surprisingly short time. The same is true to a less extent with the Germans. These people, at least in the West, quickly assimilate American ideas, and become our steadiest and most useful citizens.

E. C. SPENCER.

ST. PAUL, April 21, 1891.

THE THEATRE AT MEGALOPOLIS.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The excavations at Megalopolis, begun by the British School at Athens in 1890, have aroused great interest among scholars. These excavations disclose a well-preserved Greek theatre. Mr. Ernest Gardner announced with confidence in the London *Athenæum* for August 2, 1890, that he and his colleagues had here discovered a Greek stage dating from the fourth century B. C. An official report on this theatre, accompanied by two plans, and signed by Mr. Gardner, Mr. W. Loring, and others, is made in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* for October, 1890. According to this report, the Greek stage was 5′ 10″ high and 18′ 2″ broad. It was mounted by means of a flight of six steps, three of which remain, that ran along its entire front and sides. In the wall at the rear of the stage are three doorways which led into a stoa that lay behind. This Greek stage, according to the ground-plan given, was about 105 feet long. About 20 feet in front of it is a low wall which supported the columned front of a *Roman* stage. Five of the columns, or parts of them, are still in position.

In the *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift* for April 4, 1890, Dr. Dörpfeld, the distinguished First Secretary of the German Archæological Institute at Athens, denies the soundness of these conclusions of the English archæologists. Half-a-dozen years ago Dr. Dörpfeld advanced, mainly on the ground of architectural considerations, the view that no stage existed in the Greek theatre, but that in the time of the great dramatists the actors and the chorus stood on the common level of the orchestra. What Vitruvius mistook for the front wall of a stage ten or twelve feet high (technically called the *proscenium*) was not that at all, but the wall on which the scenery was suspended. The actors stood in front of this, not on it. In the early times it was a temporary structure of wood; later, in Roman times, it was built of stone. This view, I may add, is strongly supported by the literary evidence furnished by the extant dramas, especially by the comedies of Aristophanes. The report in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* says that the discoveries at Megalopolis are fatal to Dr. Dörpfeld's view. "For our stage is proved to be 'Greek' at once by its structure, by its position, and by the existence of a separate Roman stage." The *Classical Review* for March, 1891, in an equally confident tone, states that the excavations at Megalopolis have conclusively proved the existence of a Greek stage, in addition to the Roman stage, "and therefore Dr. Dörpfeld's theory will not hold."

Dr. Dörpfeld, whose modesty and fairness are surpassed only by his skill in dealing with difficult architectural problems, believes and acts on the belief that anybody who digs a hole in Greek lands has the first right to tell what he finds in it. He has waited, therefore, until the present time before announcing his own view of what actually has been unearthed at Megalopolis. Briefly stated, this is as follows: First, what the English archæologists suppose to have been a Greek "stage" was the main theatre-building, entered by a flight of *three* steps. Its front wall was thirty metres distant from the middle seat of the front row of seats in the auditorium. This is about the position of the corresponding wall (*scænæ frons*) in the great theatre at Athens. The three doors in the *rear* wall of the theatre-building led to the stoa behind. Their sills lie 5′ 10″ above the orchestra, because the level of the stoa was to just that extent higher than the level of the orchestra. Secondly, what the English archæologists suppose to have been a Roman stage (but with some misgivings, since "it does not conform in every respect to the Roman *type*") was the *proscenium*. It is precisely of the type of those found at Athens, Piræus, Oropus, Thespiæ, Epidaurus, and Assos. Five of the columns, or parts of them, are yet *in situ*. This stone structure dates from the Roman times. It took the place, as in other theatres, of an earlier temporary wooden structure. The actors stood in front of this on the floor of the orchestra. Dr. Dörpfeld regards the ruins of the theatre at Megalopolis as the best evidence yet produced by excavation of the truth of his theory.

Three considerations may be added. First, the dimensions of the ruins at Megalopolis which the English archæologists suppose to have been a stage, but Dr. Dörpfeld the theatre-building, agree closely in respect to length and breadth with what it is agreed was the main theatre-building at Epidaurus. Secondly, the English archæologists have made no provision whatever in their disposition of the ruins for such a theatre-building, where the machinery would be stored and the actors would dress and change their masks—a grave omission. Finally, in explanation of the three (not six) steps, traces of which have not been found elsewhere, we may reasonably suppose that the top of this flight of steps marked *the level of the floor of the main building*. Three additional steps resting on this floor at the rear of the building would be necessary for attaining through the doors in the rear wall the level of the stoa which lay behind. The steps, then, are accounted for by the peculiar situation of the main building between two levels.

JOHN WILLIAMS WHITE.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS., April 18, 1891.

Notes.

MACMILLAN & Co. will publish directly a 'Short History of Greek Philosophy,' for students and general readers, by Dr. John Marshall, rector of the Royal High School, Edinburgh, and 'Khaled, an Eastern Tale,' by F. Marion Crawford.

D. Appleton & Co. announce for early publication 'We All,' by Octave Thanet, with many illustrations, a new book in the series of "Good Books for Young Readers"; 'Tourmalin's Time Cheques,' a new story by F. Anstey; 'The Maid of Honor,' by the Hon. Lewis Wingfield; 'From Sunshine to Shadow,' a novel by the Marquis of Lorne; 'Consequences,' a novel, by Egerton Castle; Baldwin's 'Applied Psychology and Art of Teaching'; Herbart's 'Psychology'; 'A Descriptive Guide-Book to Canada,' including full accounts of the opportunities for sportsmen and tourists, by Charles G. D. Roberts; and 'North America,' volume xv. of Reclus's "The Earth and Its Inhabitants."

W. H. Lowdermilk & Co., Washington, have in press 'Scatalogic Rites of all Nations,' by Capt. John G. Bourke, Third Cavalry, U. S. A.

A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, announce a two-volume novel, 'Monk and Knight,' by the Rev. F. W. Gunsaulus.

The Dunlap Society expects to issue this year a supplementary volume of Mr. William Winter's 'Brief Chronicles,' which will include an essay on the late Lawrence Barrett. Mr. William L. Keese is also preparing for the Society a memoir of the 'Private Life of William E. Burton,' to contain many interesting letters. Both of these, and a third volume not yet announced, will be illustrated. Mr. William Carey has succeeded Mr. Brander Matthews as Secretary, and his address is No. 33 East Seventeenth Street, New York.

Aristotle's newly discovered work on the 'Constitution of Athens' has been translated into German by Georg Kaibel and Adolf Kiessling, professors in the University of Strassburg, and is to be published by K. J. Trübner of that city.

A most useful and compendious work, the 'History of England from the Conclusion of the Great War in 1815 [to 1861],' by Spencer Walpole, which originally appeared in three volumes in 1879, has now been reproduced in six, well-printed and neatly bound, and offered at a moderate price (Longmans). The author has revised it, and to some extent rearranged or recast it, so that this popular edition is also the most desirable for the student. There is an index of more than eighty pages.

We made mention the other day of a new edition of Darwin's 'Coral Reefs.' D. Appleton & Co. have just published a new (third and authorized) edition of the same naturalist's 'Geological Observations on the Volcanic Islands and Parts of South America Visited during the Voyage of H. M. S. *Beagle*.' The original merit of this work has been but little affected by time, while the general reader is to-day undoubtedly better fitted to understand and enjoy the 'Observations' than when they were first given to the public. No one engaged in teaching physical geography should be without a knowledge of this characteristic product of Darwin's mind.

The Government is doing a good thing in issuing works that have their particular value for specialists and at the same time are adapted to the needs of students in general. The Geology of Cape Ann, by Prof. N. S. Shaler, is one of several that make excellent handbooks for local studies. The region traversed is popular as a seaside resort, and its study offers double attraction to individuals or classes in opportunities for combining pleasure and research during a vacation. The book, with its numerous beautiful illustrations of the scenic and other geological features, and its maps and charts, forms a splendid guide as well as text-book. The Professor gives liberal credit to his assistant, Mr. Ralph S. Tarr. A novel feature is introduced in the structure of the diagrammatic tabulations of dips of dikes, strikes of dikes, joint planes, and of the distribution of joint planes. The paper is issued as an extra from pages 529 to 611 of the ninth Annual Report of the Director of the United States Geological Survey.

Landor's 'Citation and Examination of William Shakspeare,' as it was one of the most daring, was also in some respects one of the happiest, of his conversations in imagination, though we confess to finding it prolix even for a volume of leisure. It must be acknowledged, also, that one cannot believe for a moment in his youthful Shakspere; but the other characters are sufficiently drawn, and serve as mouthpiece and target for the rambling Elizabethan talk which is often at Landor's best. The reissue of the work by Dodd, Mead & Co., with a few unnecessary words of introduction by Hamilton Wright Mabie, is very prettily illustrated and bound, and makes a handy edition of this curious classic. It should perhaps be

added that the conversation between Spenser and Essex, after the former's misfortune in Ireland, which is represented as coming from the same papers as the 'Citation,' concludes the volume.

M. Henri Bouchot has followed his little treatise on bookplates by another on 'Les Livres Modernes qu'il convient d'acquérir' (Paris: Rouveyre; New York: F. W. Christern). It is a careful consideration by an expert of the best editions, and more particularly of the most elaborately illustrated *éditions de luxe*, which have been published in Paris within the past twenty and thirty years. M. Bouchot being an expert in the exact sense of the word—he is officially connected with the National Library—and having a fine taste of his own, is not easy to please, and some of the most sumptuous productions of Parisian publishers of late years fail to find favor in his eyes. But he is not arbitrary, and he gives excellent reasons for his likes and dislikes. His booklet, therefore, is one which can be read to advantage by both booklovers and bookmakers in this country. It is amusing to witness his horror of the extra-illustrated book, grangerized by the insertion of heterogeneous plates of all sizes.

D. C. Heath & Co. have added to their Modern Language Series the charming Corsican tale of Prosper Mérimée's, 'Colomba,' annotated by Prof. J. A. Fontaine of the University of Mississippi.

Mrs. C. Goodyear's 'Message to China Decorators' (Society of Decorative Work, New York), and M. F. Hayes's 'Common Sense in China Painting' (Westfield, N. Y.), show outwardly the contrast of their respective contents. Mrs. Goodyear dwells on the design, on the art, while her sister author describes with great minuteness the technical process, leaving the fewest possible questions to be asked by the beginner without a teacher, but having no advice to give about training and proficiency in draughtsmanship. On this point Mrs. Goodyear's doctrine is sound, as such technical instruction as she vouchsafes is profitable to observe; but her message might better have been conveyed in the simple book form of 'China Painting,' instead of being printed as an awkward roll, however elegantly got up. Both manuals may well be procured by the tyro.

The Society for Political Education has published, through G. P. Putnam's Sons, a very useful 'Reader's Guide in Economic, Social, and Political Science.' It contains a classified bibliography, American, English, French, and German, with proposed courses of reading, and with the courses in this department at the principal colleges. Brief descriptive rather than critical notes are added under some of the titles. It contains 170 pages.

The pamphlet Bulletin issued at Albany from the State Library, entitled "Legislation No. 1, February, 1891," is the beginning of an enterprise of singular political utility. What is attempted by Librarians Dewey and Shaw is a "comparative summary and index of State legislation in 1890"—and regularly hereafter if their labor meets with approval. Under twenty-four heads one is directed to the statutes of seventeen States and one Territory regarding public morals, religion, finance, military, insurance, agriculture, public health and safety, etc.; while an index gives the key to particulars, such as Australian ballot, women, ten-hour day, sleeping-cars, minors, Paris green, overhead wires, fire companies, bounties, etc., etc. It is superfluous to expatiate on the advantage of such a conspectus of the annual legislative movement, so to speak. It is a distinct contribution to sane law-making, and to the unification of the several States by promoting the adoption of improved ideas and principles. The compilers deserve the gratitude of all, and their Bulletin should be supplied freely to the members of every Legislature in the country. Students of comparative legislation cannot afford to dispense with it.

A fine publication is begun, under the auspices of the Hemenway Southwestern Archæological Expedition and the editorship of Dr. J. Walter Fewkes, viz., a *Journal of American Ethnology and Archæology* (vol. i., Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.). The editor contributes two papers, both illustrated, on "A Few Summer Ceremonials at Zuñi Pueblo," and "Reconnoissance of Ruins in or near the Zuñi Reservation," while Mr. Benjamin Ives Gilman discourses on "Zuñi Melodies," of which he furnishes nine examples in musical notation. The novelty here consists in the fact that Mr. Gilman took down these melodies from Dr. Fewkes's phonographic cylinders. The defects of this invaluable record of the human voice are pointed out by Mr. Gilman, who can still say: "A collection of phonographic cylinders like that obtained by Dr. Fewkes forms a permanent museum of primitive music of which the specimens are comparable, in fidelity of reproduction and convenience for study, to casts or photographs of sculpture or painting." And Dr. Fewkes himself says: "I was able, for the first time, I believe, to illustrate lantern views of a sacred dance with an audible reproduction by the phonograph of the song which was sung when the ceremony was taking place." The whole volume is replete with interest.

The April Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society opens with Mr. E. G. Ravenstein's paper on the recent expedition of the British East African Company to Uganda. It accomplished little from a political or geographical point of view, but, on the side of natural history, Mr. Bowdler Sharpe of the British Museum, referring to the collection of birds made by it, says that an examination of them shows "that we must entirely revise all our ideas as to the zoo-geographical regions of Africa." In the discussion of the paper by the Society, Sir T. F. Buxton commented very severely on the treatment of the natives by Count Teleki and Dr. Carl Peters. Of the latter he says: "Of course, it is hard to fathom anybody's motives, but inasmuch as Dr. Peters travelled deliberately through a territory at the time acknowledged to be within the British sphere, and apparently did all he could to excite hostility against any other white traveller, it opens the question whether such an inevitable result was accidental." Next follows an account of a Russian expedition for the exploration of the Tian Shan oases of Central Asia. It claims to have discovered a mountain group, approximating 20,000 feet in height, hitherto unvisited and even unseen by any modern traveller.

The most valuable feature of the *Scottish Geographical Magazine* for April is a map of Africa so colored as to show the comparative values to the civilized world of African lands, by the editor, Mr. A. Silva White. Three sets of colors are used: four gradations of blue to designate areas of highest resistance against European influence; five of reddish-brown to show the areas of highest value; and two of yellow to show the intermediate or transitional areas. The main factors for determining these values were climate, natural communications, resources, foreign trade and political conditions. The other articles are by the Rev. James Stewart on Southern Africa, in which he warmly advocates confederation; and an account of recent explorations in British East Africa. In the geographical notes attention is called to the fact that in Kamtchatka there are now twenty-one active volcanoes, while in 1850 only twelve were known to exist.

Lord Randolph Churchill is about to visit Mashonaland for the purpose of seeing for himself whether it is fitted for British emigration on a large scale. His letters are to be published in the London *Daily Graphic*, with illustrations by Capt. Giles, R.A., the commander of the expedition.

The report of Col. Paiva de Andrada to the Portuguese Ministry in regard to his arrest by an officer of the British South Africa Company has been translated and published under the title 'Manica' (London: G. Philip & Son), accompanied by a map of the region in dispute. This is a small plateau, about thirty miles square, situated one hundred and fifty miles south of the Zambesi, and about the same distance from the Indian Ocean. Its value consists in the gold reefs which have been discovered within the past two years. One district, the report says, "has been declared by all prospectors to be unrivalled in the abundance and quality of its auriferous deposits; neither California, nor Australia, nor any other quarter of the world presenting anything like it." The mining rights are claimed by the Mozambique Company in virtue of a concession by the Portuguese Government. As a representative of this company, Col. de Andrada was endeavoring to obtain a confirmation from the King of Manica of the original verbal treaty by which the sovereignty of Portugal was acknowledged some twenty years before, when he was arrested and carried to Cape Town. This action was taken on the ground that the King, Umtasa, had concluded a treaty with the British Company in September, 1890, and had desired protection from the Portuguese. The report does not deny this, but claims that the King had no right to make such a treaty, being a Portuguese subject; that he was intoxicated when he made it, and that no armed force was used or was present to be used. In essential particulars Col. de Andrada's account of the transactions does not differ from that of the *Times* correspondent. It should be added that in the provisional agreement of August 20, 1890, between Great Britain and Portugal, which was rejected by the Cortes, this plateau was distinctly given to the latter country.

We deeply regret to record the death on Friday last of Mr. F. W. Christern, one of the oldest foreign booksellers in this city, and one of the most genial and most respected. For a few years he resided in Philadelphia, but for more than thirty his bookstore, with several removals, has been a familiar resort for all New Yorkers who take an interest in Continental literature. Mr. Christern's obligingness was inexhaustible, and the *Nation* has been indebted to him for unfailing good will and many favors.

—With reference to *esprit d'escalier*, "H. H. F." writes to us:

"It may not greatly help your correspondent, but I can inform him where I met the phrase in question over forty years ago. It is in 'The Tour of a German Prince,' that pleasant, gossipy, attractive book by a man of highly unsavory posthumous reputation. I think, for I have not seen the book since that distant first reading, that the writer, Prince Fückler-Muskau, either mentions the author of this phrase or claims the authorship for himself. At any rate, I remember merely that the phrase is there, and that its definition is almost exactly that which you cite from the 'Konversations-Lexicon.'"

—The May *Harper's* offers an unusual number of attractive articles by which the ordinary reader may be agreeably instructed, but the most remarkable is Archdeacon Farrar's paper upon the Salvation Army. He undertakes, he says, neither to defend nor to condemn, but to state what this remarkable revival has counted for in the life of the unreligious masses in England; but he is plainly convinced that the facts themselves are large enough to make either defence or condemnation futile. The important and striking position taken by the Archdeacon is the frank admission that the Christianity of the English Church is a thing unintelligible to the poorer classes, its ritual and services powerless to attract them, and the whole institution utterly removed from their needs and lives. It would appear from his statement of the case that Christianity, as it is embodied in the English Church, is as foreign to these people as Buddhism. It simply has no contact with them. Opposite to this failure on the one side he sets the work of regeneration actually accomplished by Gen. Booth and his associates and disciples in rousing a religious emotion and active faith in these same masses. Vulgar in expression and military in its organization, though it be, the Salvation Army has, he quotes Bishop Lightfoot as saying, "recalled to us a lost secret of Christianity," and he intimates at least that the music, the banners, and the shouting are merely another kind of ritual, pleasing to persons whose æsthetic taste is not developed to the point of appreciating a more refined, venerable, and ancient processionalism. In a word, the results are so great that the methods are lost in them, and the exhibition is one well calculated to set English churchmen to thinking about the old methods. Of the remaining papers we can direct attention only to Bishop Walden's estimate of Argentine institutions, which is far more favorable than Theodore Child's late article, and to Mr. Conway's researches upon the subject of Washington's English ancestry; and we barely mention the interesting attempt of Mr. Lawrence to rebuild Roman London in fancy, and to describe its merchant life, and the very delightful Warwickshire views with which the number opens.

—It is not impossible that the new *International Journal of Ethics* (the third number of which lies before us) will mark a new stage in the gradual task of elevating the world's standards of ethical conduct. There is so much ferment at present in men's minds in regard to various questions upon which ethics have a bearing; there is such widespread dissatisfaction with the perpetuation by religion of outgrown ethical codes and the quieting of conscience by stifling rational thought; there is such a quickening of the feeling of our inability to endure the sufferings of the lowest classes (the reading of Edward Bellamy's book, Prof. Gizycki says, has made an epoch in the lives of many thousands)—that a medium for the application of scientific methods of thinking to pressing questions of belief and practice cannot fail to be of great importance. The present number of the *Journal* shows a marked advance, in the importance of its contributions, over the other two. It would be hard to bring together four articles of greater weight than the four with which it opens. Leslie Stephen upholds the English school of political economy and opposes socialism and absolute equality, in the interest of what may be formulated as *no inequality without sufficient reason*, as the ideal of a future rational Utopia. Prof. Toy discusses "The Religious Element in Ethical Codes," and reaches the conclusion that it has been, on the whole, of somewhat equal good and evil influence. Prof. William James writes, with the brilliancy and the moving quality to which the readers of his 'Psychology' are accustomed, on "The Moral Philosopher and the Moral Life." Prof. Gizycki's article, "The Right Final Aim of Life," shows a less substantial logical structure, but it starts discussion upon a subject to which there will doubtless be frequent occasion for returning. Miss Collet reminds her readers of the value of the old-fashioned moral tale in awakening the moral life in children, and says, what every parent will notice who tries the experiment, that children are intensely interested in discussions of conduct, and that it is only insincerity and namby-pambyism that they reject with unerring scorn.

—Dr. Otto Braun, who, for nearly thirty years, has been editor-in-chief of the Munich (formerly Augsburg) *Allgemeine Zeitung*, resigned this position on April 1. His retirement was due, not to any change in the political character of the paper or in the general principles on which it has been hitherto conducted, but solely to the fact that advancing age, attended by an affection of the eyes, rendered it increasingly difficult for him to discharge the arduous duties of his office. As a native of the rigidly conservative and feudalistic Hesse-Cassel, a young man of intelligence and independent spirit like Braun could hardly help beginning his political career as a Revolutionist. He was an associate and intimate friend of Carl Schurz, and, like him, was obliged to flee his country after the suppression of the revolutionary movement of 1848. He spent some time in Paris and then went to Spain, where he devoted himself to the study of Spanish literature, in which he is a recognized authority. The excellence of his numerous translations of Spanish poetry is universally conceded by his countrymen. On completing the twenty-fifth year of his editorship of the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, he received the honorary degree of doctor of philosophy from the University of Munich in recognition of his services to literature and science as a high-toned journalist. On the occasion of his retirement, a magnificent album, containing the photographs of the principal contributors to the paper, was presented to him. This collection includes the majority of the most distinguished scientists and men of letters in Germany, each of whom has written an original sentiment or poem on the back of his photograph. Dr. Braun is a person of fine taste and eminent discretion; he is an acute observer and has had an unusually wide experience, and his memoirs, if he would devote his leisure to the task of writing them, would be a valuable contribution to the history of the last half century. His editorial successors are Hugo Jacobi as editor-in-chief and Dr. Alfred Dove, a pupil of Ranke and professor in the University of Bonn, as editor of the *Beilage*.

—We may add that the place which the *Allgemeine Zeitung* holds among daily newspapers is quite unique. It was founded nearly a century ago by Baron von Cotta, by the advice of Schiller, who intended to edit it, but was prevented from doing so by ill-health. Although planned as early as 1793, circumstances did not favor its immediate publication. The first number was issued at Tübingen in 1798, under the editorship of the historian E. L. Posselt. In the same year it was transferred to Stuttgart, thence in 1803 to Ulm, and in 1816 to Augsburg, and finally, about ten years ago, to Munich. A peculiar feature of the journal is the *Beilage*, or literary supplement, which appears with the evening edition every day except Sundays, and contains elaborate articles on artistic, belletristic, philosophical, and scientific subjects, and thorough reviews of books, such as are commonly found only in weekly or monthly periodicals. It was in this *Beilage* that Döllinger assailed the decisions of the Vatican Council and exposed the historical and dogmatical untenableness of its decrees. Indeed, the last period in his intellectual development as a theologian, marked by his rupture with the Romish See on account of its Ultramontane tendencies, dates from his first connection with this sheet as a regular contributor in 1861. In short, it has always been the promoter of liberal intellectual movements in Germany, and the favorite organ of scholars for the popularization of their researches and the promulgation of their ideas from the time of Goethe to the present day. That it has suffered much tribulation from censorships during its long career hardly needs to be stated, and in several crises it required all the tact and energy and influence of Cotta to save it from suppression.

—"None of the larger London picture shows," writes a correspondent, "will attain a higher average than that reached in the annual exhibition of the New English Art Club, opened on the 13th of April. This club has been in existence nearly six years, but though at the start Mr. Sargent and Mr. Parsons were almost the only artists of made reputation who belonged to it, its influence is already marked; and though it has in its short career seen vicissitudes, its latest exhibition is really its best. In the beginning it was made up of three distinct groups among the younger and more brilliant British artists—the Cornwall men, the Scotchmen, and the handful of Londoners who accept Impressionism as their creed and Whistler as their master. Last year quarrels led to the desertion of the Cornish clique, success elsewhere kept the Scotch painters from contributing their most important work to its show, and it seemed as if the days of the Club's greatest artistic prosperity were at an end. To make matters worse, a too large and very badly lighted gallery was engaged, and to fill it far too many pictures were hung. Hitherto it had been one of the great charms of the Club's exhibitions that merit rather than number was the chief standard of the Hanging Committee. This spring there has been a return in the right direction. The show is given in the very small Dudley Gallery in Piccadilly, and only about a hundred canvases are included, no exhibitor being allowed to contribute more than two. Thus, it has not been necessary to accept anything and everything just to cover the walls, while the pictures can all be seen comfortably and pleasantly in an afternoon's visit. Many men one looks for here are unfortunately absent. There is nothing by Mr. Whistler, Mr. Sargent, Mr. Alexander Harrison, Mr. Parsons, or Mr. Stott of Oldham. The Newlynites have not come back to the fold; several of the leading Scotchmen do not exhibit. But then, on the other hand, almost every picture, with the exception of a small outbreak of sham Manets, has been painted because the painter had something to say for himself and wanted to say it in his own way. For that which makes the work of most of the exhibitors interesting, even when one cannot honestly like or commend it, is the desire always manifested in it to solve some new artistic problem. There is among them no slavery to hide-bound tradi-

tions and conventions. To Royal Academicians and the average British artist, they stand in very much the same relations as the Frenchmen who exhibit in the Champ de Mars hold to those who remain faithful to the Champs Élysées. The most noteworthy work has been contributed by Mr. P. Wilson Steer, who very sensibly has ceased to be the mere reflection of Monet he at one time tried to make himself, Mr. Walter Sickert, Mr. Sidney Starr, and Mr. Paul Maitland, all of whom call themselves Impressionists. Their names as yet are little known in England, hardly at all in America; but if they continue to do work as good as that which they exhibit this year and to make such worthy artistic experiments, they must in the end command the respect of the public, now rather inclined to ridicule them, as they have already aroused the interest of all artists, even of those who differ from them entirely in theory and method."

FREEMAN CLARKE.

James Freeman Clarke: Autobiography, Diary, and Correspondence. Edited by Edward Everett Hale. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1891.

We have here a book which hardly keeps the promise of its title-page in some particulars and does more than that in others. The "Diary and Correspondence" are much less in quantity than the editing. Dr. Clarke was not a diarist in the manner which gives diaries their principal if sometimes questionable value to the reading world. He does not pour out his soul, nor does he indulge in lively and satirical characterizations of his acquaintances and friends. His diary, at least as given, is but a meagre and extremely partial record of things done or planned. It reflects the writer's busy, crowded life. If there was more than this at hand, it has been repressed by the spirit of delicate reserve, the distaste for intimate disclosures, which is a characteristic aspect of the book. It is evident from the fragment of autobiography and from the known habit of Dr. Clarke's conversation—full of personal incident and recollection—that if he had attempted a diary dealing frankly and freely with persons and events, it would not have needed any spice of malice, which he had not to give, to make it of engrossing interest. But he was too intent upon the task work of his ministry, and too earnest in his public spirit and reformatory zeal, for such delightful play.

The correspondence, also, has a disappointing character, but only from its slightness relatively to the whole book. Dr. Clarke's letters and parts of letters are only eighty-nine all told, and they are generally so good we wish them more, and wonder why they are not. They admit us much more than does the diary to the writer's bright and happy and affectionate disposition. He was a devout astronomer, by inheritance from his father, who could do almost anything but make a living, and in 1859 he went to Illinois to see a total eclipse of the sun. The letter describing the event is remarkably impressive. His deep interest in astronomy, showing itself here and in his little manual, 'How to Find the Stars,' with the lantern he invented for the student's help, was a delightful manifestation of his versatile intelligence. Some of the earliest letters are among the most interesting, for they are written to Emerson, and we have the replies. Clarke was then (1838) preaching in Louisville, Ky., and George Keats, a brother of John, was his chief companion. Clarke was editing the *Western Messenger*, and Emerson sent him for it "The Humble Bee," "The Rhodora," and "Good bye, proud world." There are also early letters to Margaret Fuller and Wm. Henry Channing, and in these, with the Emerson letters, we feel the pulse of the Transcendentalist Movement beating strong.

The "Autobiography" is a fragment eighty pages long. Of its six chapters, the second and third, which for the most part appeared in the March *Atlantic*, received, in our notes upon the March magazines, their rightful meed of praise. They are not more delightful than the other parts, and the whole fills us with sorrow that Dr. Clarke did not sooner take his task in hand. The fragment was written in 1883, and, effortless as it appears, the weary pen was laid aside when all the best remained to tell. The chapter on his Cambridge studies, which was not included in the *Atlantic* extracts, deals with the Harvard of 1825–29 with extreme severity. It appealed to emulation, not to curiosity; to the love of rank, not to the love of knowledge. A solitary exception is made in favor of Prof. Farrar's teaching in physics. Clarke's three years in the Divinity School have no memorial from his own hand. The concluding chapters, on his Kentucky ministry, are equally interesting and instructive; the latter as exhibiting the relations of the public mind to slavery in the third decade of the century. The pro-slavery sentiment was much less "vigorous and rigorous," the anti-slavery sentiment much more widespread, and its speech much freer, than at a later day.

No other aspect of Dr. Clarke's life is set forth with so much clearness, force, and justice as his anti-slavery activity, thanks to his friend and classmate Samuel May, who furnishes in chapter xiii. a monograph of nearly forty pages on his anti-slavery attitude and work. The personal matter has, as was proper, a succinct historical setting. The comparatively full account of Clarke's Kentucky writing and speaking is highly creditable to his conscience and his courage, and is, at the same time, significant of a public mood more tractable than is generally remembered now, and soon to be succeeded by another which, had he come in contact with it, would have proved his soul much more effectually. That he would have been equal to the trial we cannot doubt, though it had meant, as for Lovejoy, the spoiling of his goods, and martyrdom. He was never wanting in moral or in physical courage. For the last, witness his going to the top of Salisbury spire, the last thirty feet on the outside by means of iron staples, and standing beside the vane four hundred feet in air, a story to which the vivid imagination of Mr. Hale has added nothing. Dr. Clarke was never formally an abolitionist, but was in as sympathetic relations with the anti-slavery societies as any one not with them altogether. It will be refreshing to the Unitarian mind to read that in 1845 he was one of 173 Unitarian ministers signing a vigorous protest against slavery as inhuman and unChristian. This must have been a large majority of all the ministers of the body. The writing of the protest fell to Dr. Clarke. Mr. May follows his anti-slavery spirit through the war and all its subsequent manifestations. He says—and coming from him, one of the last surviving of Garrison's first lieutenants, it is praise from Sir Hubert Stanley—"Few men, except the most devoted members of the Anti-Slavery Society, gave more time, thought, and labor to the overthrow of slavery than Mr. Clarke did."

There are still fourteen chapters unaccounted for, and the bulk of these is evidently from the editorial hand, the fusion of it with the diary and letters being less complete than an ideal standard would demand. What Mr. Hale has written is extremely sympathetic; perhaps too eulogistic for the best effect; a little honest difference here and there would have been reassuring. Where it is so difficult to find a fault, the wise biographer will imagine a possible one to save himself from that monotony of praise which, if it does not breed suspicion, makes the reader tired of hearing Aristides called the Just. There is little in Mr. Hale's chapters that is characteristically his, little of the concrete realism of his habitual manner; but, instead, much happy generalization. There is much discontinuity in the arrangement—sometimes between two sentences, as between two acts at the play, a dozen years are supposed to have elapsed; and there are omissions of surprising laxity. For example, the index gives but one reference to Dr. Clarke's 'Ten Great Religions' when there should have been three, but the mention in the text in every case is purely incidental. Yet here was a book which, without being very scholarly or thorough for the time when it was written, and while maintaining a central thesis of quite doubtful validity, has done more than any other to increase the popular appreciation of the non-Christian religions and rebuke the arrogance of Christian pride; to say "than all others" would hardly be too much. Another singular omission is that of any proper mention of Dr. Clarke's poetic faculty. It is implied in several poems given in full, the book ending with the last and most beautiful he ever wrote (April 4, 1888, his birthday, a few weeks before his death); but there is no mention of his many noble hymns, nor of his translations in 'Exotics,' seventy-four out of the ninety, showing a gift of quite remarkable genius in this kind.

Another omission is that of any circumstance pertaining to the establishment of Dr. Clarke's society in the "Indiana Place Chapel." Suddenly we find the Society there, and chapel and service are very prettily described by Dr. Holmes in his character of Professor at the Breakfast Table. On the 26th of January, 1845, Mr. Clarke exchanged with Theodore Parker, and the day is set down in his diary as "Black Sunday," which argues that the secession straightway of fifteen parishioners did not take him by surprise. The page given to this matter is but scant for its importance, and with Dr. Clarke's direct political activity we are made acquainted even less liberally. There is no mention of his vigorous opposition to Butler's pretensions in Massachusetts politics, except a casual one, by Mr. Higginson (in an excellent account of his relation to the agitation for the political rights of women), of Dr. Clarke's happy phrase, in the Republican Convention, "A bolt is always in order." The suspicion can hardly be escaped that Mr. Hale's easy-going optimism has made him somewhat inappreciative of the capacity for moral indignation in his friend. To any one who knows what it meant for Dr. Clarke to take the course he did in 1884, how utterly inadequate will seem the treatment of that matter! There is not a hint that it had any tragic implication. Hardly worth noticing in comparison is the reference to the Unitarian Convention of 1865 which instituted the National Conference. There, for once, Mr. Hale drops into fiction palpably. The "harmonious convention" deserves and will receive the tribute of a smile from those who know how very inharmonious it was. The date of Dr. Freeman's installation at King's Chapel "without the help of any bishop" is given as 1782, when it was 1787; and the younger Henry

Ware (p. 89) did not succeed Emerson as pastor of the Second Church in Boston, but was succeeded by him.

But, however deficient in some respects Mr. Hale's chapters, and however defective in others, they do not fail to bring out clearly in the main the course of Dr. Clarke's experience, the force and beauty of his character, and the range and quality of his work. The faithful minister is here, the industrious writer, the social and political reformer, full of energy and hope, a man rich in friendships and in domestic love and peace, made tenderer by pathetic loss. The closer we come home to him in his personal life, the more does he engage our admiration. He came to Boston in 1840, hoping to make a new society quite different from others of the time, and he had large success, though not in all the particulars of his hope. As a "free church" the Church of the Disciples was less and less successful as the years went on. His liberality was inspiration and encouragement to many younger men; then came the scientific wave and carried them beyond him, leaving him, strangely enough, for twenty years to wear the honors and to suffer the reproaches of a conservative position. From being the critic of the "Unitarian orthodoxy" that was denounced by Channing, he became its representative man, but it was a new orthodoxy when he became so, and he had done as much as any one, except Theodore Parker, to make it so.

In another respect his later did not fulfil the promise of his earlier life: there was less of intellectual freedom in his mental operations as time went on. Consider the long list of his theological and religious writings after 1850, and the trail of the apologist is over them all. Their rationalism is their dominant chord—rationalism in its narrower German sense: the explaining away of what seems irrational; the plausible smoothing over of real difficulties with unreal solutions. And this was so because the impulse to do good was the controlling impulse of his life. He deliberately accepted the tendency to good or evil in a doctrine as a test of truth, and all doctrines appealed to him preeminently as calculated to increase the amount of goodness in the world and soothe its sorrow and distress. He was not a profound thinker nor a careful scholar, and he did not win the audience of those who care a great deal for serious thinking and for careful study. Of this he was aware, and by it he was not troubled, for he had great compensations. He spoke to hundreds once a week, he wrote for many thousands every day. The circulation of his writings was immense, and it answered the prayer of his youth, for it brought into the communion of his invisible church thousands who were not of the Unitarian fold. No other has done so much to commend Unitarianism to orthodox believers, and few, if any, have done more to break down the sectarian divisions of our American life.

MEYER'S KILIMANJARO.

Across East African Glaciers: An Account of the First Ascent of Kilimanjaro. By Dr. Hans Meyer. Translated from the German by E. H. S. Calder. With 40 illustrations and 3 maps. Longmans, Green & Co. 1891. Royal 8vo, pp. xx, 404.

NGAJE NGAI, the House of God, as the Masai call Kilimanjaro, is in many respects the most remarkable mountain in the world. An isolated mass, it rises more than 17,000 feet above the level of the surrounding plain, surpassing by 3,000 feet Ararat's elevation above the Armenian plateau. Lying only three degrees south of the equator, there is upon its slopes every variety of climate and vegetation. Within a range of twenty miles the traveller passes from the sun-scorched barren steppe, where the rain is scanty, through a tropical paradise with perennial streams bordered by gardens and plantations, through a region of perpetual moisture whose dense vegetation is a survival of the carboniferous age, by alpine pastures, to the summit where is eternal ice and snow. Although it was known from native reports to the Portuguese in the early part of the sixteenth century as the Ethiopian Mount Olympus, it was not seen by a European until 1848. Since that time it has been visited frequently by travellers, hunters, and missionaries, and a monthly post now binds it closely with the civilized world. In the recent partition of Eastern Africa between Germany and England the mountain was given to the former country, at the express request of the Emperor, it is said; England receiving the forest-oasis, Taveta, at its foot. As this is the rendezvous of all caravans to or from the coast, its possession implies a control of the trade with the mountain tribes—an advantage which Germany, apparently, was slow to recognize. While the southern face of Kilimanjaro is well known, and has often been described, few travellers have climbed to the barren plateau from which its two peaks rise. Only one serious attempt, in fact, had been made to reach the top before that of which this sumptuous volume is the record. This was by Dr. Meyer himself, and it failed because of insufficient preparation. Profiting by this experience, he organized a new expedition expressly for this object, and finally succeeded in planting the German flag on the highest peak, though at a cost of toil and exposure hardly commensurate with the results obtained.

The main purpose of the book is, of course, to describe this ascent, but some of the preliminary chapters, briefly sketching the history of the mountain and narrating the incidents of the march from the coast, are among the most interesting of all. The author is unusually successful in picturing the make-up of the caravan and the ordinary incidents of life in camp and upon the road. The daily morning routine is as follows:

"At the first streak of dawn I awake and call Ali, the captain of my Somál. Immediately the camp begins to show signs of animation. '*Ondoka, funga mkeka*' (Get up, fold up your mats!) cry the headmen. Yawning, and still half asleep, the men bestir themselves, crawl out of their cosey rugs, in which they have passed the night on the ground, gird up their loin-cloths, and begin to drag their loads from the stack in which they have been piled over night. The Somál and Askari set to work to strike the tents and pack the beds and other furniture, keeping time to a rhythmic chant the while. Meantime our cook brings us a cup of steaming cocoa, which we drink standing, and snatch a morsel of cold meat. '*Tayari?*' (ready?) I inquire of the headman. '*Tayari*' (ready) is the reply. Having noted the time and the readings of my thermometer and barometer, I give the word to start, '*Haya!*' and the caravan falls into marching order."

While actually on the road, Dr. Meyer's own duties are sufficiently arduous:

"With the very first step begins the troublesome task of plotting the route. At every slight change of direction I consult my watch and my compass, and carefully make a note of the readings. At every perceptible change of level I do the same by the aneroid. If any considerable hill or mountain comes in sight, I take its bearings by the prismatic compass, and the result is likewise recorded in my field-book. Thus every two or three minutes some observation has to be made, not to speak of the bearings that are taken without making a halt. I never have my instruments out of my hand until we are in camp again."

The first view of the mountain was in the early morning while they were still a long distance from the foot. A thick cold fog which had enveloped the camp during the night was suddenly rent apart by the first rays of the sun, "and above the clouds—apparently suspended in mid-air—hung the snowy dome of Kibo, the mountain's highest peak. Its sister-peak, the Mawenzi, was hidden behind a mass of heavy cumulus cloud—all except the magnificent unbroken sweep of its northeastern slope."

The mountain tribes known as the Wa-jagga, inhabit a tract of five hundred square miles in extent, which lies between an elevation of 3,600 feet and the lower edge of the forest. They are twenty in number, and live in a state of chronic war with each other—a condition which is encouraged by the Arabs, who buy as slaves the unfortunate natives taken captive in these wars. Although in a very backward stage of civilization, they have devised an admirable system of irrigation, and are exceedingly industrious. "On every ridge and hollow, and along the banks of every stream, men, women, and children alike were busy with hoe and mattock preparing the ground for the sowing of maize, millet, and beans, and the planting of tobacco, bananas, and sugar cane, at the commencement of the approaching wet season. With the utmost care the plantations are cleared of all old roots and stumps, and the artificial irrigation channels thoroughly repaired where necessary." Dr. Meyer made his headquarters at the boma of Mareale, chief of Marangu, of whom he gives a most favorable account as a remarkably intelligent negro and a wise and just ruler. In this latter respect he contrasts strongly with the better-known Mandara, for more than twenty years the chief of Moji. Leaving the most of his followers at this place, he proceeded with a few picked men to make a camp in the upper edge of the forest just half way from the summit. Then, with his white companion and a coast negro of exceptional vigor and trustworthiness, he climbed to the saddle-plateau connecting the two peaks, where, at a height of 14,200 feet, he pitched his tent. Here he was able to stay nearly three weeks, as he received supplies every third day from the half-way station, which in its turn was provisioned from the main camp. During this time he made four ascents of Kibo and three attempts at Mawenzi. These latter were unsuccessful, because of the extraordinarily steep and jagged character of its lava precipices. Their constant disintegration, causing incessant avalanches of earth and stones, was also a serious danger to the climbers.

The ascent of Kibo was toilsome and perilous. The last 2,000 feet was up a series of ice precipices, broken by yawning cracks and crevasses, the last forming a blue wall of pure ice varying in height from 15 to 260 feet. This was finally scaled, and on October 5, 1889, the flag was planted, at an altitude of 19,720 feet, on "the loftiest spot in Africa and in the German Empire—Kaiser Wilhelm's Peak." The summit was found to be a crater with a diameter of a little less than half a mile and from six to seven hundred feet deep. Through a notch in the western wall the accumulated ice of the caldera falls as a mighty cascade, and flows down the mountain-side "a glacier of the first order." In the centre of the crater is a cone whose ice-free top indicates that some internal heat is still retained in the long-extinct volcano. Their party's stay on the pla-

teau was marked by few incidents. The extremes of temperature were very trying, the summer heat of midday being succeeded at night by cold as great at times as 6° Fahrenheit. "On one occasion, in the course of a single quarter of an hour, the thermometer fell from 88° to 33° Fahrenheit, and whenever the mist came as the herald of a snow-storm the fall was even greater." Animal life was naturally very scanty, though elephants and eland were seen at a great height above the forest, and the body of an antelope was found within the crater itself! Besides, there were "a few rock swallows, stonechats, lizards, beetles, spiders, and bees, all of a uniform dark gray color—a sombre tint which not only absorbs the rays of the sun, but also makes the animals invisible to their enemies against the dark background of the prevailing volcanic rocks." The predominant color of the vegetation, "alike of leaf and stem and flower, is the blue anthocyan tint, which possesses the remarkable property of absorbing the intense light of these upper regions and transforming it into heat."

The approach of the rainy season prevented any further exploration of the mountain, and Dr. Meyer was obliged to descend without having traced the great glacier to its foot. Nor was he able to examine the northern slope, which differs very materially from the southern. It is much steeper, and has a comparatively small rainfall, so that the belt corresponding to the fertile Jagga is pasture land occupied by the Masai and their great herds of cattle. Before he returned to the coast, however, he made an excursion to the little-known Ugweno, a mountainous region lying some twenty miles south of Kilimanjaro. On the road a tremendous thunder-storm burst over them. "The flashes of lightning followed each other at the rate of forty to the minute, with an effect which was literally blinding. The sky seemed to be one vast sheet of flame; but I noticed that the electrical discharges mostly occurred among the clouds, and did not strike the earth. This fact goes far to explain why the negro, who, as a rule, stands in such awe of the forces of nature, has no fear of a thunder-storm." On the return march the camp was suddenly attacked by an army of driver-ants (which always carry on their marauding expeditions during the night), and had to be abandoned. In this army

"there are three distinct classes or castes. It is officered, as it were, by the largest and strongest class, the members of which are distributed at stated intervals throughout the procession. They are provided with sharp, horned mandibles as long as the insect's body, and their work is to seize and, if possible, slay every living thing that comes in their way. The booty is next torn to pieces by the larger of the two classes which make up the rank and file, which are provided for the purpose with sharp, straight mandibles, about half the length of their bodies. The pieces are then taken up and carried away by the third and smallest class, which have their mandibles quite short."

Though these ants prey largely on insects, they do not hesitate to attack harmless reptiles, and even some of the smaller mammals.

The last chapter contains a brief geological history of the mountain, a description and explanation of its peculiar meteorological phenomena, and the author's views in respect to the German interests in East Africa. His views differ materially from those of most writers upon the development of this part of the continent. In respect to the German Protectorate he says, four-fifths is an "unending waste of barren, almost uninhabited steppe, savannah, and bush." Even the most valuable part is practically worthless; "from a European standpoint, the commercial value of the products of Kilimanjaro so far is *nil*." He holds that it is a grave mistake to attempt to establish stations in the interior, on account both of the unhealthiness of the climate and of the unproductiveness of the soil, and that Germany's true policy is to confine her operations to the coast, leaving the natives to bring in their produce "after their own time-honored fashion, which would seem after all to be the one best suited to the nature of the country." There are several appendixes, in which some of the scientific results of the expedition are given. These include lists of more than two hundred different species of lichens and mosses, many of them new, to the collection of which Dr. Meyer and his companion gave particular attention. A bibliography of works and papers in scientific journals referring to the Kilimanjaro region contains two hundred and eighteen titles, mostly in German and English.

It is difficult to praise too highly the typographical beauty of this volume and the excellence of its illustrations and maps. A word also should be said in commendation of the translation, which is admirably done, even the purely scientific passages being rendered into clear and idiomatic English. The work as a whole, we do not hesitate to say, should be placed in the first rank of books on Africa. Its range is necessarily more restricted than many and its additions to our knowledge are comparatively unimportant, but it is surpassed by few in sustained interest, in picturesque detail, in apparent truthfulness of description, and especially in the impression left of the author as a man just in his dealings with the natives, and one who inspired his followers with confidence and affection.

RECENT SPANISH FICTION.

Angel Guerra. Por B. Férez Galdós. Madrid: La Guirnalda. 1891.

Nubes de Estío. Por José María De Pereda. Madrid: M. Tello. 1891.

Scum. By Valdés. Authorized edition. United States Book Company.

Doña Luz. By Juan Valera. Translated by Mary J. Serrano. D. Appleton & Co. 1891.

If fecundity is one of the marks of the higher order of creative genius, Señora Bazán is undoubtedly right in claiming it for her contemporary, Galdós. In sight now of his fiftieth volume, he writes with undiminished vigor, on as generous a plan as ever, and with the best qualities of his style still undimmed. His story this time is of a man who starts out as a Socialist, concerned in an abortive revolution, the companion of men and women of easy morals, and who ends a conservative property-holder, desperately in love with a woman who is bent on becoming a sister of charity. The successive steps of this transformation are traced for us with Galdós's accustomed skill. The scene between the scapegrace Angel and his proud old mother on her deathbed, where each maintains an appearance of believing in the other, though a stream of accusation and recrimination is all the while flowing hot in their minds, each divining the other's feigning, each more than half suspecting that the assumed manner is no real mask to the other, yet each using only language of affection, until at last a chance gesture lets the torrents loose—this scene, with its clear insight and dramatic development, is masterly. The author adds one more to his gallery of children's portraits—that of a six-year-old girl whose preternaturally, or, as it turns out, morbidly, active mind keeps the reader on the stretch to imagine what she will say or do next.

Pereda valiantly sticks to his province, in his latest novel, though he leaves his beloved peasants and fishermen for the time being, to give us a picture of society in the city of Santander at the present day, when the "Summer Clouds" in the shape of Madrid fashionables are there to take the baths. All classes of these summer visitors he had already hit off for us in his 'Tipos Trashumantes,' and, as far as they are concerned, we simply meet old friends in this story. The gist of it is the scheme of an impecunious nobleman from the capital to marry a spendthrift son of his to the daughter of a wealthy and snobbish merchant of Santander, the delight of the latter's family at the thought of such a distinguished alliance, the supposed acquiescence of the young lady interested, and the final catastrophe brought on by her resolute refusal to go on with the affair, and her determination to remain faithful to a provincial lover whose existence was unknown to her parents. The author, as usual, cares little for his plot except as furnishing him an opportunity for those minute characterizations which are his delight and his inimitable distinction. They fairly swarm in the volume. The Madrid journalist, "doing" the summer resorts on the northern coast for his paper, is himself "done" with a realism quite beyond his own command. A most vigorous defence of provincial taste both in literature and art is put into the mouth of one of the characters, as against the lofty and, Pereda says, unfounded assumptions of Madrid. It gives one a shock to find such an authority as his for the assertion that the only epic poet Spain ever had is now living, and writing in Catalan, and that the finest descriptive genius since Cervantes is also using that dialect.

In Valdés's last novel, appearing simultaneously in English and Spanish, he adds to his pictures of manners in the provinces an alleged picture of the life of the Madrid aristocracy. We say alleged, because he has been accused by responsible critics of gross ignorance of the society which he pretends to paint. Luis Alfonso filled a couple of columns in *La Epoca* with details showing Valdés's lack of acquaintance with aristocratic customs in the capital, and Señor Gomez de Baquero had more to say in the same line in the same paper. Most formidable of all comes Señora Bazán, in her *Teatro Critico* for February, saying that "'La Espuma' discovers the author's almost absolute ignorance of the medium in which his characters move." This round assertion she has, of course, the best right in the world to maintain as respects the aristocracy of blood, and she declares also that it will stand not only for "the *blue* aristocracy, but also for the *yellow*, or *bank-note colored*," of which the novel principally treats. This is a terrible indictment for a writer who piques himself on his realism. And when we take into account Valdés's virtuous forswearing of adultery as a motive for a novel, in his preface to 'La Hermana San Sulpicio,' and his cool charge that the French use of it was purely mercenary, and then discover that his latest story reeks with adultery, we come upon something more than an artistic fault. In Pereda's novel noticed above there is a passage which is so astonishingly applicable to this book of Valdés's that it seems as if it must have been aimed at it. He describes a provincial author staying long enough in Madrid to pick up all the salacious gossip of the gilded youth of the capital, and then going home to launch a book on Madrid society. "But

the fact is, that no such frail marchionesses exist, nor such swindling bankers, nor any of the things set forth in the book; none of it ever was true or ever will be; and what shadow of truth there is in it is of an entirely distinct sort —elegant, distinguished, such as can be neither understood nor described by the ingenious rustic who has ventured out of his wilds in an evil hour for his reputation."

An introduction is furnished by Mr. Edmund Gosse, the editor of "Lovell's Foreign Series," in which 'Scum' ranks as No. 9. It consists of a hurried sketch of the development of the modern Spanish novel, and an appreciation of Valdés. As it is confessedly based upon second-hand knowledge, it occasions no surprise to find it inadequate and, in some respects, positively misleading. Thus, to call Fernan Caballero the leader of the romantic school, is a blunder from which Mr. Gosse would have been saved if he had more carefully read the volume of Señora Bazán's from which he makes a single quotation, 'La Cuestión Palpitante.' One can only gasp at the hideous mistranslation allowed to stand in the introduction, "The Idyll of a Farm" for "El Idilio de un Enfermo." The English title, 'Scum,' by the way, is a vile rendering of 'La Espuma'; the latter word is in perfectly good use to denote the upper ten of society. The translation, in general, is faithful, but is marked by an extraordinary number of slips, evidently due to sheer carelessness, and by too many gross blunders. We cannot take space to enumerate these, but may assure the reader of the English version that wherever he comes upon a passage that is perfectly mystifying or absurd on its face, he may lay the blame upon the translator, not upon Valdés. We must make mention, however, of the remarkable liberties taken with the text of the original. Phrases, paragraphs, and one entire chapter are bodily omitted, and new chapter-divisions with improvised headings are introduced. The excisions are made on the score of grossness, apparently, but, after all, nothing could be more gross than some of the parts that are left in, and, in any case, the reader ought to be advised that he has an expurgated edition in his hand.

Valera's 'Doña Luz' has the distinction and purity of style that mark all the writings of that Spanish classicist. The story he has to tell almost gains importance by his exquisite manner of telling it. Still, when all is done, it is only a simple and graceful tale, not touching life broadly or at many points. Valera's own preface (not translated) shows that he has a more modest idea of his performance than that entertained in the region of Franklin Square. The translation is such as was to be expected of Mrs. Serrano; if she has not been able to preserve the full charm and grace of the original, it is because they are beyond the reach of any translation.

CARD GAMES.

The Handbook of Games. Enlarged edition, with contributions by Dr. William Pole, F.R.S., Maj.-Gen. Drayson, Robert F. Green, "Berkeley," and "Baxter-Wray." Vol. II. Card Games. London: George Bell & Sons; New York: Scribner & Welford.

The Laws of Euchre (as adopted by the Somerset Club of Boston March 1, 1888). With some suggestions about the play. By H. C. Leeds and James Dwight. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

A Practical Guide to Whist by the latest scientific methods (with the laws of the game). By Fisher Ames. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

The Thirty-nine Articles of Whist. Printed for private distribution.

THE first book on our list belongs to the useful Bohn's Library, and is a most elaborate revision of the work on games hitherto sold in that series. The chapters on Whist and on Piquet are greatly modified; the descriptions of certain games are altogether omitted, as the games have lost their popularity, and explanations are added of new games which have come into favor within the past few years. It must always be borne in mind that this volume, like the other handbooks of Bohn's series, is of purely British authorship and is calculated solely for the meridian of London. To recall this constantly is to minimize our surprise at the omission of Boston and of All-Fours, "which are seldom played nowadays," the editor tells us; the fact being that Boston is still very popular in certain clubs in New York, and that "Old Sledge" has an unshaken hold on the affections of the Southwest, where indeed euchre is its only rival. Euchre is one of the added games, making its first appearance here with poker and bézique.

A book which all card-lovers would welcome would be a history of card games, showing how they are related one to another, and how they are developed in groups one out of another, and how they follow one another in and out of fashion. The history of whist has been written by the late Abraham Hayward; and the history of piquet and of écarté and of more than one other game has been prepared by "Cavendish" to serve as a preface to his practical treatise on the playing of the game. But there is no general history covering the whole subject and declaring the date of the decline of ombre, for example, and of quadrille, and setting forth the rise of whist, and the slow evolution of poker from the Elizabethan post-and-pair. Boston takes its name from the capital of Massachusetts, though we doubt if it was ever fashionable there. Nap, if we may believe "Baxter-Wray," is also of American origin, which we are much inclined to doubt. From "Berkeley's" account of the introduction of bézique into England, it is certain that the game was popular here several years before it had spread over Great Britain; it came to us from France. Piquet is now more often played in London than in New York, although it is gaining favor here at a great rate, and very properly, as it is an ideal game for two players. Indeed, one might say that as whist is indisputably the finest of games for four, so is piquet the finest of games for two.

Of games for three players there are very few indeed. Cut-throat euchre is the abomination of desolation; bézique suits three fairly, and three can play cribbage with a triangular board to great advantage. But perhaps there is no more satisfactory three-handed game than cassino, simple as it seems; sad to relate, "Baxter-Wray" presents it here as a mere round game and in a most elementary form, making no mention of "building," which gives variety to the play and allows of the adroit inferences and the speculative risks which are the essence of a good card game. We must remark, also, that the same writer treats poker as a mere round game also, and that he fails altogether to apprehend the vital principle of that most fascinating of scientific pastimes. This vital principle is, that a three-fold option must be offered to every player at every stage of the game—he may "go out," he may "call," or he may "raise." The use of the joker is an absurdity, and the prevalence of the jack-pot is greatly to be deplored. Just what "Baxter-Wray" means by one of his assertions we cannot guess. "The suit of hearts, *ceteris paribus*, takes precedence of other suits" (p. 31). This is rank nonsense.

Considering that "Berkeley" acknowledges that rubicon piquet is superseding piquet *au cent*—as it should, for it is a finer and subtler game—we wonder why rubicon piquet was not given the place of honor instead of being relegated to a secondary position after the departing piquet *au cent*. On the whole, "Berkeley's" exposition of piquet is not as clear as "Cavendish's"; and the most valuable part of his treatise is the elaborate calculation of the odds. Nor is his discussion of euchre as thorough or as satisfactory as that contained in the little book by Mr. Leeds and Dr. Dwight. What is of most value in the British book are the carefully calculated tables of chances. But the play of a lone hand is more elaborately considered in the Boston book; and the laws of the game as adopted by the Somerset Club have brought order out of chaos, and should be followed by all serious euchre-players. We could wish that some club of equal position would codify the laws of poker, using as a basis the proposed code drawn up by Gen. Schenck in England to oblige his hostess.

In 1879 Mr. Fisher Ames published in Harper's Half-Hour Series a little treatise called 'Modern Whist,' in the hope "that a concise statement of the principles of whist in an inexpensive form may increase the general knowledge of the correct way of playing." The 'Practical Guide to Whist' which Mr. Ames now publishes is a far more elaborate work than the earlier booklet, and it justifies the claim advanced in its sub-title, of having adopted the "latest scientific methods." The "American leads" suggested by Mr. Trist of New Orleans, and developed by him in conjunction with Mr. Jones in London, are now adopted by the best players in this country and in England. They are arbitrary conventions, no doubt, but so are certain of the other modern improvements of the game; and they are not of frequent use, but they have approved themselves to the most advanced players, and Mr. Ames has done well to embody them in his guide.

The 'Thirty-nine Articles of Whist' is a four-page folder, on which an anonymous lover of the game has skilfully condensed the approved practice of the modern game as to original leads, subsequent leads, trump leads, return leads, the play of the second and the third hands, the signal, the echo, and the discard. Here again Mr. Trist's invention is accepted. Ten "General Remarks" are added, pertinent and to the point. These 'Thirty-nine Articles' may often be of great use to a novice striving earnestly to perfect his play. Perhaps Mr. Foster's 'Whist at a Glance' (to be read on a single playing-card) accomplishes the same purpose even more concisely.

B. F. Stevens's Facsimiles of Manuscripts in European Archives relating to America, 1773-1783. Vol. VII. Nos. 647 to 753. London: B. F. Stevens.

THE manner in which these facsimiles are published is perhaps inevitable, but it makes them very tedious reading. Again and again are we taken over the same ground, and there is no evident reason to suppose that any subject or incident will ever be exhausted. If the editor could give us at once all the papers re-

lating to one subject, he would certainly add to the interest of the collection. This is, perhaps, but a minor matter, for the chief value of the facsimiles must always be for reference, and for that purpose much will depend on the thoroughness of the index; still, the conscientious and thorough reader deserves some consideration.

The seventh volume, like its predecessors, is largely taken up with the correspondence of the American Commissioners in Paris in 1777, with the intrigues in which they were actively engaged, and with the base and sordid treachery which surrounded them. Deane continues to write his incessant "mémoires" in his florid handwriting. He is sensible and forcible enough, but how tired the clerks of the French Foreign Office must have been of him, and what a relief, to them as to us, when Franklin, on rare occasions, draws up a document. Lee grumbles and fumes at his fellow-Commissioners. Hynson and Carmichael, Paul Wentworth and Dr. Bancroft, Lieut.-Col. Smith, and that low wretch, George Lupton, pry about and lie and tell secrets. The Lieutenant of Police of Paris has his eye on them all (677). He has appointed a commissary and twelve *exempts* to watch over the American deputies and to spy on all persons communicating with them, or with the English Ambassador, Lord Stormont, and these underlings are ready to pursue any scent to the distant parts of the kingdom, at a moment's notice (694). Does diplomacy nowadays involve so much dirty work?

We may say for the American envoys that at least they were accomplishing their object of drawing France into the quarrel. The English Government, on its side, was failing in its attempts to carry on the war. "The Peculation in every profitable Branch of the service is represented to be enormous, and as usual It is attended with a shocking neglect of Every Comfort to the Troops," writes Wedderburn to Eden (707, Sept. 6, 1777). "The Hospitals are Pest-houses, and the Provisions served out are Poison, those that are to be bought are sold at the highest prices of a Monopoly." And that he tells truth is shown three years later, when Sir Henry Clinton writes to the same person: "Not an ounce of this year's provision arrived. If it does not soon we literally starve" (743).

The latter part of this volume is partly occupied by reports addressed to William Eden in England by William Smith, the Tory Chief Justice of New York. We see in these letters the hopes and fears of the Loyalists, their discontent at Clinton's incapacity and at his continual squabbles with Admiral Arbuthnot. "If nothing is done, and you pay for that nothing, I would mulct two People I could name, to raise a Temple to Concord," writes Smith at the end of 1780 (746). The Chief Justice was a patriot, and had long hesitated which side to take in the contest. Although his loyalty to the old Government had carried him into the Tory ranks, he was not disposed to favor arbitrary measures. Expecting that Lord Cornwallis will soon conquer Virginia and prophesying other successes, he writes to Eden as to the proper course for the powers in England:

"But are you ready to secure what you may [have] acquired? If the military are to govern as well as conquer—govern *the Loyal*, who have assisted to dethrone the usurpers, prepare to empty your Island to garison this Continent. From the moment in which it is possible to convene a friendly assembly, the Power of the army should be confined to its proper duty, or it will convert Friends into Foes." . . . "If every Thing is to be left to chances till the moment of the construction, I insist that Lord Mansfield be the Head of the next commission to America. No matter for his Library—his own Notes excepted" (734).

We see from this that William Smith was quite ready to speak his mind freely. That he attributed a sufficient importance to his own opinions, when given, we may infer from an anecdote told in Sabine's 'American Loyalists' (vol. ii., p. 313). After the British evacuation of New York in 1783, Smith moved to Canada and was made Chief Justice of that province, but continued to take a warm interest in the affairs of his native country. In 1789, when the Federal Constitution was under discussion, Dr. Mitchell of New York happened to be visiting Smith in Quebec. One evening the Chief Justice called his visitor into his study, and, after searching among his papers, pulled out one which contained a plan of government composed by himself. The piece was long, elaborate, and well written, and closely resembled the Constitution proposed by the Federal Convention of 1787; the Constitution of the United States, in fact, under which we live to-day. After reading his manuscript aloud, Smith thus addressed Dr. Mitchell:

"This, sir, is the copy of a letter which I sent to a member of congress in 1775, who was an intimate friend of Gen. Washington. You may trace to this source the sentiments in favour of a more energetic government for your country, contained in the Commander-in-Chief's circular letters, and from this there can be no doubt that the citizens of all the States derived their leading hints for your new form of government."

Report of the Birds of Pennsylvania. By B. H. Warren, M.D., Ornithologist, Pennsylvania State Board of Agriculture. 2d ed. Harrisburg. 8vo. 1890.

It has long been the policy of the Government to foster scientific research, and the volumes put forth by experts in one or another branch of science are both numerous and costly. These volumes have done much to spread a knowledge of our country and its products at home and abroad, and to create a belief that in its patronage of science our Government is wise and liberal beyond most others. The course of the general Government is, in this respect, followed also by the State governments, though on a less extensive scale. That of Pennsylvania has lately issued a volume which in many respects is notable both for its general excellence and for its practical utility. Some two years ago the State Ornithologist completed an illustrated volume on the birds of the State with especial reference to their food-habits. So great was the demand for it that the edition was soon exhausted, and the present is a second edition, enlarged and revised.

The investigations upon which the practical side of the first book was based were due to the fact that thousands of dollars had been expended by several of the counties in payment for the scalps of birds of prey. Under the impression that certain animals—among them hawks and owls—were injurious to agriculture, their destruction was undertaken at the expense of the State. The Westchester Microscopical Society, becoming interested in the matter, took an active part in measures which resulted in the repeal of the unjust and obnoxious law. The scope of the present volume has been somewhat extended, and its chief purpose is to furnish the people of Pennsylvania with a book on the birds of their own State which shall be intelligible and interesting to plain, every-day people with no pretensions to scientific education, and particularly to give to the farmers all available information as to the food-habits of birds.

The author begins with a brief introduction, including a geographical description of the State and a list of the few technical terms indispensable in describing birds, the application of which is made plain by illustrations. The main body of the work occupies 331 pages, which are devoted to descriptions of the birds, to an account of their distribution over the State, and to their nesting and general habits. Each family is introduced by a general account of its distinctive features and the habits of its members, which is concise, yet clear and ample. The descriptions of the birds, while lacking the fulness usual in scientific treatises, are yet plain, simple, and sufficient for the purpose intended, viz., their identification. An appendix of ninety-two pages contains a history of the Pennsylvania Scalp Act, with the reasons for its enactment and repeal; extracts from the reports of the United States Department of Agriculture upon the economic relations of crows, hawks, owls, and the English sparrow; a tabulated list of the birds that struck the lighthouse at Atlantic City, N. J., during the autumn of 1889; a list of publications quoted in the report, and of observers who contributed to it, and a glossary of technical terms. The value and popular character of the work are much enhanced by the abundance of colored plates, which serve greatly to facilitate the task of identification.

We notice with pleasure that the act providing for the present edition authorizes the distribution of one thousand copies to the School Department, for use among educational establishments. Nowhere will a book on birds of this popular character be so thoroughly appreciated and do so much good as among teachers and school-children, and we believe that the number thus employed might have been judiciously increased.

The book is extremely well and tastefully bound, the typography is excellent, and in its general make-up it presents little of the rather forbidding aspect of the usual public document. Considered as a whole, it is an extremely creditable book both to its author and to the State of Pennsylvania. It is to be hoped that the example thus set may be followed by other States, and that a general systematic effort may be made to instruct the public in the life-history of birds, especially in their economic relations to man. In this way better than in any other is it possible to bring about an enlightened understanding of the value of birds, which, once gained, will have more effect in checking the present rage for killing birds for the sake of adornment than any number of sermons against that odious fashion.

English Fairy Tales. Collected by Joseph Jacobs, Editor of *Folk-Lore.* Illustrated by John D. Batten. London: D. Nutt; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1890. 8vo, pp. xiv., 253.

It was a pleasant surprise to read in Mr. Jacobs's preface: "Who says that English folk have no fairy tales of their own? The present volume contains only a selection out of some 140 of which I have traces in this country. It is probable that many more exist." We always supposed that many more had existed but had disappeared before the progress of education. In fact, since Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps published the first meagre collection of English nursery tales in 1849, almost nothing has been gleaned in this field. We have had copious collections of the Gaelic tales of Scotland

and Ireland, but of English tales only a few have appeared from time to time in the pages of works devoted to folk-lore in general. It was a disappointment, then, to find that apparently Mr. Jacobs had had difficulty to bring together even forty-three English folk-tales, for of this number three are made out of ballads, one is not a folk-tale at all (No. xviii., Southey's 'The Three Bears'), four are Scotch, and two are survivals from America. All but four have already been published (seven in Henderson's 'Folk-Lore of the Northern Counties' and nine in Halliwell).

The editor has treated his material with great freedom, "eliminating a malodorous and un-English skunk" from one of the American stories, and a superfluous Gipsy from one of the English ones, reducing the dialect of a Suffolk tale, inserting an episode and expanding a conclusion in another tale, reducing adventurers from three to two, substituting riddles from an old collection for the poor ones of the original, transposing the incidents in No. xxx, cobbling No. xxxi out of three chap-book versions, building up No. xxxvi out of two stories, largely rewriting No. xxxvii, writing an introductory paragraph to No. xxxviii, changing the heroine's name in No. xxii, etc. Mr. Jacobs has very honestly acknowledged all these crimes, heinous in the eyes of a Folk-lorist, and has disarmed criticism by the promise to reproduce at some future time his originals with literal accuracy in a more extensive work on English Folk-tales. A more serious charge is that of rewriting those of his stories which existed only in "literary English," in the style which he supposes a "good old nurse" would adopt when telling fairy tales. As Mr. Jacobs himself is in doubt of his success in this proceeding, we need not say any more about it, except to remark that the example of the brothers Grimm, invoked by Mr. Jacobs, does not justify this mode of editing.

Of the work as a whole we can speak in terms of the highest praise; for the first time a general collection of English tales has been brought together, and the result only increases our regret at the lost treasures which can probably never be recovered. Some of the versions of well-known stories, such as "Tom Tit Tot," are not inferior to their relatives in other lands. The only criticism we should feel like making is that a number of the stories are very gruesome. We are told, however, that children like to be thrilled by such tales and know that it is all make-believe. It is easy to eliminate these stories in reading to younger children, and probably such as can read themselves will not be harmed.

Mr. Jacobs has greatly increased the value and interest of his book by the notes and references, which he has placed at the end, with the warning that "little boys and girls must not read any further." We hope some of them will, and receive an impulse which may some day lead them into one of the pleasantest paths of study. The notes are excellently planned, the English parallels are given with some fulness, and reference is briefly made to the foreign ones, with information where further variants can be found. One or two errors have crept in which may be corrected here: in No. ii., the reference to *Mélusine*, t. ii., should be t. ii., col. 352, and it contains a parallel not to No. ii., but to No. viii. No. xii. is a variant of No. xxiv., where should be cited the foreign versions in Cosquin ii., 76, and Crane, p. 370, note 32. To No. xv. might be added a reference to Goethe's "Der Zauberlehrling," the source of which is Lucian. The few misprints have probably been seen already by the editor, and will be corrected in the next edition, where the great Weimar oracle should be cited as Dr. Köhler; he ought to be professor of comparative storiology in the first university of the world, but, as a matter of fact, he is simply the librarian of the Ducal Library.

Much might be said in regard to the elaborate note, or rather excursus, on "Childe Roland," which concerns not only Shakspere, Milton, and Browning, and the very elemental stuff of folk-tales and ballads, but also the origin of elves, trolls, and fairies. We can here refer only to the interesting work from which this note and its illustrations are partly taken, 'The Testimony of Tradition,' by Mr. MacRitchie (London, 1890).

It would be unjust to dismiss 'The English Fairy Tales' without a word of praise for the admirable illustrations of Mr. John D. Batten.

An American Girl in London. By Sara Jeannette Duncan. D. Appleton & Co. 1891.

We have already met the American Girl in London. Mr. James has introduced us to her more than once; she has wandered (unrecognizable, however, but for her label) through the three long, weary volumes of many an English novel. To the British novelist, her humor, her independence, her gayety are now as irresistible as her proverbial millions are supposed to be to the bankrupt British peer. But she has seldom seemed more amusing and natural than in Miss Duncan's new book. In her 'Social Departure,' Miss Duncan showed that to a keen observation she brought an even keener sense of humor and unflagging spirits. Her account of her journey around the world was not only readable, but immensely entertaining. It is not easy to do a good thing twice, and her 'American Girl in London' perhaps has not quite the freshness and spontaneity of her first volume; the humor in places is just a little forced; there is here and there too much of a Mark Twain tendency in the jokes. But for this comparison with her earlier work, however, it might seem more satisfactory.

The adventures of her American girl are strung upon a mere thread of a story. Miss Mamie P. Wick, of 4000 Prairie Avenue, Chicago, when circumstances prevent her "Poppa" and "Momma" from coming with her, starts alone for London; is there coldly received by her own relative in the town; is taken under the protection of an English woman of title, who finds her "the only really American girl I've come upon in the whole course of my travels"; with her new friend enjoys a London season; is made love to, without knowing it, by a young Englishman; and, when to her astonishment she finds herself received by his family as his betrothed, flies precipitately for home on the next steamer. But the story is really nothing. It is a mere excuse for the record of Miss Duncan's first experiences and impressions in London. These, apparently, she has written while they were still fresh in her memory—while the solidity and stability of London buildings, the permanence and security of London institutions, still were a source of wonder and delight; while that unmistakable smell of London which we greet with renewed affection every time we return to the great metropolis, was for her still "done up in the present tense"; while a ride in a hansom or on the top of a 'bus was still a novelty. She seldom fails to see the humors of London and London life, always better appreciated by an American than an Englishman; she but rarely misses its true character. With her sight-seeing, with her visits to Westminster and the Temple, we could have dispensed. It is here the humor is most strained, the Mark Twain effects most aggressive. But her descriptions of typical London lodging-house interiors and landladies; of an "at home," with its silent groups and impossible music; of the London shops and the "elegant ladies-in-waiting," with their odious, endless refrain of *Moddam;* of the English young girl and the English young man; of the Royal Academy private view, and a dozen other social functions, are excellent. No one has ever better described the æsthetic gown that even yet lingers on among Socialists and Ibsenites—"the protest against conventionalism, very much gathered, and usually presenting itself in colors unattainable out of a London fog. It almost always went with a rather discouraged-looking lady having a bad complexion and hair badly done up; and invariably it dragged a little on one side."

Miss Duncan is less happy with her pathetic flower-woman, standing hatless and bonnetless near Charing Cross. Who that knows London does not know the inevitable big hat adorned with draggled feathers of the London flower-girl, one of the most characteristic features of the London streets? We doubt, too, very much if the imposing creature who keeps the door of the Métropole, where almost all the attendants are Germans, would have talked pure Cockney or demeaned himself by recommending a 'bus; while we are quite sure that an English girl, had she even known anything about it, would never have spoken of the American *mail* or the hotel *clerk*. In other places the English, as Miss Duncan gives and spells it, suggests Virginia rather than England. And is not "Great Scott!" wholly American? And is "pullin' our leg" really a common expression among Englishmen? These, however, are minor details.

The illustrations by Mr. F. H. Townsend are, as a rule, very good. The pen-and-ink drawings are more successful than the wash—that is, in the reproduction, for we are still waiting for the perfect tone-block. Mr. Townsend does not always follow the text as faithfully as he might. For example, the costume on page 5 is not that worn some twenty-five or thirty years ago; and the boots of the two girls on page 24 are hardly those suggested by the accompanying letterpress.

Life of Francis Higginson, First Minister in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, and Author of 'New England's Plantation' (1630). By Thomas Wentworth Higginson. ["Makers of America" Series.] Dodd, Mead & Co. Pp. iv, 158.

The connection of Francis Higginson with the settlement of Massachusetts was so brief, and his previous life so unrecorded, that the materials for his biography suffice for a mere outline sketch. Under these necessary limitations Col. Higginson has succeeded in presenting a readable life of his ancestor. He has allowed contemporary documents and the older historians, like Morton and Mather, to tell the story in the main, connecting these excerpts by gracefully written comments. The method has its advantages, but the proportion of the story told by Col. Higginson seems unduly scanty; and, as he does not enter largely into criticism in his comments, the biography presents little that is not already familiar. Of the many obscure points concerning the early history of the Salem plantation, the writer has discussed none critically, and the larger problems, of which that settlement was but one at-

tempt at solution, he evidently has considered outside the scope of his plan.

Col. Higginson gives us a brief account of the parentage and education of his progenitor; and, in default of any knowledge of the actual incidents of his college experiences beyond the dates of graduation at Cambridge, draws a graphic picture of university life three hundred years ago. The account of Higginson's ministerial career in England is taken from the 'Magnalia.' Excerpts, chiefly from the Massachusetts Company Records and Higginson's journal and letters, as given in Hutchinson's 'Collection,' tell the story of the transfer to American soil. The same extensive use is made of documents and of the older historians in describing the settlement of Higginson over his Salem flock, and the revolt of the conformist Brownes. The biography closes with a sketch of Higginson's family. In the course of the narrative Higginson's 'New England's Plantation' is reprinted from its third edition (1630), and place is found for the 'Generall Considerations for the Plantation in New England' without absolute denial that Winthrop may have been the author. The result of Col. Higginson's work is a vivacious little book.

It is to be regretted, however, that the writer has fallen into one serious error. He calls special attention to the covenant adopted by the Salem Church in 1629, and on pp. 80, 81, he gives what purports to be that document. But what Col. Higginson has reprinted from Mather is really the renewed covenant of 1636, without the preamble, and is, with the exception of a single sentence which is all that remains of the original symbol, the work in all probability of Hugh Peter, pastor of the Salem Church from 1636 to 1641. The writer has erred in good company in this matter, but it is none the less an error. No question in New England ecclesiastical history was more debated thirty years ago than that of the original Salem covenant. The late Joseph Felt maintained—it would seem largely under the stress of polemic considerations—that a *Direction*, prepared not far from 1665 by John Higginson, son of the hero of our biography, preserved the essential form of the original symbol. On the other hand, the learned Judge White contended, in his 'New England Congregationalism,' that the covenant as given by Col. Higginson is the original. But both were mistaken, and no writer has more clearly perceived their mistake than a late pastor of the Salem church, Charles W. Upham, whose 'Address at the Re-dedication of the First Church, in Salem, Mass., December 8, 1867,' Col. Higginson cites, though without observing this point, in the paragraph following his text of the Salem covenant. Upham holds that the original covenant consisted of a single sentence: "We covenant with the Lord, and one with another, and do bind ourselves in the presence of God, to walk together in all His ways, according as He is pleased to reveal Himself unto us, in His blessed word of truth" (Address, p. 29.) All that follows in the text printed by Col. Higginson is an addition of Hugh Peter's when the covenant was renewed.

This conclusion, which was based by Upham and others solely on internal evidence in the wording of the covenant itself, is made certain by testimony which all the writers on the controversy have overlooked. In a criticism of New England church usages published by William Rathband, London, 1644, under the title of 'A Briefe Narration,' two specimens of Puritan covenants are given (pp. 17-19). One of these he declares to be that renewed by the church at Rotterdam, Holland, "when Mr. H. P. [Hugh Peter] was made their Pastour"; the other is the "renewed" Salem covenant given by Col. Higginson. This passage from Rathband was reproduced by Hanbury ('Memorials,' ii, 309, 310). So great is the similarity of expression between the two documents given by Rathband that both must be from one source, and that the pen of Hugh Peter, pastor successively at Rotterdam and Salem. The original covenant of the Salem church resembled in brevity and simplicity those of the Boston and Charlestown churches; and the nine articles which are appended to it in the form published by Col. Higginson were the result of the disturbances which accompanied the departure of Roger Williams. The writer has fallen into another error on p. 82, where he implies that the covenant published by Upham in his 'Address' is different from that given in the biography under review. It is the same, with the addition of the renewal preamble.

The quotations from printed documents, while in the main correct, show occasional slips in the reproduction of spelling, but the only important errors noticed are on p. 32, where the quotation from the Massachusetts Company Records should read *intimation* instead of "information"; and on p. 115, where the third line of the passage from the same Records should read *Gouno*r instead of "Gount." More material is the wrong citation from Young, 'Chronicles of Massachusetts,' on p. 47, which should be *Sept.* instead of "Nov."; and again on p. 112, where the date of the decision to transfer the patent and government to American soil is given as "August 29, 1630," instead of *1629*. The book is provided with a good index.

Under the Trees and Elsewhere. By Hamilton Wright Mabie. Dodd, Mead & Co. 1891.

THIS is a companion volume to its author's 'My Study Fire,' which we had occasion to speak of as a pleasant collection of indoor reveries and firelight pictures, with a few notes on books and authors. Here we have outdoor sketches, and some readers will recall them from the columns of the *Christian Union*, in which they originally appeared. Mr. Mabie is less interesting as a rambler in the country than as a dreamer and book-lover. He is neither fresh enough for originality, nor observant and precise enough for science—that is to say, he has neither Thoreau's nor Burroughs's vein. His ground appears to be, in the main, sentiment, with an atmosphere (we had almost written a haze) of Emersonianism hanging vaguely over it. The earlier portion of the volume in particular lacks gist; one chapter is too like another, though the topics change. In fact, Mr. Mabie has more style than matter, and consequently wearies. The latter half is taken up with a curious mystification about the Forest of Arden and the Island of the "Tempest," in which the writer feigns himself travelling with his own *Rosalind*, and here he betrays that literary sensibility which at times overpowered his individuality in the earlier work. His obligation to "Ik Marvel" is obvious. There is, however, in these two idealistic papers something of the same weakness of fibre already noticed in the sketches from nature, but with it goes also a susceptibility and a warmth of the literary temperament which would reconcile many readers to worse defects than any here.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

A Prince of Good Fellows. American News Co. 50 cents.
Auringer, O. C. The Heart of the Golden Roan. Boston: D. Lothrop Co. 75 cents.
Barnard, Charles. First Steps in Electricity. Charles E. Merrill & Co. 75 cents.
Barr, Amelia E. The Beads of Tasmer. Robert Bonner's Sons. $1.25.
Beal, E. A. The Information Readers. No. 1. Foods and Beverages. Boston School Supply Co. 60 cents.
Blaikie, J. A Text-Book of Geometrical Deductions. Book I. Longmans, Green & Co. 60 cents.
Burton, Chas. V. An Introduction to Dynamics. Longmans, Green & Co. $1.50.
Cahill, Mabel E. Her Playthings, Men. Worthington Co.
Cahun, L. Hassan le Janissaire. 1516. Paris: Armand Colin & Cie.
Caillard, E. M. Electricity. D. Appleton & Co. $1.25.
Chemistry in Space. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Macmillan.
Clowes, W. L. Black America. Cassell & Co. $1.50.
Darwin, C. Geological Observations. D. Appleton & Co.
Davis, R. H. Gallegher, and Other Stories. Charles Scribner's Sons. $1.
Denison, Mary A. If She Will She Will. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 50 cents.
Dix, M. The Authority of the Church. E. & J. B. Young & Co.
Dole, C. F. The American Citizen. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co.
Edwards, G. M. The Iliad of Homer. Book XXIII. Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan.
Emery, F. Notes on English Literature. Boston: Ginn & Co. $1.10.
Evans, L. J. Biblical Scholarship and Inspiration. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co. 50 cents.
Finck, H. T. Spain and Morocco. Charles Scribner's Sons. $1.25.
Gaullieur, H. Etudes Américaines. Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit & Cie.
Gladden, W. Who Wrote the Bible? Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $1.25.
Graves, C. A Field of Tares. Harper & Bros. 40 cents.
Guy Herndon; or, a Tale of Gettysburg. Bankers' and Brokers' Pub. Association. 25 cents.
Harlan, H. Grandison Mather. Cassell Publishing Co. 50 cents.
Harper, W. R. Eight Books of Cæsar's Gallic War. American Book Co. $1.20.
The American Law Register. Vol. XXIX. Philadelphia: D. B. Canfield Co.
The Devil's Visit. Excelsior Publishing House. $1.
The Yellow Ribbon Speaker. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 50 cents.
Uffelmann, J. Manual of the Domestic Hygiene of the Child. G. P. Putnam's Sons.
Vietor, W. German Pronunciation. Leipzig: O. R. Reisland; New York: B. Westermann & Co. 75 cents.
Wakeman, T. B. Ernest Haeckel. D. Appleton & Co.
Walpole, S. The Life of Lord John Russell. 2 vols. Longmans, Green & Co. $4.
Walpole, S. History of England. 6 vols. Longmans, Green & Co. $12.
Warden, Florence. Pretty Miss Smith. United States Book Co. 25 cents.
Warner, C. D. Our Italy. Harper & Bros.
Wilson, Rev. J. M. Sermons. Macmillan & Co. $1.75.
Winslow, W. C. The Pilgrim Fathers in Holland. Boston: G. P. Smith.
Wright, Prof. G. F. Charles Grandison Finney. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $1.25.
Wright, L. Optical Projection. Longmans, Green & Co. $2.25.
Wright, Capt. A. M. Three Months with the New York *Herald*. William Beverley Harrison. $1.25.
Zola, E. Money. Chicago: Laird & Lee; Boston: Benj. R. Tucker.

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MAY 7, 1891.

The Week.

MR. LEECH, the Director of the Mint, is, we believe, quite sound on the coinage question, which is his legitimate field, and his testimony has had considerable weight in the recent discussions about silver. This fact makes his recent irruption into the Treasury Department, with a suggestion that the Government should meet its present difficulties by suspending specie payments, all the more unfortunate because he will not be listened to hereafter on any subject with anything like the same attention as formerly. His proposal to use for current expenses the money now held in reserve under the act of Congress to maintain the redeemability of the greenbacks is, in reality, a proposal to suspend specie payments, for, if the fund were once dissipated, there would not be the smallest chance of its restoration. The whole body of currency cranks would unite in resisting its restoration. They would feel that in this way they were demonstrating the power of the Government to make money for the people. They would enjoy, too, immensely the discredit it would throw on gold, which they hate, just as they love silver. To have the Director of the Mint, of all men in the world, recommend such a policy, will therefore delight them. They will say that here is a man, who probably knows gold better than any one else in the country, recommending its expulsion. He has fathomed its meanness, and fickleness, and distrust of the masses, and its worship of aristocracy, and its unwillingness to go West, and therefore proposes to kick it out.

Our readers may remember Mr. Blaine's contention that he got his right to police Bering Sea from Russia when she ceded Alaska to the United States. It filled the whole of his last great despatch to Lord Salisbury. The *Tribune* was absolutely dazed by the argument, and was short of epithets to describe its splendor and force. The *Journal de St.-Pétersbourg*, in an evidently semi-official paper, now demolishes it from top to bottom, stone by stone. It is as elaborate a piece of work as has ever been performed on our nimble Secretary by critic or enemy. It says that Russia never ceded any rights in sea or land in Bering Sea, except such as rested on the ordinary law of nations, because she never had any to cede, and that the ukase taking in one hundred miles of high sea along the coastline as a little private fishing-ground, which Mr. Blaine has made so much of, was, to speak familiarly, all "poppycock," was never put in force, or meant to be put in force. It winds up by asserting that "the pretensions of the United States in this matter are in absolute contradiction to the most elementary principles of international law."

The *Tribune's* explanation, which has doubtless been received from Washington, is that it is plain that the *Journal de St.-Pétersbourg* does not speak for M. de Giers, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and that it does not know anything about the matter in hand, and that "the power of nations to extend their jurisdiction over the open ocean for a lawful purpose is recognized by all nations, and has been frequently practised by England," and "has the sanction of all accepted writers, for it is both just and necessary." There is a curious mixture of fatuity and slyness in this. The power of nations to extend their jurisdiction *over their own vessels and citizens* "on the open ocean" for lawful purposes has never been questioned by any writer. But the present controversy is about the power of nations to extend their jurisdiction over foreign vessels on the high seas, for any purpose whatever not recognized by special agreement, like the suppression of the slave trade. No "accepted writer" has ever in recent times recognized any such power, as our sly friend in Washington well knows. Who is his "accepted writer," and what is the page of the work? The *Tribune* also revives the theory of an ocean game law, which enables a government to pursue and recapture on the high seas in foreign vessels the young of wild animals which may possibly have been born in its own territory; but this is too absurd for discussion.

The notification which the Chinese Government has sent to Washington that it is unwilling to receive Henry W. Blair as American Minister, ought to make the President ashamed of himself for appointing him to the place, but it probably will not. If the United States had been searched to get the most conspicuously unfit man for the Chinese mission, Blair would have been selected after competitive examination as distancing all others. He had been rejected as Senator by his own State after a career in the Senate which had made him a butt for the jeers of the whole country, when the President, for no other reason than that he was "out of a job," appointed him Minister to China, whose people he had brutally assailed in an ignorant way peculiarly his own. The appointment was, in fact, the most striking illustration we have had of the disgraceful use which our Government habitually makes of its foreign missions, giving them as rewards for political service—"plums" for politicians. President Harrison and Secretary Blaine have done this in a more wholesale manner than almost any of their predecessors, using all the first class missions to reward their own supporters, in the press and out of it, without regard to their fitness for the posts to which they were assigned. Blair happened to be only a little more unfit than some of the others, and, unluckily for him, the barrier of language has not been sufficient to prevent the Chinese Government from obtaining an accurate idea of his personality.

Nevertheless, "I should," says the great man, "have proceeded to China, Emperor or no Emperor, but for the order of Secretary Blaine recalling me." In other words, the Chinese would have had to get rid of him by force if they did not want him, had not Secretary Blaine interfered. Blair knows nothing about the diplomatic distinction between a "persona grata" and a "persona non grata." It is all one to him which he is, in his diplomatic career, as long as he can draw the salary. It is fair to Blair to say that he is not as absurd in this view as he seems. It is a view which grows quite naturally out of our mode of filling diplomatic places; but, of course, when it gets into the brain of the born natural, it finds funny expression. When a broken-down politician seeks a foreign mission, it never occurs to him that he is sent abroad to maintain good relations between his own Government and that to which he is accredited. The appointment comes to him solely as a reward for past services to the party; and when any foreign Power refuses to receive him because he is unfit, he feels towards it as he would feel towards a "darned Mugwump" who had opposed his confirmation by the Senate. Blair now says he is going to Japan, which "will suit him equally as well if not better." "The Japanese Mission," he says, "is as satisfactory both as to the character and dignity of the country *and the salary*." We have italicized this last consideration because we are sure that Blair, great a fool as he seems externally, really regarded it as the main chance. But how will the Japanese feel about taking New Hampshire's and China's leavings?

The Democrats in the Michigan Senate, with the help of the Patrons of Industry, have passed the bill which went through the House some time ago providing for the choice of Presidential electors by districts next year, instead of in a single block, as heretofore. As the signature of the Democratic Governor is assured, it is now certain that Michigan's fourteen votes in the Electoral College of 1892 will be divided between the two parties. The coalition of Democrats and Patrons in the Senate followed up the passage of this bill with one making a new division of the State into Congressional districts, which will go through the strongly Democratic House without any difficulty. Under the old apportionment during the past decade, the Democrats have never carried less than two of the eleven districts (their number in 1888), and have gone as

high as five in 1886, six in 1882, seven in 1884, and eight in 1890. Under the new apportionment of the twelve Representatives which the State will now have, the Democrats count confidently upon securing six, even if the Republicans have a majority of the votes in all the districts, as in 1884 and 1888; and they also hope to carry one of the two large districts which will choose the electors at-large.

The Nebraska Legislature also had before it during its recent session a bill providing for the choice of Presidential electors by districts, but it failed to pass. The same policy has been urged in the Ohio Legislature, which is now controlled by the Democrats, but at last accounts it was hardly expected that it would be adopted. Wisconsin is still another State where the system might have been introduced, as the Democrats controlled both the Executive and Legislative departments, but it was not even mooted, we think—certainly not pushed with any zeal. Perhaps the reason was, that the Democrats are so hopeful of carrying the State and securing all the electoral votes next year, that they preferred to take their chances of getting the whole number under the old system than to adopt a new one under which the Republicans would be sure to have several. It is not unlikely that Wisconsin will be a close State in 1892. It gave Harrison 21,321 more votes than Cleveland in 1888, but last fall elected a Democratic Governor by a plurality of 28,320. The issue on which the contest turned in 1890 was a purely State one, arising out of a controversy over the teaching of English in the schools; but the shrewdest Republican managers fear that some of their old allies among the Germans and other foreign-born voters who deserted them last year, will remain permanently in the Democratic party. However the Presidential contest may result, it is probable that the Democrats will secure the Legislature, and the United States Senatorship that goes with it, as they have a considerable majority among the holding-over members of the upper branch, and have redistricted the State so that the Republicans cannot reasonably hope to elect enough of their party to overcome this advantage.

Massachusetts continues to reap advantages from having a wide-awake Democrat in the Executive chair. Gov. Russell's latest service to the State is rendered in a message which he has sent to the Executive Council, protesting against the payment of an impudent claim for $14,000 which has been put in by one Davis for his alleged services as "legislative agent" of Massachusetts at Washington in securing the passage by Congress of the Direct-Tax Bill. The contract was made by the Republican Governor and Council a year ago, and if Mr. Brackett had been reëlected last fall, the bill would doubtless have been paid without any fuss about it. But Gov. Russell points out that the act of Congress refunding the tax itself provided "that no part of the money hereby appropriated shall be paid out by the Governor of any State or Territory or any other person to any attorney or agent, under any contract for services now existing or heretofore made between the representative of any State or Territory and any attorney or agent"; that if Davis really rendered any services, which is disputed, they must have been in the way of lobbying, and fall under the decision of the United States Supreme Court, in the case of Trist vs. Child, that such services were illegitimate, and, considered in connection with the pecuniary interest of the agent at stake, contrary to the plainest principles of public policy; and that the contract under which he was to be paid only in case of success falls within a decision of the Massachusetts Supreme Court, that "an agreement by which, in consideration that an attorney should prosecute suits in behalf of his client for certain sums of money, in which he had himself no previous interest, it was agreed that he should keep one-half of the amount recovered in case of success, and should receive nothing for his services in case of failure—is unlawful and void." In view of these facts, the Governor suggests that the Attorney-General be asked whether the contract is legally binding upon the Commonwealth, adding his own opinion that, "if said contract is illegal, because champertous, against public policy, or for other cause, I am of the opinion that the Commonwealth is under no obligation, moral or equitable, to recognize the claim of Mr. Davis."

Mayor Grant's last appointments are apparently much worse than the former ones, and still further confirm Mr. Hewitt's predictions as to Tammany's aims in taking charge of the city government. We have never in the history of New York had such a list of municipal officers as Mayor Grant has now given us. The appointment of "Barney" Martin as Commissioner of Jurors is a lower depth by far than was reached or attempted even under Tweed, and has a significance which will be perceived more clearly by and by than now. *It means the provision of better protection in the courts for Tammany office-holders and members of the Tammany committees than is now to be had, and better means of avenging or punishing the enemies and critics of Tammany than now exist.* It means the cessation of such interferences with the organization as the presentment of the Grand Jury against the Sheriff's office as administered by Grant, and as the indictment of the Excise Commissioners and of the ruffian Barker. It means, in short, a more efficient control by Tammany of the machinery of justice. It probably means, too, greater terrors for those who venture to expose or criticise the doings of the conspirators in the public press. It is, in fact, considering who and what "Barney" Martin is, and what the work he is now set to do, the boldest stroke Tammany has yet made.

We do not say all this by way of condemnation of the Mayor. In making these appointments he is simply exercising, in the way he was expected to exercise them, the permission and authority given him last fall by 146,000 voters of this city, out of a total registry of 244,970. Of these, 116,581, by voting directly for him, said in effect that he was the kind of Mayor they liked, and that they hoped he would give them, in his second term, the same kind of city officers he had given them in his first, and if possible worse ones. The remaining 30,000, by staying away from the polls, said, in effect, that they cared very little about city government; that, on the whole, they thought him a better Mayor than any other that offered, and did not object to his filling the public offices with his old "pals" and cronies.

The adjournment of the French Chambers over Easter without having taken definite action on the report of the Tariff Committee gave opportunity for an immense number of public and organized protests against the proposed new tariff. The *Journal des Économistes* has given up a great deal of space in its last two issues to the recording of such protests, and altogether they go far towards justifying Lord Salisbury's remark at the Associated Chambers of Commerce dinner, that in France the Government was more strongly protectionist than the people. Especially noteworthy is the action of the Lyons workingmen in joining their employers in protesting against a measure professedly designed to benefit the laboring men of France. The great silk-manufacturers and exporters put in their protest some time ago, but the protectionist orators said that the employees would take a different view. Another protest of real intellectual weight is that of various associations of writers and artists, who declare that the proposed narrow policy will lead to reprisals which will result in the injury of French literary and artistic producers. Sardou's name is signed for the Society of Dramatists. As showing a certain international solidarity of interest in the whole question, we note the resolutions adopted by the Consumers' League of Bordeaux, which, after vigorously protesting against the schemes of French "mac-kinléisme," "offered congratulations, in the person of the eminent ex-President Cleveland, to the free-traders of the United States, for the great victory won over American *mac-kinléisme* at the November elections."

The Clitheroe case, in which the Court of Appeal denied Mr. Jackson's right to compel his wife to live with him, is still the subject of fierce discussion in England. Mrs. Jackson is publishing in the newspapers, in self-defence, a history of her matrimonial life, which, however, contains nothing new, and the religious world is greatly excited over the decision, as in some manner, not clearly explained, weakening the marriage bond. The only serious result of it so far is the declaration of some justices of the peace that they will hereafter refuse, as useless, the separation order which the law now allows them to make on the application

of wives who charge their husbands with ill treatment or failure to support them. These justices say that as the wife, under the Jackson judgment, can leave her husband whenever she pleases, the trial of these applications would be now a mere farce. This has led to some very sharp remarks on the justices by the Lord Chancellor and Lord Esher, who shared in the judgment, at one of the non-judicial sittings in the House of Lords—an unprecedented occurrence, we believe. They said that they had nothing to do with the effect of their judgment on the separation orders, and that the observations of the justices were very unbecoming. If anybody is to blame in the matter, it is Parliament, which recently, by the "Weldon Act," deprived the courts of the power to enforce decrees for the "restitution of conjugal rights," by imprisonment, and failed to provide any other sanction, so that these decrees are now an empty form. Lord Esher remarked, sarcastically, that he never knew what "restitution of conjugal rights" meant, and had never met any one who did; but, whatever it meant, the Lord Chancellor and he, sitting in appeal, were quite satisfied that when the Legislature took away from the courts the power of punishing denial of conjugal rights with imprisonment, it never meant to hand the power over to the husband, and let him lock his wife up until she surrendered. If this state of things weakens the marriage bond, it is for Parliament to supply the remedy. The ferment the affair has excited is very curious, but hardly more curious than the English horror of marriage with a deceased wife's sister, approval of which by an Englishman many of the clergy look on as a sign of great moral weakness, on all sorts of subjects.

The London *Spectator* has an interesting article on "Sensational Trials," in which it gives a wonderful account of the interest excited by the Hurlbert case. It says that during the week in which it was going on "Mr. Hurlbert's conduct was discussed in clubs ten times as much as Mr. Quinton's. [Quinton was the British Commissioner killed in Manipur.] It is not too much to say that throughout London on Monday afternoon foreign affairs and Parliamentary disputes were alike forgotten, and that the single question on the tongue of all men, cultivated and uncultivated alike, was, 'How has the verdict gone?' nobody even stopping to explain about what verdict he inquired." It then goes on to show the greater sensationalism of such trials than of any novels that authors venture to write. "No popular writer in England would venture to depict a person such as Capt. Verney is charged with being, and will, we heartily hope, prove himself not to be; while the most daring of French or Russian analysts of secret crime would have hesitated before the surprise involved in Mr. Hurlbert's successful defence—that he once had in his service a secretary who personated him through months of evil adventure, wrote 150 letters in handwriting exactly like his employer's, and then vanished into the impenetrable cloudland of the United States."

No comment on the Hurlbert case is adequate, however, which does not treat the trial as a climax to his whole career in England. His defence was simply the crowning curiosity of his life in that country. We trust some biography—better than all, some autobiography—of him will yet be written, for it will be a very fascinating contribution to modern literature. He, an almost unknown foreigner, and without one of the usual guarantees of respectability from his own country, obtained in a year or two the hearty welcome of the most exclusive circles of London society, became a valued contributor to the English press, and finally a much-prized authority on the most burning question of British politics, and imposed himself on the *Spectator* as a pious American Catholic who was sickened by the sinfulness of his fellow-Catholics in Ireland. It was this immense success, accomplished through sheer force of social agreeableness and audacity, which prepared him for that wonderful *coup* which has so startled the British Isles, the invention of "Wilfrid Murray." He felt that he had his finger and thumb on the throat of the British chicken and could cram down anything he pleased. As a London authority on America, or professor of America, as we might say, he was the successful rival even of Squire Smalley, and poisoned the happiness of this personage by his still readier access to "great houses," where he was many times as amusing as the Squire, and vastly more improving in his conversation. We should think enterprising publishers would pursue Mr. Hurlbert night and day for a contract for a work entitled 'England as I Found It, and as It Found Me.'"

The scarcity of farm laborers, a phenomenon particularly noticeable throughout New England, and the crowding of cities with men almost starving for the want of work, do not appear to be confined to the United States. According to a writer in the *Nineteenth Century*, they exist in Australia, where the demand for labor to develop the immense agricultural resources of the country is very pressing. There, as here, a disproportionate growth of rural and urban populations has taken place. Australian laborers, like their American brethren, have a strong repugnance for life in the country, even with the assurance of plenty of work at good wages and an abundance of fresh air and light in their dwellings. "We saw the unemployed in Sydney," writes an agent of the English Emigration Society, giving a glimpse of this unattractive trait of Australian labor, "marching about by hundreds, . . . demanding of the Government six shillings a day without piecework, because to offer less would be, as they termed it, 'a degradation of labor,' . . . and many of them declining it because, when provided, it was a few miles up the country." The unfavorable reception in Australia of the proposed scheme of Baron Hirsch to assist Russian Jews to emigrate to that country was to have been expected. Australian labor regards with no favor any step that might increase the competition among its adherents. A few years ago it adopted the policy of exclusion, and so potent has it been at the polls and in legislatures because of the extent and thoroughness of its organization, that it has succeeded in enforcing its view. It has repealed the State-aid immigration laws; it has secured the adoption of other legislation shutting out the Chinese and the natives of the Pacific islands, so much needed to work on railroads and on sugar plantations in the tropical and subtropical parts of the continent, where the climate is so unfavorable to the European laborer that he sickens and often dies; it has, in fact, spread abroad unfounded reports as to the disadvantages of the country to people contemplating emigration. The consequence of this policy has been, as the author of an essay in the recently published work, 'A Plea for Liberty,' points out, the slow growth of population, and its actual decline in the mining and agricultural districts, steadily diminishing exports, and the neglect or decay of innumerable profitable employments.

It has all along been believed that the wild-cat financiering now so much in vogue in Brazil was mostly a private affair of the speculators, and that the administration of the public Treasury was conservative and safe. But late revelations go far towards destroying this confidence. The account published in the *Jornal do Commercio* of the excessive number of contracts and subventions entered into by the Minister of Agriculture and Public Works showed that, if they were all to be carried out, an amount of money would be called for equal to about eight times the entire annual revenue. Of course they will not all be carried out; some of the contracts have already lapsed or been cancelled, and more will be. Yet it gives a shock to public credit to find them even contemplated on such an enormous scale. Following this has come the revelation of some very questionable methods on the part of the Minister of Finance. He was charged with having quietly paid out the gold reserve that guarantees the Government paper currency, after the manner suggested as possible for Secretary Foster. This he denied, though in a highly ambiguous fashion, and in the face of a debt statement that seemed to warrant the charge. Whatever the merits of that controversy, Minister Barbosa has been simply overwhelmed in debate with a former Secretary of the Treasury. The latter has shown that the accounts passed over to the Treasurer of the Revolution by the Treasurer of the Empire have been completely fuddled by the former, so that an actual surplus of about $10,000,000 was converted into a deficit of $12,000,000. And the worst of it is that Barbosa has been forced to admit his blunder, saying that it was due to "a hasty reading of the figures."

A DECADE OF RAILWAY TRAVEL.

THE Census Bulletin giving comparative railway statistics for New England during the last decade suggests a number of points having economic importance. The growth of passenger travel is one of these. It appears that population in New England increased 17 per cent. from 1880 to 1889, and the length of railroad line 16 per cent.; the growth being nearly the same in both. Yet the number of passengers carried almost doubled (increase 98 per cent.) during this period. This greater use of railway facilities in 1889 than in 1880 is due primarily to the increase in suburban travel; more people, that is, live out of town and go daily into the city for business or pleasure. This fact is clearly brought out by another comparison: though the number of passengers increased 98 per cent., the number of miles travelled by all of them increased but 78 per cent., showing that the larger part of this increase was in short-distance journeys. Other census figures have shown us that our larger cities are growing faster than the smaller towns or villages; it is an important fact to remember in connection with this that there is also evident a movement of population from the more crowded portions of cities toward the suburbs. The shortening of the average railroad journey shows this better than the census, because city suburbs may be practically in the country although included within the municipal limits.

This growth of suburban travel may be more clearly brought out by some statistics of a Western road. From 1880 to 1889 the mileage of the Chicago and Northwestern Railway increased 91 per cent., and its passenger movement (miles travelled by passengers) but 99 per cent. Thus its passenger traffic has scarcely more than kept pace with its extensions; but the character of that traffic has changed completely, the increase in the number of individual travellers being 190 per cent. That is, had it not been for the suburban travel (in and out of Chicago principally), the Northwestern's traffic would have shown a comparative decrease. The same is true of other Western roads. The difference in the percentages of increase between New England and the States beyond Chicago indicates more than a growth in suburban population. It will be noticed that the increase in passenger traffic per mile of road in New England, 1889 over 1880, is about 55 per cent., while on the Northwestern it is only 4 per cent. This means that country people and villagers use the railways much more frequently in New England than at the West. No doubt the census statistician is right in ascribing this in a great measure to the manufacturing industries in New England, which encourage travelling on the part of operatives seeking or changing employment, and also on the part of salesmen and other business men connected with factories. Yet the fact that the number of individual travellers has increased during the decade six times more than population, seems fairly to allow the inference that persons living in the villages or large towns in New England are now taking more frequent trips to neighboring cities or to Boston or New York—in other words, that opportunities for general culture are more common and more generally availed of.

The railways west of Chicago find a different state of affairs. Many of their lines reach into sections hundreds of miles from any great centre. The struggle for existence is hard. Farming considered as a business requires but little travelling on the part of those engaged in it, and, as a matter of fact, agriculture, so important to the community at large, furnishes less freight and passengers to a railway in proportion to its general importance than mining or manufacturing. The villagers of New England travel for other purposes than merely the sale of produce or the purchase of supplies. In the April report of the Department of Agriculture the statistician ventures to prophesy. He says: "The proportion of agricultural labor will decrease, non-agricultural will increase, agricultural production will be more varied, rural intelligence and skill will advance, and the farmer be in better position to demand and secure an equitable share in the net proceeds of national industries." The falling off in rural population shown by the census may be accompanied by an increase of product per capita, and be therefore to a certain extent a sign of progress; yet until the farmers are in a position of comparative comfort and wealth, it is evident they will not afford to railways such an amount of passenger traffic as will be a source of much net profit.

The railway which is ambitious to increase its passenger receipts must, at least in the West, look first to the cities. The English railway manager Mr. Findlay, in his paper before the International Railway Congress at Paris in 1889, summed up his experience in these words: "As regards long distance traffic, I do not believe that the reduction of fares or any other concessions tend to materially increase the volume of business; as a rule, people do not take long journeys unless they have an actual necessity to do so, and in that case they will travel whatever the fare may be, within reasonable limits. Of course, this remark is not intended to apply to the traffic between large towns and seaside and other holiday resorts, this being a case in which, by judicious concessions, a traffic is created which could not otherwise exist."

All this seems to confirm the view that a compulsory reduction of passenger fares on the part of Western legislatures will not of itself induce a corresponding increase in the travelling of the farming class. A growth in passenger traffic must depend for the present upon other things, such as more diversified industry. If the farmers cannot yet take frequent trips to the city, it is the part of wisdom to induce the city residents, if possible, to live in the country. Through such an exchange our railways may increase their traffic, and at the same time rob the fact of our cities' disproportionate growth of some of the terrors with which alarmists have clothed it.

THE PROSPEROUS SOUTH.

THE statistics presented by the Superintendent of the Census in a late number of the *Manufacturers' Record* justify an economist's recent hyperbole, that the future situs of the principal iron production of the nation will be found within a radius of seventy-five miles from the topmost peak of the Great Smoky Mountains. They also show that King Cotton of ante-bellum days is a thing of the past: he now shares his sway on the plantations with a great diversity of crops, while he has begun a new kingdom among the factories and mills of the new South.

"Tens of thousands of acres in the Southern States that at one time produced a bale of cotton to the acre, are now covered with millions of vines, peach and pear trees, while trains and steamers for months in the year bear northward their burdens of vegetables and small fruits to supply the markets in States where ice and snow still hold sway." Moreover, the establishment of great industries, with consequent concentration of population and increase of wants, has created a new home market for a variety of crops and dairy produce. The total gain in value of the agricultural products of the South in 1889 over 1879 was upwards of two hundred and fifty millions, while during the same period the increase in value of live stock (including horses, mules, milch cows, oxen, sheep, and hogs) was nearly $178,000,000. A moderate estimate places the aggregate value of the agricultural products of this region in 1889 at $850,000,000.

But the industrial growth and outlook of the Southern States cannot be more concisely or graphically measured than by the production and handling of the three staples, cotton, iron, and coal; the last of these three is, indeed, an open sesame to the successful manufacture of the first two. "The fact that since 1865 nearly $8,000,000,000 have been brought into the South to pay for cotton, explains in part the marvellous recuperative powers of this section since the war." For many years three-fourths of the world's annual cotton crop (now about 11,000,000 bales) has come from the United States, but whereas, in 1880, the amount of cotton manufactured in the South was only 180,000 bales, in 1890 it had reached half a million bales, an increase in round numbers of 175 per cent., or about 8 per cent. of its product. In 1880 the twelve Southern States had only 156 cotton mills; last year they reported 366.

The South to-day is producing as much coal, iron ore, and pig iron as the whole country did twenty years ago. In the census year 1870 the bituminous-coal production of the Southern States was only 2,000,000 tons, that of the United States 15,000,000; in 1880 the output for the Southern States had risen to 5,676,160, in 1890 to 17,772,945 tons.

The quality of this Southern coal peculiarly adapts it for manufacturing purposes. Official reports of various comparative analyses of the Pennsylvania coke and the East Tennessee forty-six and seventy-two-hours' cokes show the superior quality of the

Tennessee coal for smelting iron ore, and for use in the various manufactures of steel in the Bessemer and open-hearth steel works. It has been asserted by many iron-makers that Southern iron ore could not compete in the manufacture of steel rails, etc., but competent experts reinforce the chemical analyses which prove that the magnetic iron ore of Tennessee "produces a metal not only fit for rails and the finest structural steel, but from which the finest cutlery has been and can be made." Mr. Porter states that enough of these high-grade ores exist in eastern Tennessee to supply the Southwest with steel and iron for a thousand years. Although previous to 1870 the mineral industries of the Southern States were almost *nil* (Tennessee being the only one in that year reporting any pig iron, and then less than 29,000 tons), while in 1880 their entire output of pig iron was short of 400,000 tons, in 1890 the production of iron ore in the nine iron-producing Southern States amounted to 2,917,529 tons, almost equal to the total production of the whole country in 1870.

Already, as a result of this wonderful mineral development, whole sections of country have been metamorphosed from agricultural to manufacturing districts, and we find an increase of urban population in several States of from 50 to 93 per cent. This revolution in social distribution—which it is the fashion to deplore regardless of the causes producing the change—has been a potent factor in educational advancement. With the phenomenal increase of taxable property incident to this concentration of population has come a gain in public-school enrolment enormously greater than the increase in population, with a correspondingly generous expenditure for educational needs. In Virginia alone between 1880 and 1890, while the per cent. of gain in population was only 9.48, the per cent. of gain in public-school enrolment was 55.06. It may be noted that with this advance in general educational facilities, the number of periodicals published at the South has increased over 65 per cent. The Census Bulletin on urban population contains hundreds of examples of small towns in Alabama, Georgia, Tennessee, Kentucky, North Carolina, and Virginia, which have, during the last decade, magically grown into centres of industry, intelligence, and thrift.

The railroad mileage of the South between 1880 and 1890 increased over 97 per cent., with a network of new roads being built and projected. The total assessed value of property in the nine States of Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas, Tennessee, Kentucky, and West Virginia in 1880 was $2,913,436,095, in 1889 it was $4,220,166,400, being an increase during the ten years of $1,306,729,929; but the census authorities state that these figures represent only about "41 per cent. of the true value. . . . On this basis . . . there was a gain of over $3,000,000,000."

The advance of one section of the United States means a step forward for all. Southern progress stands for national growth, and, as such, appeals to the North as well as to the South; indeed, much of the industrial activity at the South revealed by the Eleventh Census would have been impossible without Northern capital, experience, and enterprise. That the people of the Southern States show a willingness to better their instruction, illustrates the power of recuperation and the capacity for social evolution always possessed by a sound and intelligent race.

BISMARCK'S TRANSFORMATION.

Prince Bismarck has at last been elected to the Reichstag on a second ballot for the constituency of Geestemünde, by a clear majority over his opponent, Herr Schmalfeldt, the Socialistic candidate. But the whole process has been very humiliating for him. It was very hard for such a magnate as he to have any opposition at all, when he announced his willingness to return to politics, in a country in which official greatness counts for so much as in Germany; but it was harder still to find that he could not on the first ballot get a majority of the votes. Even on the second ballot Herr Schmalfeldt has made a very respectable showing, for he has about 5,500 votes, against Bismarck's 10,500. Few would have believed, without seeing it, that Bismarck could have been induced to make such an attempt, and fewer still that, if made, it would not be immediately successful.

But his difficulty in getting into Parliament is not nearly as odd as his wish to get in. During his whole official life he has never lost an opportunity of repudiating the idea that he was or ever could be anybody's servant but the Crown's, and that he was or could be made accountable for anything he said or did to anybody but the Emperor, and that it was allowable for any man who had ever been a servant of the Crown to become, in any shape or form, a critic or opponent of the policy of the Government, in or out of Parliament. No one in Germany repelled so resolutely as he the notion that there was any analogy or resemblance between the Prussian parliamentary system and that of Great Britain, or that there could be such a thing in the German Parliament as a legitimate or loyal opposition headed by an ex-Minister. In truth, he punished several of his old colleagues—Eulenburg, Falk, Hobrecht, and Puttkamer, for instance—for acting on or even countenancing this theory.

No sooner, however, had he been precipitated into private life, and discovered that he was after all not a necessary man, and that the Empire had not to wait until his death in order to find out how to do without him, than he adopted the English system, apparently without the least hesitation. He has been for nearly a year pouring forth from his retreat at Friedrichsruhe a stream of criticism on the policy of the Emperor and his Ministers almost as trenchant and bitter as those of Mr. Gladstone or John Morley on the policy of the Ministry in England. But then these might have passed as the utterances of what is known to us as a "Sage," namely, a retired politician, living in the country at some little distance from a railroad station, and ready to converse on public affairs with all visitors, in the character simply of a somewhat despondent observer. Even this was thought very unbecoming; but everybody, from the Emperor down, was disposed to forgive much to a man whose fall from power and greatness had been so sudden and mortifying, and in whose breast both hope and ambition were dead.

It now turns out that he does not mean to be a Sage at all; that he has gone clear over to the English idea of parliamentary government; that he desires to reënter public life, as the leader of the Opposition, like Mr. Gladstone, and, like Mr. Gladstone, finds it quite possible to be a loyal subject of the Emperor, and even a loyal colonel of cavalry, while condemning all the plans and projects and ideas of the Ministry, and while in fact proclaiming his belief that they are leading the Empire, and even the social fabric itself, straight to ruin. No conversion from one school of politics to another so sudden and complete has happened in modern times. The Prince has gone over to the enemy with arms and baggage. There have been many cases since the French Revolution of the reconciliation of believers in divine right and strong military government to the theory of popular sovereignty and government by public opinion, but they have all, or at least all the conspicuous ones, been cases of reconciliation to the inevitable—cases of resignation to the Divine will while expecting the worst to happen. No one of Bismarck's standing has before not only adopted Liberal ideas, but deliberately undertaken to use Liberal instrumentalities in support of them.

That the effect on German politics of his appearance in the new rôle in the Reichstag will be very demoralizing, we may feel very sure. He will not figure very long as a leader of the Opposition without making terrible fissures in the old Prussian theory of personal government and royal sacredness. The young politicians will cease to dread the social discredit of opposition, and freer parliamentary speech will become common among even aspirants to office. The English idea that an organized and well-led opposition is an essential part of parliamentary institutions, and that there is no necessary connection between criticism of men in power and treason or sedition, will gain a firm foothold in German politics, and gradually transform the Government, as the young Emperor gets over the confidence in his own wisdom and capacity which is not unnatural at his age. To feel thoroughly the strangeness of all this, one has, however, to look at some of Bismarck's speeches during his quarrels with the Prussian Landtag between 1862 and 1866, when he was the pride and glory of Junkerdom.

A MISREPRESENTED RUIN.

Philadelphia, April 2, 1891.

About fifteen miles northwest of the ruins of Niffer, where we were excavating, is the ruin mound of Zibliyeh, marked on Kiepert's 'Ruinenfelder' as the "great ruins of Zibliyeh." It was readily visible from Niffer,

forming our landmark on the northern horizon beyond the shifting sand-hills. It was an object of special interest to us, for in his report to the Archæological Institute the director of the Wolfe Expedition had said: "Zibliye is not a large mound; but it possesses a conspicuous *ziggurat*, and no excavation has ever been made there." This meant, of course, an unexplored and unknown Babylonian city with a temple of the first class, possessing a *ziggurat*, or stage pyramid, in the corners of which inscribed cylinders of clay were probably waiting to reveal to the happy explorer who should dig them out the secret of the name and origin of this forgotten shrine and city. Loftus and Sir H. Rawlinson, to be sure, were inclined to refer these ruins to a later period, probably the Parthian, but they had been outvoted, so that in his 'Ancient Monarchies' even Canon Rawlinson, following especially Layard, notices Zibliyeh as an ancient Babylonian ruin.

During our first year's work we were not able to visit Zibliyeh, but in the second year I determined to make a special effort to examine a little more carefully than had hitherto been done such of the ruin mounds of Babylonia as were within my reach, with a view especially to determine the epoch to which they belonged, and also the prospects for excavation. Our permit did not allow me to undertake excavations outside of the area of ten square kilometres at and about Niffer, for the Turkish law concerning antiquities is a copy of the Greek law; but the Government does not forbid explorers to examine unknown sites to determine whether or not excavations are desirable. Zibliyeh lies in a desert and forlorn country, overblown with sand-hills; waterless, except for the stagnant pools which you find everywhere in the desert after rain; a no-man's land, the roaming ground of various tribes of wild Arabs. Moreover, between us and Zibliyeh lay, or was apt to lie (for territories there are vague and variable) the land of the es-Sa'id Arabs, some of whom professed to have a blood feud against me, which involved their shooting me on sight or my paying them blood-money, the preliminary payment asked for being $45. The Affej Arabs, having entered into a guarantee for my safety, could not afford to allow me to be shot or stolen, since in the event of my loss they would lose their present profits from the monopoly of my usufruct and their expected reward for my safeguard; and they might even get into trouble with the Government. On the other hand, they did not wish any complications with the es-Sa'id. So alarmed did they profess to be at the threats of some of the latter tribe against my life (I knew that they were really directed against my pocket) that I was always kept under the closest watch, and could not leave the camp for any purpose without finding myself attended by an escort of one or two Arabs armed with long old-fashioned flint-locks. Naturally they did not wish me to go to Zibliyeh, and sought to prevent, and actually did delay, my trip to that point by all sorts of trickery and many somewhat inconsistent stories.

It was towards the end of March when I said positively that I was going, guard or no guard. When it became clear to their minds that I would not be deterred, difficulties and dangers suddenly vanished. The brother of our chief, with a couple of his tribesmen, mounted, formed our escort. Two Arab workmen with pick and hoe trotted by our side, keeping easy pace with our horses. On our right were the sand hills, like waves of the sea, and almost as fluctuating. There is not so much sand as one might suppose from the map, but it blows back and forth over a large area. In our course, according to Kiepert's 'Ruinenfelder,' which is based on the British surveys of the district, should have lain the "great ruins of Chirzfûn." I did not hear that name, neither did I see any great ruins. Abu Jasim, also, which is marked on the map, I failed to find. Both going and coming we passed several fields and very low mounds of brick and pottery fragments; the nameless, village-like ruins which one encounters in such great numbers all over the country. Sometimes the traveller will ride for miles over a plain strewn with pottery fragments, and not see the slightest elevation to mark the site of former buildings.

I had hoped to be able to trace the course of the ancient Shatt-en-Nil, the canal river by which Babylon and Niffer once held communication; but about a quarter or half a mile from Niffer all traces of the canal bed seemed vanished, and I did not find them again before Zibliyeh, some of the mounds at which place seemed to me to be old canal banks, perhaps the banks of the Shatt-en-Nil, with some transverse canals. It must be remembered, by the way, that the beds, and not only the banks of the ancient canals, are higher than the level of the plain. Only the newer canals, or those which were dug out again in more recent times, exist as depressions in the surface. The Shatt-en-Nil, one of the greatest and most important ship canals of ancient Babylonia, has a very deep dry bed at Babylon, where it leaves the Euphrates; and at Warka, ancient Erech, where it rejoins that stream, it is still deep enough to be full of water in the spring and early summer, as I found later by experience; but at intervening points I have found it as two lines of mounds, the space between which was elevated a yard or so above the surrounding plain.

Zibliyeh was a great disappointment. There is one prominent mound, the *ziggurat* of Layard and Ward, and a few low, insignificant mounds around it. Loftus says that the main mound is fifty feet high and forty-four paces square. It is hard to tell just where to measure it. I set the central or erect portion down as about thirty feet high, seventy-five feet long, and fifty feet broad. Two of the corners point approximately north and south. A very brief examination served to show that we had to do with no *ziggurat*, nor even with a ruin of the Babylonian period. On the northeast and southwest faces, where the mound had been much washed away, the ends of two several vaults of masonry are exposed to view, one of which served, at the occasion of our visit, for a hyena's den. Evidently, therefore, this was no solid terrace, like those which constitute the stages of a *ziggurat*. A very little scraping on the top of the mound revealed a structure of brick and plaster, resting on these vaults as a substructure. They, again, rested on a mound or terrace, apparently of rubble or clay, faced with a solid, thick wall of unbaked brick. This wall was carried up all around, either for defence or as an enclosure, to a point higher than the vaults, but lower than the top of the brick-and-plaster structure which was built upon those vaults. On the northeastern side, half way up, I found a small, shallow piece of brick wall at right angles to the outer walls, looking as though the entrance to the building above were by an ascent, either steps or an inclined plane, over the unbaked brick walls at this point, like the entrance to the famous Assyrian palace of Sargon at Khorsabad, but on a very small scale. On the top of the mound we found a rough plaster moulding and a part of a small half column of the same material. A piece of a similar half column was found at the foot of the mound. The baked bricks were of poor work, yellowish without and greenish within, coarse, uneven, and brittle. They were set in a profusion of mortar. The unbaked bricks, also, were of inferior quality, the clay little worked, full of air, and not well compressed, so that they crumble away and dissolve very readily, unlike the bricks of the good Babylonian periods. The straw with which the clay had been mixed to make the bricks was remarkably preserved; so that on breaking them you find not merely the mould of the straw in the clay, but the straw itself. Between each layer of bricks was a layer of reeds. These also were remarkably well preserved, and often where the bricks had been washed away you could see the reeds projecting so far that they waved and rustled in the wind. Outside of the ruins of this castle there is nothing of any importance at Zibliyeh—merely a few irregular, low, small mounds, some of them probably canal mounds, and fragments of brick and pottery scattered over the flat surface of the plain.

From what I saw I do not think that Zibliyeh could possibly be older than the Parthian period, where Loftus places it, while it might be much younger. The Arabs thereabouts say that it was built by an Arab king as a place from which to signal to bring his adherents together in case of a raid. Such native Arab stories of the origin and purpose of the ruins of the desert are ordinarily of no value whatever. In this case the present practice of the Bedouin has given rise to the story. Zibliyeh, Niffer, and similar ruin mounds are the only elevations, and, consequently, the natural watch-towers and signal stations of the country. On occasion of a threatened raid of the Shammar I have seen the top of the Bint-el-Amir, the *ziggurat* of the temple of Bel at Niffer, used as the station from which to warn the es-Sa'id and the Affej of the movements of the supposed marauders. The signal flag was nothing but an *aba*, the common Arabic cloak.

Zibliyeh may have been a castle to control a canal centre. This may also have been the object of the famous ruin of Akerkuf, near Babylon, the centre of the most remarkable network of canals that I saw in all Babylonia; only Akerkuf was, I judge, both more important and far older than Zibliyeh. Layard's error in describing Zibliyeh as an old Babylonian *ziggurat* ('Nineveh and Babylon,' p. 569) is readily explained and pardoned when it is remembered that he was returning, seriously ill and almost unable to sit his horse, from his bootless attempt to excavate Niffer, and took refuge on the summit of this mound, as the only visible place of defence against a hostile-looking troop of Arabs. He was not in a condition to observe for himself, but was compelled to trust to the eyes of others, who in their turn were too excited and hurried to observe correctly.

We were able to stay at Zibliyeh only about two hours, because, through a blunder, we found ourselves very inadequately supplied with water, and the men became useless and uncontrollable when suffering from thirst. Two Rufe'a Arabs came to Zibliyeh in search of water, because their camp had consumed the stagnant pool on which they had been depending, and must find another pool. Such is their life, and it is almost incredible on how little and how vile water they subsist. If their horses, camels, sheep, and asses can drink it, that is enough. Neither do they always encamp near

water, for I have seen a large camp situated at a distance of almost ten miles from water, while a distance of three or four miles is not infrequent. Water is needed chiefly for the animals, and they can be driven some miles to water, pasturing on the way back and forth. Their wants satisfied, little water is needed in camp, only enough for cooking, making coffee, and sometimes mixing with *lebben*, the soured or fermented milk of sheep or camels. No water was visible from Zibliyeh, and we knew of the existence of none nearer than the upper end of our own marshes, some nine or ten miles away, for the swamp of Abu Semak (father of fish) of Kiepert no longer exists. Accordingly about noon we were compelled to go in search of the Ruf'ea camp, which we found two or three miles away to the northeast. The Rufe'a had no water, but provided us liberally with *lebben*. It seemed useless to return to Zibliyeh, and all the men were strongly against it, so we went back to Niffer directly by a route further east than the one by which we had come in the morning.

I have ventured to enter into the narrative of this day's work somewhat fully because it illustrates very well the conditions of work in Mesopotamia, its difficulties, and the unsatisfactory and meagre knowledge of the country which we possess even in its best-explored parts; and I have described the ruins of Zibliyeh themselves at some length because, unimportant and comparatively modern as they actually are, they have been classed as important ruins, the remains of a great temple, and therefore presumably also of a great city, in the ancient Babylonian period.

JOHN P. PETERS.

Correspondence.

THE MOST-FAVORED-NATION CLAUSE AND RECIPROCITY.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The *Nation* of the 23d inst., in an editorial discussion of the reciprocity treaty with Spain, uses the following language:

"If Spain's treaty engagements with Great Britain, France, and Germany, or either of them, contain the 'most favored nation' clause, and if this clause applies to her colonies, she will be compelled to extend to them the same treatment as to ourselves. This would prevent us from gaining any advantage over other countries in the sale of articles, either raw or manufactured, unless we have a natural advantage."

This statement seems to be founded upon a misapprehension of the force and effect of the "most favored nation" clause in commercial treaties. If it were true that a reciprocal agreement with Spain to admit her sugar free of duty in exchange for a like favor on her part in respect of American products, carried with it the obligation that each of the contracting parties should place on the same footing all countries with which it had a "most favored nation" treaty, there would be an end to reciprocity treaties. The United States now have treaties with upwards of thirty States in which the "most favored nation" clause is to be found in one form or another, and if the statement quoted from the *Nation* be correct, our Government would be bound to extend to every one of these States the same privileges accorded to Hawaii, Brazil, or Spain under the reciprocity treaties with those nations. But, fortunately, no such obligation rests on either of the contracting Powers. It has been from our earliest diplomatic history the contention of our Government that the "most favored nation" clause has no application to privileges granted on the consideration of reciprocal advantage, but only to privileges granted gratuitously, and in this decision other Governments have generally acquiesced.

The question seems to have first arisen with reference to the treaty with France in 1803, by the eighth article of which it was agreed that the ships of France should "be treated upon the footing of the most favored nations" in the ports of the territory ceded to the United States by that treaty. France claimed that special favors had been granted to English ships to which French ships, under this article, were equally entitled. The United States replied that the favors granted to English ships were in accordance with a reciprocal agreement and were not gratuitous, and that therefore France had no claim to equal favors under the article cited. From this position our Government declined to recede, and France abandoned the claim in the treaty of 1831.

The same position was taken by Mr. Evarts, then Secretary of State, with regard to the effect of the reciprocity treaty with Hawaii. Other nations having treaties with Hawaii containing the "most favored nation" clause, particularly Germany and Great Britain, sought to claim from the Hawaiian Government the same privileges granted to the United States. Our Government protested against any concession to this claim as impairing the obligations of the treaty of reciprocity, and in this view the Hawaiian Government concurred.

Curiously enough, however, it appears that the Spanish Government entertained in 1884, when a reciprocity treaty with the United States was under discussion, the same views as those expressed in the *Nation*, and assigned as an objection to such a treaty the existence of the "most favored nation" clause in the treaties of Spain with other nations. To this objection Mr. Frelinghuysen replied that—

"This Government has always assumed that Spain held the same views as ourselves respecting the effect of a reciprocity treaty in connection with the most-favored-nation clause in other treaties. This country has that clause in many of its compacts with foreign States, but it has never occurred to them or to us to suppose that we were thereby constrained to grant to those treaty Powers without equivalent the privileges which we had by special engagements stipulated to concede to countries like Hawaii and Canada, for a valuable consideration."

It is safe to presume that in the present case the doubts of Spain have been resolved upon this point, and that she does not hold herself bound to give to one nation what she has sold to another.

There has also been a judicial determination of the question in favor of the view above set forth. Importers of sugar from the Danish West Indies claimed, under the "most favored nation" clause of the treaty between Denmark and the United States, the same privileges as were accorded to Hawaii under the reciprocity treaty with that country, and, having paid the usual duty under protest, brought suit for its recovery. Mr. Justice Field, speaking for the Supreme Court, said: "Our conclusion is that the treaty with Denmark does not bind the United States to extend to that country, without compensation, privileges which they have conceded to the Hawaiian Islands in exchange for valuable concessions" (Bartram vs. Robertson, 122 U. S., 116).

It is not uncommon in the later treaties expressly to stipulate that the "most favored nation" clause shall not be deemed to extend to concessions granted to other nations upon the consideration of reciprocal privileges. But, as Mr. Bayard, when Secretary of State, pointed out, "this proviso, when it occurs, is merely explanatory, inserted out of abundant caution. Its absence does not impair the rule of international law that such concessions are only gratuitous (and so transferable) as to third parties when not based on reciprocity or mutually reserved interests between the contracting parties. This ground has been long and consistently maintained by the United States."

E. W. HUFFCUT.

INDIANA UNIVERSITY LAW SCHOOL, April 27, 1891.

WASHINGTON AND ROADES CONNECTION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Referring to Mr. Moncure D. Conway's interesting article on the "English Ancestry of Washington" in the number of *Harper's Magazine* for May, I am forced to say that Mr. Conway unduly degrades, to modern ears, the President's supposed ancestor, John Roades, bailiff to Sir Edmund Verney, by calling him a "farm servant" (p. 884), as at present the term "servant" is generally held equivalent to menial. A bailiff was not a menial; on the contrary, he was the manager, often the *de-facto* master, of an estate, having under him the farm servants and menials; in fact, he was the equivalent of our overseer or agent. As stated above, the term "servant" is, at present, held in ordinary estimation but equivalent to "menial." This was not so in the seventeenth century; then a nobleman might be called a servant to the king, a gentleman the servant of a titled personage, without loss of dignity. And so it was with these Roadeses: they were gentlemen, or, at least, yeomen, serving a knight (not mere farm servants), as the official documents referred to by Mr. Waters, in his 'Ancestry of Washington,' reprinted from the *N. E. Historical and Genealogical Register* for October, 1889, show; William Roades being distinctly styled "gen." (pp. 8 and 10), that is, *generosus*, gentleman *born*, from which we may infer that his father (supposed to have been John Roades) was also a gentleman, otherwise his son could not have been one by birth. Moreover, the good standing of this family of Roades is shown by its connection with that of Fitzherbert; Elizabeth Roades, apparently the sister of Amphillis Roades (Mrs. Washington), having married Edward Fitzherbert.

At the same time, no doubt, these Roadeses were not on a par with the Washingtons; hence the match, likely enough, was considered somewhat of a misalliance, but not a social degradation as may be inferred from the modern understanding of the term "servant."

C.

MAY 1, 1891.

THE VERB *DEMEAN*, 'DEBASE.'

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: There being nowhere, it appears, anything like a full discussion of this word, I shall attempt to supply, in some slight measure, the deficiency.

By the side of *demean*, *demeanour*, we have the *demean* with which I am occupied; "really the same word," Prof. Skeat dogmatizes, "but altered in sense, owing to an obvious (but absurd) popular etymology." Its constituents, the Latin preposition *de* and the English adjective *mean*, are here referred to. Yet why, if we chose, were we not to have, made up of those constituents, a factitive *demean*, classifi-

able with *deprave?* Whatever adverse reasons, or pretexts for reasons, are allegeable, this *demean* confronts us as an actual fact. Instead, therefore, of being "really the same word" as the old *demean*, it is wholly different, save partly as respects its first syllable. And again, its origination was sufficiently respectable. It is a hybrid, certainly; but of that character are *debar*, *defile*, *detach*, the outworn *defoul*, and the American *derail*, to go no farther. Accordingly, to stigmatize its etymology as "absurd" is, itself, something like what is, with popular laxity, called an absurdity. It is on historical grounds that I base my dissent from those who are satisfied with Prof. Skeat's otiose method of accounting for the modern *demean*. When this word emerged, the old *demean*, used reflexively, was in full vigor; and no one has offered to prove that *demean oneself well* was, in any age, less common than *demean onese'f ill*. Why, then, should this *demean* have had the idea of debasement attached to it? As far as I can conjecture, on the view which I am combating, *demean oneself ill* must, at one period, have been so much more current than *demean oneself well*, that sciolists thought themselves justified in doing away with its *ill*, as being pleonastic. And, especially, such sciolists must have achieved a notable exploit in reviving, with a new sense, the old transitive *demean*, 'conduct,' which, in all likelihood, had been, for some two generations, hardly better than obsolete. For, on the showing of the quotations about to be exhibited, *demean another*, 'debase another,' which, theoretically, precedes *demean oneself*, 'debase oneself,' does not figure, practically, as the later innovation of the two. So much for the genesis of the modern *demean*. Whether it is yet legitimated by an adequate consensus of good writers is a question by itself.

Dr. Murray and Mr. Henry Bradley, of the *Philological Society's Dictionary*, have been so obliging, in connexion with the term I am investigating, as to furnish me, the one with a quotation, at first sight seemingly of great interest, and the other with the Latin which it is designed to render. Caxton, in one of his translations, the *Golden Legende*, printed in 1483, writes that St. Stephen "was . . . *demened* and beten." But this, it turns out, stands for "feriebatur & *perducebatur*"; and hence, since "demened" is one with 'led forth,' the idea suggested by its context, that it might signify 'debased,' is at once dissipated. On the plea of their being misunderstood, we may also confidently set aside the passages from Spenser and Bp. Robert Abbot (1601) which Archdeacon Todd brings forward, under the transitive *demean*, as having the import of 'debase,' or one closely allied to it. As to the quotations from Dean Swift (1733) and Benjamin Franklin (1788), the only oldish ones that I have seen adduced, their relevance is unquestionable; but, that many still earlier than the first of those which follow will come to light, may reasonably be presumed:

"By it [jealousy] we *demean* the Person we love, through unworthy Suspicion." Mrs. Jane Barker, *Exilius* (1715), Part I., p. 59.

"The whole subject [is] disoblig'd, if not quash'd; the Author *demean'd*, if not actively and passively ridicul'd." Myles Davies, *Athenae Britannicae*, Part II. (1716), p. 149.

"As to affectation in general, we shall hereafter give some instances how all kinds of it *demean* and render trifling the persons who are guilty of it." Mrs. Eliza Heywood (1745), *Female Spectator* (ed. 1748), vol. iii., p. 191.

"Zadock . . . now stood behind his back, and would not *demean* the Briton so much as to wait upon any person but his laird." William Toldervy, *History of Two Orphans* (1756), vol. iv., p. 29.

"Let Swift be Swift, nor e'er *demean* The sense and humour of the Dean." Robert Lloyd (1762), *Poetical Works* (1774), vol. ii., p. 35.

"Look *up* to thy daughter, good Simon? Alas, no! The Captain of Clan Quhele, great as he is, and greater as he soon expects to be, looks *down* to the daughter of the Perth burgess, and considers himself *demeaned* in doing so." Sir Walter Scott, *Fair Maid of Perth* (1828), chap. xxvii.

"These particular individuals . . . had met, from those to whom they *demeaned* themselves, that return which their time-serving and disloyalty had deserved." Rev. Dr. Christopher Wordsworth, *King Charles the First*, etc. (1828), p. 244.

"Even Sir Isaac shall not be *demeaned* by mercenary tricks." Lord Lytton, *What will he do with it?* (1858), vol. i., p. 401 (ed. 1859).

"Besides, she lays traps to *demean* me, set me to work like a clerk!" *Id.*, *ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 114.

"The party which bears on its banner the Cross and the name of God must not *demean* its high mission by any narrow-hearted squirearchical selfishness." *Saturday Review* (1856), vol. ii., p. 37.

"If the Master be a fit man for his office, methinks he will sometimes sit down sociably among them; for there is an elbow chair by the fireside, which it would not *demean* his dignity to fill, since it was occupied by King James at the great festival of nearly three centuries ago." Mr. Nathaniel Hawthorne, *Our Old Home* (1863), p. 98 (ed. 1864).

Dr. Johnson, whose fancy still misleads Dr. Webster's editors, thought that he had lighted on an instance of the verb under notice, used reflexively, in Shakespeare's *Comedy of Errors;* and, though, among his editors, Archdeacon Todd was, and quite warrantably, of a contrary opinion, Dr. Latham has since tacitly subscribed to the original misapprehension. At the same time, Dr. Latham omits the only other quotation which the Archdeacon gives for the reflexive *demean*, namely, from Dr. Doddridge, and, consequently, leaves it absolutely unexemplified. Nor is any author vouched for it by Dr. Richardson, little to his credit. The proofs of its frequent occurrence which will be produced may, therefore, be acceptable to the curious.

Before producing these proofs, however, I must transcribe and scrutinize a passage from the Rev. Dr. Peter Heylyn:

"For Athanasius tells us, that hee [George] had before beene made a Priest, and that he so *demeaned* himselfe in that holy Calling, that he was forthwith deposed from the Ministery." *Historie of St. George of Cappadocia* (1631), p. 106.

On most occasions, and, perhaps, above all, when he is minded to be calumnious or brutal, Dr. Heylyn is explicit enough, even to superabundance. For instance, this precious vessel of sanctitude and savagery records the wish, in one of his diatribes, that a learned fellow-cleric, Henry Burton, had lived in days when his tongue would have been "cut out." There is no ambiguity here; and it must be that, in writing, as above, "*demeaned* himselfe," which represents διὰ τὴν κακίαν αὐτοῦ, he took it for granted that the contextual "he was forthwith deposed," etc., could leave no room for doubt that George's behaviour, though designated by a term ethically neutral, was ill behaviour. Only in defiance of historical probability, I conceive, can Heylyn, any more than Spenser, Shakespeare, and Bp. Robert Abbot, be appealed to as employing the old *demean* dyslogistically.

But, despite the poverty of pertinent illustration observable in dictionaries, the reflexive *demean*, from *de* and *mean*, abounds in later literature, as the quotations given below will be seen to establish:

"I would not be understood, that Men of Honour and Estate should *demean* themselves by base condescension." Anon., *Miscellany Letters from Mist's Journal* (1720), vol. i., p. 306 (ed. 1722).

"I could make you sensible that you ought to have been asham'd, long ago, of standing in need of the Interposition of the House of Commons, to prevent you from *demeaning* yourselves so much as to wear so uncostly a Dress as Callico." Bartholomew Paman (1723), *Briton* (1724), p. 28.

"To write she thought would be *demeaning* herself too much, and might make him rather despise than love her." Mrs. Eliza Heywood (1744), *Female Spectator* (ed. 1748), vol. i., p. 254. Also in vol i., p. 228; vol. ii., pp. 48, 277; vol. iii., p. 186; vol. iv., p. 137. And *id.*, *History of Miss Betsy Thoughtless* (1751), vol. i., p. 204.

"A woman is looked upon as *demeaning* herself, if she gains a maintenance by her needle, or by domestic attendance on a superior." Samuel Richardson, *Sir Charles Grandison* (1754), vol. iv., p. 154 (ed. 1811).

"I shall not *demean* myself so much as to tell you who I am." Mrs. Charlotte Lennox, *Henrietta* (1758), vol. i., p. 3 (ed. 1761).

"When Mrs. Catharines rose, she found me busied in the basest employments of the kitchen. She looked astonished. 'Why, my dear,' she cried, 'would you *demean* yourself in this manner?'" Henry Brooke, *Fool of Quality* (1760-72), vol. iii., p. 167 (ed. 1792).

"I think I cannot much *demean* myself by an alliance with a sweet fellow whom I so ardently love." *Id.*, *ibid.*, vol. v., p. 207.

"Have I, sirrah, *demean'd* myself to wed such a thing, such a reptile as thee!" Foote, *Mayor of Garratt* (1763), Act ii, Scene ii.

"Oh Madam, how can you *demean*, as I may say, undervalue [yourself]—" *Id.*, *Patron* (1764), Act ii., Scene i.

"Hold, gentle princess, said Theodore, nor *demean* thyself before a poor and friendless young man." Horace Walpole, *Castle of Otranto* (1764), Ch. iii., in *British Novelists* (1820), vol. xxii., p. 260.

"Mr. Heidelberg lost his election for member of parliament, because I would not *demean* myself to be slobbered about by drunken shoemakers, beastly cheesemongers, and greasy butchers and tallow-chandlers." Colman and Garrick, *Clandestine Marriage* (1766), Act iii., Scene ii.

"This lesser philosophy engagingly *demeans* itself to all characters and situations." Coriat Junior (Samuel Paterson), *Another Traveller!* (1767), vol. i., p. 427.

"It abates my veneration, when I see a man descend from the seat of authority, and *demean* himself to the employment of weighing out a quarter of the worst bohea." Anon., *Life and Adventures of Sir Bartholomew Sapskull, Baronet* (1768), vol. i, p. 207.

"He persisted, therefore, inflexibly in the resolution not to *demean* himself by begging suffrages in the low, abject manner common at that time." Goldsmith, *Grecian History* (1774), vol. i, p. 379.

"Is it likely she will permit her favourite nephew to *demean* himself by so unequal an alliance?" Anon., *Trinket* (1774), p. 52.

"I won't *demean* myself by naming what you are." Sheridan, *Duenna* (1775), Act i., Scene iii.

"The page pulled me by the sleeve, and whispered me that I should *demain* [*sic*] myself in all mens eyes, was I to discourse with such folks." Anon., *Minor* (1787), p. 220.

"To mix in so low a conspiracy, and *demean* himself by the adoption of such illiberal arts." William Roberts, *Looker-on* (1793), vol. ii., p. 197 (ed. 1794).

"The learned and excellent men . . . are not accustomed to *demean* themselves so far as to judge of works so much below their notice as this." Dr. Charles Burney, *Memoirs of Metastasio* (1796), vol. i., p. 26.

"Mrs. Persian, lamenting that she . . . should have *demeaned* herself so much as to wait on the niece of a simple knight," etc. Mrs. A. M. Bennett, *Beggar Girl and her Benefactors* (1797), vol. v., p. 239 (ed. 1813).

"As if divided between the agreeable triumph of showing her activity and usefulness, and the dread of being thought to *demean* herself by such an office." Miss Jane Austen, *Mansfield Park* (1814), p. 342 (ed. 1866).

"To what indignity, Heated with rage, would I *demean* myself!" Charles Lloyd, *Translation of Alfieri* (1815), vol. ii., p. 46.

"Not that they ever beat or struck the boys: that would have been to have *demeaned* themselves," etc. Charles Lamb (1818), *Prose Works* (ed. 1838), vol i., p. 89.

"He sometimes *demeans* himself by condescending to what may be considered as

bordering too much upon buffoonery," etc. William Hazlitt (1818), *Political Essays* (1819), p. 362.

"My only doubt was, whether I should *demean* myself so far as to implore his intercession." Thomas Hope, *Anastasius* (1819), vol. i., p. 118 (ed. 1827).

"'Master Smith may fill for himself, if he wishes for liquor,' answered the youthful Celt. 'The son of my father has *demeaned* himself enough, already, for one evening.'" Sir Walter Scott, *Fair Maid of Perth* (1828), chap. ii.

"I never saw a Merry Andrew that I did not feel ashamed that a man should *demean* himself by taking such a part." Rev. F. E. Paget, *Tales of the Village Children*, second series (1844), p. 41 (ed. 1858). Mr. Paget, in his *Milford Malvoisin* (1842), p. 35, puts "I shall not *demean* myself," etc., into the mouth of an imaginary speaker in 1643. Herein, so far as appears, he anachronizes; and so does Sir Walter Scott, in the two quotations which I have taken from him.

"I had even the necessity to *demean* myself by a blow with the naked hand." Lord Lytton, *Caxtons* (1849), vol. iii., p. 92. And so very often in Lord Lytton's works.

"No, Major Pendennis would on no account have his nephew appear like an apothecary; the august representative of the house of Pendennis must not so *demean* himself." Mr. W. M. Thackeray, *Pendennis* (1849-50), ch. lxi. Many like quotations from Mr. Thackeray are at hand.

"The growl of indignation at Jack's so *demeaning* himself would probably not be appeased," etc. Mr. A. J. B. Hope, in *Cambridge Essays* (1858), p. 8.

"I admit that I am a spy, and that it is considered a discreditable station, though it must be filled by somebody; but this gentleman is no spy, and why should he so *demean* himself as to make himself one?" Mr. Charles Dickens, *Tale of Two Cities* (1859), p 176 (ed. 1868).

"They would not *demean* themselves to submit to this sort of paltry tutelage." *Saturday Review* (1861), vol. xii., p. 551.

"But who would suspect the Board of Works of *demeaning* itself to ask an architect's advice on such a trifle as the pageantry of a national wedding?" *Ibid.* (1863), vol. xv., p. 368.

"It is not to be thought of that a youth . . . should *demean* himself by marrying," etc. London *Daily News*, leading article, Aug. 8, 1890, p. 5, col. 2.

Dr. Murray, my indebtedness to whom I have already acknowledged, has kindly communicated to me a number of quotations, kindred to the foregoing, which I have not availed myself of; those that have been given, all of them collected by myself, being amply enough to serve my purpose.

Dr. W. B. Hodgson, in his *Errors in the Use of English* (1881), cites, for *demean*, 'debase,' with other authorities, the Rev. Sydney Smith, the *Quarterly Review*, and the London *Times*. But his quotation from Dr. Johnson, "he would have *demeaned* himself strangely, had he," etc., as reported by Boswell, is far from being conclusively in point; since it is not at all obvious that "demeaned" may not there be synonymous with "conducted." Moreover, we have nothing approaching assurance that Dr. Johnson said "demeaned." Again and again, it may strongly be suspected, Boswell fathers on him expressions which he would have stoutly repudiated. "Catched," "serieses," "*of* consequence" for "*by* consequence," "he *confesses to* one bottle of port every day," and "let you and *I*, sir, go together," can hardly have fallen from Dr. Johnson's lips, though, if we are to trust his biographer, they did.

An interesting instance of self-criticism now demands to be noticed. Lord Macaulay, in his essay entitled "Lord Burghley's Life and Times," published in the *Edinburgh Review* for 1832, writes that "Cecil so *demeaned* himself as to avoid," etc., instead of which is found, in his collected *Essays*, "Cecil so *bemeaned* himself as to avoid," etc. That "demeaned" was designed to be understood pejoratively is evident from the later substitute for it; and it is likewise evident that Lord Macaulay must have come to object emphatically to it, or he would not have displaced it in favour of "bemeaned." To his thinking, probably, *debased* would imply greater disparagement than he deemed to be merited. At the same time, it was very unlike him, with his fastidious taste, to sanction a word so unusual as *bemean*. For unusual it is, though the quotations authorizing it which I have by me are twice as many as those given by Dr. Murray, whose quotations from Gataker, by the by, should be dismissed. See, for reasons, my *Recent Exemplifications of False Philology*. To what is there urged I may add that Gataker has not a syllable about Ridley's debasing himself, when Bishop of London; and history is silent as to his having done so. Furthermore, the edition of the *Abel Redevivus* (*sic*), from which the passage under comment is derived, swarms with typographical errors of every description.

In Charles Dibdin's *Waterman* (1774), Act ii, Scene i, a woman not only says, "I won't *bemean* myself by repeating his filthy name," but speaks approvingly of "people that know how to *bemean* themselves." Whether the speaker, Mrs. Bundle, is not to be taken, in her *bemean*, "comport," as simply malapropizing, after her wont, may be questionable.

Critics who arraign the usage with which this letter is mainly concerned are not a few. The pronouncements, in part or in full, of three of them—the latest noticeable for its ineptitude, and the others quoted from books seldom met with—here follow:

"*Demean.* This word is used by all the lower people, as well as by great numbers of their betters, to signify 'debase' or 'lessen.' It is also found in the same sense in bad writers. Richardson often [!] presents his readers with it in his emetic history of Pamela. Nay, if I mistake not, I have met with it, once or twice, in Swift; and I think it likewise once occurs in my Lord Bolingbroke's 'Oldcastle's Remarks upon English History.' If these two writers have really employed the word in that sense, it must undoubtedly have been through oversight. They could never be ignorant that *to demean* signifies 'to behave, to comport,' and not 'to debase' or 'lessen,'

"What causes the mistake in so many persons is the syllable *mean*. The word *mean*, signifying 'low' and 'contemptible,' and the word *meanness*, 'lowness,' they imagine, from thence, that *to demean* must signify 'to make contemptible,' or 'cast a meanness upon.'

"As to the substantive *demeanour*, it is a word the lower people are not acquainted with. If they were once to get hold on it, I make no doubt they would misapply it as much as they do the verb." Robert Baker, *Remarks on the English Language* (1770), p. 5 (ed. 1779).

"*Demean himself.* When the Illiterate are desirous of 'talking fine,' they use *demean himself*, instead of their accustomed Phrase, *let himself down*.

"The French, *demener*, means 'to conduct or behave.' It relates to Deportment, and never indicates Disgrace or Dishonor. The Vulgar use also *bemean*: 'He *bemeans* himself by such Conduct.'" Rev. Dr. Philip Withers, *Aristarchus* (1791), p. 208.

"*Demean.* This word is often used in the sense of 'debase'; a blunder which has no better apology for its existence than the fact that the second syllable of the word, when separated from the first, signifies something akin to 'debasement'; just as the second syllable of *deride*, when separated from the first, signifies 'taking a ride'! Or, again, which is more immediately applicable, as *meaning* might be used in the place of *grovelling*.

"The verb *demean* and the noun *demeanour* have a common signification; 'to behave, to conduct,' well or ill; 'behaviour, conduct,' good or bad.

"If an educated man were to set about attaching a new meaning to the verb, he would see the necessity of attaching a cognate meaning to the noun. If he made *demean* signify 'debase,' he must make *demeanour* signify 'debasement,' or 'base conduct'; the absurdity of which is, or should be, sufficient to dispose of the question." Mr. Edward S. Gould, *Good English* (1867), p. 44 (revised edition, 1880).

Baker little knew how largely the object of his scorn had won acceptance with authors of reputation; and Withers was, to all appearance, equally uninformed on that point, and also with regard to the respectability of *bemean*. As to Mr. Gould, his talk about "a blunder," with all the rest that he says, is quite of a piece with his ordinary lack of judgment in philologizing. Since he refuses to recognize that we have, whether acceptably or not, two verbs *demean*, his argument about giving a new sense to *demeanour* is inconsequent and nugacious. Imitating speculation of his stamp, we should ignore that the homonyms *defer*, 'postpone,' and *defer*, 'submit oneself,' have descended to us, respectively, from *differre* and *deferre;* we should see, in what are, undeniably, two verbs, only one verb, with a twofold meaning, and the later of them "a blunder"; and if we discovered that the *defer* corresponding to *deferre*, with its attendant substantive and adjective, came into our language first, we should be obliged, in case we endured *defer*, 'postpone,' to contend that *deference* and *deferential* ought to denote, in addition to their earlier significations, 'postponement,' and 'pertaining to postponement.' No more in dealing with words than in dealing with other things is it permissible to shut one's eyes to patent facts.

The annexed remarkable sample of erudition and perspicuity should not be passed by unrehearsed: "'Demean' (to debase oneself) is Old English *gemœ'ne*, common." Rev. E. Cobham Brewer, LL.D., *Errors of Speech and of Spelling* (1877), vol. i., p. 193.

In Mr. T. L Kington Oliphant's *New English*, where details are given of the diction of a novel by Miss L. E. Hawkins, published in 1811, we read: "The verb *demean* yourself is evidently a new phrase for *debase*." Not to mention many authors of inferior fame who flourished long prior to 1811, I have shown that this statement is invalidated by the pages of Samuel Richardson, Henry Brooke, Horace Walpole, Coleman and Garrick, Goldsmith, and Sheridan, and especially by those of Foote, whose plays Mr. Oliphant makes as if he had studied exhaustively. The pretentious author of *The New English* is here quite himself. He has not so much as consulted Archdeacon Todd's edition of Johnson's *Dictionary*.

Miss Evans, in *Adam Bede* (1859), and Sir George W. Dasent, twice in *Three to One* (1872), introduce *demean*, "debase," as though it were the special property of persons in humble life. But, as I have abundantly made manifest, it was not distinctly vulgar in the recent past; and, indisputably, it is not so at the present time. Still, on the whole, one can hardly be taxed with excess of nicety, if one chooses to follow the lead of Lord Macaulay, and gives it the cold shoulder.

Your obedient servant,

F. H.

Marlesford, England, December 13, 1890.

Notes.

A COLLECTION of Mr. Howells's essays from the Editor's Study of *Harper's Magazine* will be issued this month by Harper & Bros., under the title, 'Criticism and Fiction.' The same firm announces 'Literary Industries,' largely autobiographical, by Hubert Howe Bancroft, and 'A Flying Trip around the World,' by Miss Elizabeth Bisland.

G. P. Putnam's Sons announce 'The New Theology,' by Prof. John Bascom; 'Gospel Criticism and Historical Christianity,' by the Rev. Orello Cone; 'The Industrial and Commercial Supremacy of England,' lectures by the late Prof. J. E. Thorold Rogers, edited by his son, Arthur Rogers; 'The Irish Element in Mediæval Culture,' from the German of H. Zimmer, translated by Jane Loring Edmands; 'Sir Philip Sidney and the Chivalry of England,' by H. R. Fox-Bourne; 'A Year in Portugal, 1889–'90,' by Dr. Geo. B. Loring, late United States Minister to Lisbon; 'The Story of Portugal,' by H. Morse Stephens; 'The Evolution of the Ordinance of 1787,' by J. A. Barrett; 'Politics and Property; or, Phronocracy,' by Henry Slack Worthington; 'Parties and Patronage,' by Lyon G. Tyler, President of William and Mary College; 'The Corporation Problem,' by William W. Cook; 'Application and Achievement, and Other Essays,' by J. Hazard Hartwell; 'The Leaf Collector's Hand-Book,' by Prof. Chas. F. Newhall; and a 'Popular Hand-Book and Atlas on Astronomy,' by Prof. Wm. Peck.

Charles Scribner's Sons have in press 'On Newfound River,' a novel by Thomas Nelson Page.

Roberts Bros. will shortly publish 'My Three Score Years and Ten,' by Thomas Ball, the sculptor, and 'A Question of Love,' a Swiss story, by T. Combe.

A posthumous work, 'A Poet's Last Songs,' sonnets and lyrics by the late Henry Bernard Carpenter, will be brought out for the benefit of Mrs. Carpenter by J. G. Cupples, Boston.

Bernard Quaritch, London, has in preparation 'The Poetic Books of William Blake,' collected, with an explanation of their myth and meaning, by Edwin John Ellis and William Butler Yeats, in two volumes, containing more than 150 pages of facsimiles from poems engraved by Blake, with illustrations.

The 'Coöperative Index to Periodicals' for 1890, edited by Mr. W. I. Fletcher of the Amherst Library, has made its appearance (New York, 330 Pearl Street). It consists of two parts, subject and author, and is compressed into 140 pages. The change from quarterly to annual issues will, we believe, meet with approval.

'The Future of Electricity, or Babylon Electrified and Resurrected: A Dream of Science,' by A. Bleunard, translated from the French by F. L. White, just issued by Gebbie & Co., Philadelphia, is the same as 'Babylon Electrified,' published by the same firm in 1889. A portrait of Mr. Thomas A. Edison is added to the new issue, but otherwise the text and illustrations are the same in both books.

The useful Camelot Series (A. Lovell & Co.) now includes in its catholic embrace the 'Comedies of Alfred de Musset,' translated and edited, with an introduction, by S. L. Gwynn. The translation, on the whole, is as well done, perhaps, as it could be done; for of all people in the world a stylist of Musset's power is the most difficult to do justice to in another tongue. For instance, "See is Know, Will is Can, and Dare is Have," may be a passable rendering of the French "Voir c'est Savoir; Vouloir c'est Pouvoir; Oser c'est Avoir"; but what can atone for the lost rhyme and lilt of the original? Apart from this inevitable loss in translation, the book is a distinct gain, for it offers the American reading public some charming plays by a master whom they unfortunately read but little. The introduction gives a rather brutally just account of Musset's life and a rather insular critique of his works. An occasional misprint, such as the repeated "*l*achimo" for "Iachimo" (p. 40), mars the good appearance of the print.

'One of Our Conquerors' has been added to the new (author's) edition of George Meredith's novels which Roberts Bros. are bringing out.

Mr. William Dallam Armes of the University of California has reprinted the late George Henry Lewes's 'Principles of Success in Literature' (San Francisco: Samuel Drew & Co.). In so doing he has sought to benefit students of literature and composition, and to furnish a class-room manual, following in this, as he says, the example of Prof. Albert S. Cook, several years ago. The essay originally appeared in the *Fortnightly Review*.

Ward, Lock & Co.'s "Minerva Library" has just been enlarged by the addition to it in one volume of Beckford's 'Vathek,' portions of his suppressed 'Dreams, Waking Thoughts and Incidents,' from the copy in the British Museum, and his letters on Spain and Portugal. This was a compilation well worth making, and it offers a great deal of entertainment for a small price.

Mr. William Houston, Librarian to the Ontario Legislature, has brought together 'Documents Illustrative of the Canadian Constitution,' with notes and appendixes (Toronto: Caswell & Co.). While the value of this collection as a mere work of reference is obvious and incontestable, the author has also had in mind its use in the historical seminary, as he points out in a sensible introduction. He has omitted all French documents except the capitulations of Quebec and Montreal, on the ground that the line of development of the Canadian Constitution leads back to the colonial governments of what is now the United States, by way of our Constitution, which Mr. Houston reprints after very careful collation, with original notes. In like manner, his chronological table is arranged with right and left-hand entries so as to show side by side the events for Canada and the United States. The chapters on Canadian Boundaries, Extradition, and Fisheries, again, appertain to both countries. In short, Mr. Houston's scholarly labors are of international utility, and his volume should find a place in all our libraries and in every well-regulated newspaper office.

'Barker's Facts and Figures for the Year 1891' (Frederick Warne & Co.) is a dictionary annual, beginning with Abbreviations and ending with Zinc. It would be impracticable to give here an idea of its contents beyond mention of a few heads, such as Armies, Church, Crime and Criminals, Exhibitions, Expectation of Life, Foreign Weights and Measures, Franco-Prussian War, Imports and Exports, Ireland, Life Assurance, London, Marriages, Occupations of the People, Population, Railways, Rowing, School Board, Suicides, Wages, Wills (of millionaires), Wool Trade, Wrecks, etc., etc. The cross-references are abundant. There are no proper names of persons among the entries, and the annual has no political complexion.

'The Care of the Sick' is a perfectly descriptive title of one of the latest and most valuable books upon that subject. It is drawn from the wide experience of the famous Prof. Billroth of Vienna, and has been satisfactorily translated by J. B. Endean (Scribner & Welford). The great surgeon gives the same attention to details as did the ancient sculptor, and with the same happy result. Trifles make perfection. Hospitals and families alike should profit by this volume, prepared for their special benefit and in no respect written above them. Nor does it descend to useless commonplace. It is clear and dignified in tone, and, charged with sympathy and competent knowledge, is interesting and useful in the highest degree, as we can testify from very careful examination.

In our regular service the medical officers are required to instruct carefully the men of the Hospital Corps, and certain other soldiers designated as company bearers, in the transportation and first aid of their comrades who may be disabled in action or otherwise. Many medical officers of the National Guard all over the country are zealously doing similar work. Both of these classes, and we may add the police surgeons of the great cities as well as the intelligent rank and file of all these organizations, will find in 'The Soldier's First-Aid Hand-Book,' by the late Capt. Wm. D. Dietz, Med. Dept. (John Wiley & Sons), a very valuable compendium of such instruction. This little book is a syllabus of Capt. Dietz's lectures to his own detachment, and contains in compact but clear form the outline of the information that such men should have. It is useful to the men as showing what they should know, and to the medical officers as a skeleton of such lectures. Line officers and others in charge of outlying parties, without medical aid, would find it useful. It is interleaved, has flexible covers, and is copiously indexed for easy reference.

In mentioning the publication of the William F. Allen Memorial Volume, the other day, we omitted to state that the price fixed for the few extra copies printed for sale is $2.25. They can be had of the Chairman of the Editorial Committee, Prof. David B. Frankenburger, Madison, Wis.

Schopenhauer's principal work, 'Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung,' has been added to the Reclam Library, and may now be had, *bound*, for a mark and a half, or less than forty cents. F. A. Brockhaus in Leipzig has also just issued a valuable 'Schopenhauer-Register,' containing in alphabetical arrangement references to passages in Schopenhauer's complete work on all conceivable topics. From Frauenstedt's 'Schopenhauer-Lexikon' this new work differs in containing no extracts, but only references, which, however, are much more copious than in the Lexicon.

Nearly four years ago we noticed Theodor Vetter's painstaking monograph on 'Der *Spectator* als Quelle der *Discurse der Maler*.' Dr. Vetter is now editing the 'Discurse' for the "Bibliothek älterer Schriftwerke der deutschen Schweiz," with annotations which designate, among other things, the respective authors of the essays in this Swiss imitation (1721-22) of the *Spectator* (Frauenfeld: J. Huber). A rubricated facsimile of the original title-page accompanies Part I. of the reprint. From the press of F. Schulthess, Zürich, we have received also a thin pamphlet from the pen of Dr. Vetter on a kindred theme, viz., 'Zürich als Vermittlerin englischer Literatur im achtzehnten Jahrhundert.' He finds traces of intellectual interchange with England as far back as 1536, partly through the visits of theological students from that country, partly in consequence of the clerical exodus due to the persecution of Queen Mary. When he reaches J. J. Bodmer, the founder of the above-mentioned *Discurse der Maler* and a writer under many names, Dr. Vetter has to deal with the most active propagator of English literature in Switzerland, and more than half the brochure is devoted to him.

The vexed question of transliteration from the Russian into English is taken up and learnedly discussed by Mr. J. Sumner Smith of the Yale Library, in the *New Englander* for May. He does not find himself wholly in accord with any of the recent attempts to secure uniformi-

ty, such as the scheme of the American Library Association, that of the late Michael Heilprin, that of the United States Board on Geographic Names, or that advanced in *Nature* last year. The article is intended to provoke discussion.

Nature for March 26 prints the twenty-seventh of its biographical sketches of "Scientific Worthies," accompanied, as usual, by an excellent portrait on steel. The subject is Louis Pasteur.

A portrait of the late J. O. Halliwell-Phillipps and a view of his grave adorn the April number of *Shakespeariana* (New York: Leonard Scott Publication Co.).

The official organ of the American Photographic Conference and of the Society of Amateur Photographers of this city calls itself the *Photo-American Review*, and the first number is issued from No. 92 Fifth Avenue, New York. It is a bewildering maze of process-plates, chiefly scenic, and of more or less descriptive letter-press, followed by technical articles on photography, official notes of the Conference and the Society, a list of new books (apparently very carefully done), and an astonishing "review of 530 new books," of course in short measure and very perfunctory. The projectors of this well-printed magazine can at least plume themselves on having produced something unique.

Novel, too, is the *Courrier Français de l'Ouest Américain* (Chicago and Milwaukee), though it is now in its second year. The literary miscellany is quite overshadowed by the heliogravure and aquarelle plates, which include a good portrait of President Carnot. These have all been executed by Lemercier & Cie. of Paris, "the most important art firm of that capital," as we are told.

The classification and distribution of the native races of Brazil is the subject of the principal article in the last *Petermann's Mitteilungen*. Until very recently, according to the author, Dr. Paul Ehrenreich, it has been held impossible to bring order into the chaos of South American tribes and languages. The latest investigations, however, show that there is no extraordinary number of races, but that they all can be gathered into a few great families, of which he names eight. And instead of their being scattered in hopeless confusion over the continent, these families occupy certain definite districts or distinctly marked lines of migration from these centres. His conclusions have been reached mainly through the careful study and comparison of the various languages and dialects. That they are correct is the more probable from the fact of the extraordinary purity of the languages of most of the tribes of the interior. Many Indian words are in common use among the whites, but the Indians themselves, in some instances after a century's intercourse, have adopted only European terms for articles of barter. A map showing the distribution of the great families in Brazil and the contiguous countries accompanies the article.

Admirers of the late Dr. Howard Crosby may obtain a gratifying souvenir of this public-spirited citizen, an imperial photographic portrait of him having been added by Mr. F. Gutekunst, Philadelphia, to that distinguished series which we very recently had occasion to refer to anew.

—The series of articles upon horses which Mr. H. C. Merwin has contributed to the *Atlantic* for some months past has been of an unusual character, and must have found many interested readers in the class to which such a subject appeals; but in the May number of the magazine the author takes up a phase of the matter in which the public is more generally concerned. He discusses the duties of the owner or user of the animal, and grounds them very rationally in the nature of the horse. He does not think that the horse is so sociable, sensible, or trustworthy as the dog, but finds the distinctive characteristic in the animal to be its nervousness; with this goes, of course, an unusual capacity for suffering, whether from brutal or neglectful treatment or a mere lack of understanding of the creature's nature. Mr. Merwin pleads for humane treatment in general, and, in fact, for that care which springs from affection or pride. He shows how much more a horse can be to a man than a mere article of property; but he reserves most of his force to persuade owners that horses used for pleasure, and therefore accustomed to a certain kind of care and work, should not be abandoned to the auction-room and its sequel of suffering when they become old or in any way useless as pleasure-horses. He contrasts the American mode of training, known as "gentling," with that old English mode which was called "breaking," and refers to its results in this country in the improvement of the trotting-horse. Altogether, the article is an admirably definite, reasonable, and well-directed discussion on a subject on which public feeling is still less humane and less effective than civilization requires; and the paper has the more weight because of the spirit of experience that gives to it a very practical character. Other articles out of the common course are an extremely technical one upon the teaching of arithmetic, a brief biography of Jeremy Belknap, the founder of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and some extracts from Richard Henry Dana's journal in China.

—The artistic novelty of the *Century* is a few pages of reproductions of the sketches, studies, and memoranda exhibited by the artists of this city at the Fellowcraft Club. They are in themselves interesting, and are used by the writer, who furnishes a brief introduction, to plead that the artists do their best work when unhampered by any consideration of the public taste. A second curious series of cuts is that illustrating a paper upon "Visible Sound," in which the experiments made by Margaret Watts Hughes by singing into a resonator, prepared for the purpose, are described, and the forms caused by the vibrations on a membrane spread with some unstable substance are pictured. These ocular equivalents of musical tones, however, it appears from the comment by Sophia B. Herrick, are suggestive rather than scientifically valuable. In the historical parts of the number the account of how the Confederate diplomatic agents in England and France found themselves handicapped by the place of slavery in the Southern system, is told by Mr. Bigelow, and the diary of Minister Dallas is put under contribution for a view of the Russian Court in 1837. A sympathetic biography of Louisa May Alcott, a rather fantastically written travel and character sketch from the Bulgarian political field, and a sporting article on Florida fishing, give variety to the number.

—*Scribner's* is much devoted to fiction, but we find a readable article upon "The Ship's Company," another descriptive of the scenes and character of Broadway, and yet a third upon Shakspere as an actor. In all of these the cuts are the main thing, and the text is principally remarkable for the clever way in which it stretches itself out without boring either the writer or the reader. In particular, the paper upon Shakspere is a marvel of bubble-blowing. What we know of him as an actor is so little that it could be told in a very short paragraph, and consequently the author of this long article has naturally written of many other matters; but what an effort he makes to keep to his subject may be judged by this sentence, upon the mention of Shakspere as acting before Elizabeth in 1594: "It is quite possible that her Majesty might have desired to see for herself something of the qualities of one of her subjects who, she was probably well aware, had already acquired considerable reputation, and who, she may have reflected, was destined, by the exercise of his surpassing powers, of which he had given substantial evidence, to add undying lustre to the period of her reign." This is about as useless writing as there could well be, and the paper is full of similar stupidities. Mr. Davis does much better with "Broadway"; he is lively and sketchy, and has a feeling for the life of the pavement, and it must be acknowledged there is more character in his text than in the illustrations. The "Transfer of the Temples of Ise," by Mr. House, describes the ceremony of carrying the sacred relics of Japanese religion from one set of temples to another duplicating the first, which takes place every twenty years; and it contains the information that it has been suggested to the Japanese Government to send over the old temples to be set up at the Chicago World's Fair in the Japanese exhibit. The fiction, by Mr. Stimpson, Octave Thanet, and Mr. Sullivan, is of very even quality and excellent workmanship.

—A most interesting discussion of the "Rectification of Chronology by means of Ancient Eclipses," by Prof. John N. Stockwell of Cleveland, Ohio, appears in the *Astronomical Journal*, No. 240, April 21. According to Mr. Stockwell, an entirely new least is to be made of some of the most important dates of ancient history. We give below the dates arrived at by Mr. Stockwell. The chronologist by profession will of course take many things into account besides reports of eclipses; but it is interesting to see what conclusions a rigid astronomical consideration, pure and simple, leads to:

"*First*, Jerusalem was destroyed by Titus in the year 69 A. D. instead of 70 A. D.

"*Second*, Augustus died in August, 13 A. D. instead of 14 A. D.

"*Third*, The last year of confusion in the Roman calendar was 47 B. C. instead of 46 B. C.

"*Fourth*, Cæsar's Spanish War was in the years 47 and 46 B. C.

"*Fifth*, Cæsar was assassinated in March, 45 B. C., instead of 44 B. C.

"*Sixth*, Jerusalem was taken by Pompey in 65 B. C., and by Herod in 38 B. C.

"*Seventh*, Herod's eclipse occurred in the year 5 B. C., September 15; and Herod died early in the year 4 B. C.

"*Eighth*, The Persian invasion of Greece by Xerxes occurred in the year 481 B. C., instead of 480 B. C.; and

"*Ninth*, The Era of the Olympiads commenced in July, 777 B. C., instead of 776 B. C."

—In the *Figaro* of March 21 there is a brief and interesting study, by M. Edmond Poirier, entitled 'Comment meurent les Bonaparte.' For the most part they die early and die in exile. Only three of the race have closed their eyes in France. None of them have attained extreme old age. Charles Bonaparte, the father of the Emperor, died at the age of thirty-eight, Napoleon at fifty-two, Caroline at fifty-six, Pauline at forty-four, and Eliza at forty-three. Of the next generation the Duc de Reichstadt died at twenty-one; the two daughters of Joseph at fifty-three and at thirty-

eight; of the children of Lucien, the Prince Pierre reached sixty-three, but the Prince of Canino died at fifty-four, and Prince Lucien at forty-four; the eldest son of Louis, who was to have been Napoleon's successor, died untimely at the age of eight; the second, Louis, at twenty-seven, and his son, the Prince de Monfort, at thirty-three. These names and dates are as given by M. Poirier. Some of the dates are open to question, and there are omissions in the list of names. As to his main thesis, that the Bonapartes are hereditary arthritics, M. Poirier seems to go upon more solid ground. He finds the family to have been markedly liable to gout and its kindred or accompanying diseases—rheumatism, affections of the heart, diabetes, cancer. The father of Napoleon died of cancer of the stomach, as did Napoleon himself; so, also, according to M. Yung, Lucien. Caroline, too, succumbed to the same disease, and M. Poirier, who puts no trust in the stories that appear in the pages of some reputable authorities, believes that Pauline met the same fate. Thus there are four or five of the family who died of cancer of the stomach alone. Besides these, Prince Pierre died of a cardiac disorder resulting from rheumatism; and diabetes appeared in Jerome and his descendants. King Jerome himself was carried off by a gangrenous pneumonia, which was an accident of his disorder, and his son was equally diabetic. M. Poirier does not mention the stone which caused the death of Napoleon III., probably for good reasons.

—In speaking of M. Édouard Drumont's 'Dernière Bataille,' we ventured to express the hope that the title might possibly be meant to convey a hint that the long and foolish anti-Semitic campaign of its author was drawing to an end, in spite of his announcement of a 'Europe Juive' in preparation. A new volume by M. Drumont has just been published with a title even more promising than the last, viz: 'Le Testament d'un Anti-Sémite.' Apropos of the Jews, it may be worth while to say, though the mention comes a little late, that there was a very good article about them by M. Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* of February 15. According to this writer, the whole number of the Jews is about eight or nine millions, one-half of whom are encamped in Russia. The centre of gravity of Israel is somewhere on the borders of old Poland, or of Austria-Hungary. In the east of Europe the Jewish population increases by the constant excess of births over deaths; in the west, chiefly by immigration. There are about 80,000 of them in France, of whom a full half are in Paris. Of these, however, M. Leroy-Beaulieu says nothing, or next to nothing.

—At a meeting on Saturday of the Baltimore Committee of the women interested in raising a fund for the Medical School of the Johns Hopkins University upon condition of its receiving women upon the same terms as men, it was announced that the fund now handed over to the Trustees amounts to $111,300. It was also announced that Miss Garrett has offered an additional hundred thousand dollars to the Trustees on condition that they shall have in their hands and shall set apart for the use of the Medical School by February 1, 1892, the remaining sum necessary to complete the required five-hundred-thousand-dollar endowment. Miss Garrett's offer is accompanied by the further provision that if at any time the women studying in the Medical School shall not enjoy all its privileges or shall not be admitted to all its prizes, dignities, and honors on the same terms as men, this hundred thousand dollars shall revert to her or to her heirs. The Trustees have accepted Miss Garrett's offer, with its conditions attached, and have pledged themselves, individually, to endeavor to obtain the $219,000 which, in addition to the women's fund and to the sum bequeathed to the Medical School by Dr. Baxley, remains to be collected. This they ought to have no trouble in doing: the friends of advanced medical education in this country ought to show a grateful appreciation of Miss Garrett's generous initiative, and the opening of the Johns Hopkins Medical School in 1892 ought to be quickly made a matter of certainty.

—"The run Ibsen has had this winter among the select few in London," writes a correspondent in that city, "is not yet at an end. The last of his plays attempted (still another is announced for next month) is 'Hedda Gabler,' which was performed for the first time at the Vaudeville Theatre in the Strand on April 20. The play proved much the most dramatic in the series, and the performance was by far the most finished, the merit of Ibsen's interpreters hitherto being intention rather than accomplishment; but that which makes it specially interesting to Americans is the fact that its managers and leading performers were two young American actresses, Miss Elizabeth Robins and Miss Marian Lea, who have for several years past been living and working in London. Both are women who have really studied their art, who believe that on the stage knowledge counts for more than impulse, and who, for that very reason, probably, have not met with the success they deserve in the English theatre, that home of sentimental amateurism. Miss Robins has been seen in minor parts in two other of the Ibsen plays, in 'The Doll's House,' where she appeared as *Mrs. Linden*, and in 'The Pillars of Society,' where, as the maiden aunt, she may be said to have redeemed the play. She has also, at intervals, been included in the regular programme of the Shaftesbury and Avenue Theatres. Miss Marian Lea made a decided hit a few years ago upon her first appearance as *Audrey* in Lady Archibald Campbell's 'As You Like It'; but since then she has had small chance to test her powers except in an afternoon performance of 'Mademoiselle de Belle-Isle,' in which she showed no little strength. In 'Hedda Gabler' both have scored a distinct success, already recognized by the London dramatic critics. Nothing could have been better than Miss Robins's *Hedda*, the restless, bored, jealous, essentially modern woman who, because she was tired of dancing, married the first man who crossed her path at the moment, and speedily repented it, and who, for the sake of a sensation, plays recklessly with and ruins the lives of her first lover and the woman he now loves; nothing better than Miss Lea's *Mrs. Elvsted*, the timid, gentle, weak woman who, in her weakness, married for a home, and then, when too late, found happiness and strength to live her own life in the work and devotion of a man who is not her husband. It is doubtful whether 'Hedda Gabler' could ever appeal to the general public; but if the five performances which these two enterprising young actresses have given will, as they ought, bring them into greater prominence on the London stage, the London playgoing public will have much to be thankful for."

THE ARISTOTLE PAPYRUS.

Aristotle on the Constitution of Athens. Edited by F. G. Kenyon, M.A., etc. Second edition. Printed by order of the Trustees of the British Museum. 1891. Pp. lii., 190.

THERE seems to be no reasonable doubt that, in the writing on the *verso* of papyrus No. CXXXI. of the British Museum, the modern world has recovered, in a transcript made about 80-90 A. D., the much-quoted but long-lost description of the Athenian State ascribed by the ancients to Aristotle, and always looked upon as the most authoritative work of its kind. The presence in this manuscript, in an appropriate context, of practically all the eighty-five or more extant fragments of the book—preserved in more than 240 quotations made, at first, second, third, and even at fifth hand, by many writers at least from Didymus (B. C. 30) onward—creates an overwhelming presumption in favor of this identification. Whether the original treatise was by Aristotle or by an immediate pupil, as Rose has maintained, is quite another question. It can be proved, however, we believe—though this is not the place to do it—that the historian Philochorus, writing before B. C. 306, or less than twenty years after the composition of the work, quoted it as Aristotle's, sometimes to supplement, sometimes to controvert, its statements. This testimony as to its authorship, which is earlier than any hitherto pointed out, should, if demonstrated, have great weight in settling the question.

On the *recto*, the best side for writing, are the accounts of a farm-bailiff in Egypt—his name, Didymus, but more especially the name of his master's father, Pollux, will give rise to curious theories—for a part of the eleventh year of Vespasian (A. D. 78–9). The editor dates the transcript at a time when these accounts had lost their value, *i. e.*, about 100 A. D. The fact, however, that foreign matter previously written is allowed to break the continuity of the narrative (c. 25), instead of being detached, seems to show that the writer desired to retain the writing on the other side of that part of the papyrus, *i. e.*, the opening columns of the accounts. The owner of the manuscript wished to keep these accounts unbroken; hence the transcript must have been made not very long after 79 A. D.—nearer to this date than to 100 A. D.

The beginning of the treatise is lost, and the final columns are sadly mutilated. But the fact that all the quotations are here, or are otherwise accounted for, shows that little is missing, and that we have the work in its original unabridged form—an inference borne out by its literary features. An historical sketch takes up about two-thirds of the text. Here the writer passes rapidly in review the several phases of the constitutional history of Athens from the period before Draco down to the Restoration in 403 B. C., dwelling very fully on the work and reforms of Solon (cc. 5-12), and on the constitutional changes, actual and proposed, after the Sicilian disaster (cc. 29-41). In the last third of the book (cc. 42 63; coll. 31-37) a condensed but lucid description is given of the machinery of the State at the time of writing (between 328 B. C. and 324 B. C.): it begins with an account of the enrolment of citizens and of the regulations about the ephebi; then the various public offices and boards, with a few important omissions, are described, including—in the following order—the Senate, the prytans, proedri, treasurers, auditors, city inspectors, commissioners of highways, market overseers, inspectors of weights and measures, the police board, judges in petty cases, arbitrators, public secretaries, cultus-ministers, archons (very fully), athlothetæ, generals, and subordinate military officials, etc. The work closes with a very minute

account of the jury-courts and their equipment, and of legal procedure.

In the summary at c. 41, the writer divides the constitutional history of Athens, after the establishment of the state by Ion, into eleven periods, or epochs of change, of which the account of only the first is lost, viz.: First, Theseus, a slight deviation from absolute monarchy; second, Draco, the law first recorded; third, Solon, democracy founded; fourth, Peisistratus, tyranny; fifth, Cleisthenes, democracy reëstablished in a more pronounced form; sixth, after the Persian wars, the revived Areopagus; seventh, the epoch introduced by Aristeides and Ephialtes, in which the Areopagus is reduced in power (B. C. 462–1), and the state, following unworthy party-leaders, degenerates, mainly because of its naval development; eighth, the rule of the Four Hundred; ninth, the renewed democracy; tenth, the Thirty and the Ten; eleventh, the Restoration and the subsequent period, marked by constant increase of the power of the people. The party-leaders in these changes were: Of the people, Solon, Cleisthenes, Xanthippus, Themistocles and Aristeides, Pericles, Cleon, Cleophon; of the better class, the rich and the well-born, Peisistratus, Miltiades, Cimon, Thucydides (son of Melesias), Nicias, Theramenes. The writer's favorites are, after the men of an earlier date, Thucydides, Nicias, and Theramenes.

Throughout the work there is definite information as to dates—over forty explicit datings, by archons and by numerical computations; the narrative is brightened by ten or a dozen anecdotes, of which three are new; there are quotations from the poems of Solon, with seventeen new verses, and from patriotic scolia or banquet songs; now and then a maxim of worldly wisdom, with touches of humor such as the reader of Aristotle's moral works might expect. The book is not a dogmatic treatise, nor yet a collection of notes: it is rather an historical and descriptive essay, and its style is natural, spontaneous, clear, and flowing—the opposite of jejune and crabbed—with anacolutha and other evidences of an unstudied art; a style that shows more of unconscious regard for literary form, and in particular for the rules of Isocratean composition, than marks the other extant writings of Aristotle. Indeed, if this work be accepted as Aristotle's, our conception of the literary art of the Stagirite is enlarged by it, and we can begin to understand what Cicero meant by his *suavitas* and *flumen orationis aureum*, and that Plutarch was not wholly wrong when he asserted that in his 'Constitutions' the style of Aristotle was vigorous and graceful. The skill with which the writer can tell a story is nowhere more apparent than in the three new anecdotes, viz., the scene at the torture of Aristogeiton (c. 18), the account of Themistocles's device for arousing Ephialtes to action against the Areopagus (c. 25), and the undatable incident, in which Eumelides (hardly Eumeleides) was chief actor, that led to the assumption by the Demus of certain absolute powers exercised by the Senate (c. 45).

The interesting and important question of the author's sources receives little light from any direct statements of his own. Solon's poems are repeatedly quoted, and yet the section of continuous quotations (c. 12) looks oddly like an interpolation, when one notes its context; of course, it may have been the author's interpolation. More than once the writer appeals to the testimony of inscriptions, and, in his citations of decrees, there is, incidentally, an interesting proof of his fidelity: the only instances—out of eighteen or nineteen final clauses with ὅπως—of ὅπως ἄν with the subjunctive, the idiom in Attic inscriptions, are found in two quoted decrees (cc. 29, 30). He often cites and sometimes criticises divergent views on historical matters, classifying authorities, but—except once—does not give names (pp. 6, 16, 19, 26, 41, 46, 48, 80). Herodotus is named in c. 14, and is followed, with interesting variations, elsewhere (c. 20). Thucydides appears to be controverted at c. 18, and is followed at c. 33, but is never named. Theopompus was probably in the writer's mind at c. 27 (cf. Plut. *Cim.* 10), and elsewhere, though he can hardly have been followed in cc. 28 41. Androtion is verbally quoted in c. 22; but the fact that his view of Solon's seisachthy is not controverted at c. 6, suggests that his 'Atthis' had not gained general currency before this treatise was written. Mr. Kenyon's uncertainty as to Androtion's date is not justifiable; Androtion can have been none other than Isocrates's pupil, Demosthenes's opponent, the author of the decree edited by Schäfer in *Rhein. Mus.* 33, 418 ff. There are traces of Ephorus, of Cleidemus and other writers of Atthides, and now and then a reminiscence of Isocrates, but the author appears always to frame his own account and to draw his own inferences. His spirit is that of a judicial observer and man of affairs, of pronounced aristocratic sympathies; his judgments, if sometimes partisan in coloring, are not petty nor marked by fantastic conceits; he exposes the weaknesses of popular government, but fails not to appreciate its excellences: "the many," he says, "are less open to corruption than the few"—a doctrine unlike that of Plato's remnant.

Athenian history, in its main features, will remain unaffected by this discovery, but in many of its details it gains, with the new light on dark places, unlooked-for definiteness and richness. Some of the more salient of these new aspects should be here mentioned. Though almost as many difficult questions are raised as are solved, and though all unsupported assertions should be put to the test of a rigorous criticism, Attic chronology at least is more certain than it was. The archon-list, for example, has been notably enlarged: we have, besides full confirmation of old names, the following new ones: Epilycus, an ancient polemarch; Aristaechmus, B. C. 621-0 (?)—Draco was not archon at the time of his legislation; Hegesias, B. C. 555-4; Philoneos, B. C. 527-6; Harpactides, B. C. 511-0; Hermucreon, B. C. 501-0; Telesines, B. C. 487-6; Hypsechides, B. C. 481-0 (not the editor's Hypsichides); Mnesilochus (not Mnasilochus), B. C. 411, for two months. Our information as to the history of many offices receives bewildering accessions and modifications. About the archons we are told that they were created in this order: first King, then Polemarch, Archon, and six Thesmothetae (the last probably about 680 B. C.). The use of the lot in designating the nine archons was introduced by Solon, but choice was made only from forty candidates previously selected; this arrangement held, with slight modifications—one hundred picked candidates instead of forty—down to a very late period. The Senate, under Draco of 401 members, chosen by lot, under Solon of 400, under Cleisthenes and after of 500, originally had summary jurisdiction over the lives of citizens. The history of Athenian government is the history of the gradual appropriation on the part of the Demus of all powers and privileges. Cylon antedates Draco, who, political reformer as well as jurist, is said to have committed the State to all persons bearing arms, an assertion that has the look of an anachronism. The timocratic classification of the citizens ascribed to Solon was in partial use earlier; Solon's seisachthy was an actual cancelment of debts, public and private.

There is much new light on Peisistratus and his sons. Before the Alcmæonidæ, one Cedon was famed in scolia as the foe of tyrants. The account of the conspiracy of Harmodius and Aristogeiton differs in some essential particulars from that of Thucydides. Aristogeiton was cruelly tortured by Hippias and slain by the tyrant's own hand in a frenzy of rage. Cleisthenes's demes were not necessarily one hundred in number: having first organized the demes as local political units, he grouped them into thirty larger units called trittyes—of which ten were near Athens, ten on the shore, and ten in the interior; each of the ten new tribes was then made up of three trittyes drawn by lot from the three districts. The Areopagus had extraordinary powers from the Persian wars to B. C. 462, when it was shorn of them by Ephialtes and Themistocles. Aristeides did not throw open the archonship to all the classes of citizens; the first zeugite to be chosen was Mnesitheides, in B. C. 457; the thetic class as such never could furnish archons even in the writer's time. It was by Aristeides's advice that the people flocked in to Athens from their country homes, with the result that, not many years after the Persian wars, more than 20,000 persons were on the state's pay-rolls. Pericles was not prominent as a statesman until about 455 B. C., and in 451-0 B. C. carried through his much-discussed law prescribing purity of descent as a condition of citizenship. The Peloponnesian war is hardly mentioned except in fixing a date, and notables like Hyperbolus, Alcibiades, and Peisander are not even named; but in the long and picturesque account of the period between 411 B. C. and 403 B. C., there are many items in general supplementary of Thucydides, Lysias, and Xenophon, though in not a few cases irreconcilable with their statements. There seems to be no place for the dramatic scene of the arrest of Theramenes. The final overthrow of the Thirty and the reconciliation with the secessionists at Eleusis took place two years, not immediately, after the Restoration. The sketch of this decade is a good example of vigorous though unpolished writing, and is rendered attractive by the deeds and sayings of the worthies Rhinon and Archinus. The 'Politics' had already taught us that this period, with its abortive attempts at constitutional organization, was a favorite one with Aristotle.

In the second part of this treatise, with its multitude of details, there is less that is actually new, but everything is clearly though tersely put. It is a vast advantage that we now have the Aristotelian quotations in their own context, rid of confusing accretions, and this part of the book is of incomparable value, giving, as it does, definite and trustworthy information on many dark points; in particular, we have satisfactory news about the ephebi, dates of elections, the duties of a host of officials. Scattered through the work are many bits of such information, as on the pay of officers from archon to dicast, on the civil-list in general, on the provision for orphans and incapables, on legal fictions. It is interesting to be told that Solon's debasement of the coinage was called "expansion of the currency," and to read of what may have been "blocks of ten" in the jury courts—an invention of the excellent Anytus.

The 'Constitution' is a surprise in its omissions as well as in its new yields. We miss,

for example, an account of the important regulations as to legislative procedure adopted under and after Euclid, and of the important changes in the Athenian financial system in the fourth century B. C., which figure in Philochorus; the nomophylaces, by Grote ascribed to Pericles and Ephialtes, are now recognized to be a very much later institution, but surely the nomothetae were important—quite as significant as, at least, the astynomi, whose first duty named was to see that flute-girls should not receive more than two drachms for their job, and that the city scavengers should not dump rubbish within the city walls.

Mr. Kenyon has shown great skill in deciphering the manuscript, and his treatment of historical matters is in the main judicious. But, as he himself admits, an *editio princeps* cannot be final. The text bears evidence of hurried preparation or revision in not a few blunders in grammar and in restorations which, palæographically possible, are improbable from the point of view of language. A familiarity with the corroborative or corrective evidence of Attic inscriptions, and with what has been doing in Germany in late years on Greek constitutional history and antiquities, would have made his notes, some of which are wofully out of date, much more valuable; he might have corrected Schömann by Schömann and Boeckh by Boeckh. There is both too much and too little information about the manuscript readings. The note on abbreviations (p. lii) is inadequate; several of the signs have a somewhat wider range, and others are used more arbitrarily, than we are told. There are gaps in the report of the readings of the original text, which was not always intelligently revised by the ancient hand, showing vagaries in spelling, some of which are interesting as throwing light on the pronunciation of Greek in Egypt about A. D. 80–90. The editor's own text also exhibits inconsistencies and an erratic orthography. The facsimile shows that sometimes—not often—the readings given in the printed text with no *caveat* are not absolutely certain, but only possible. Every instance of this sort should have been religiously pointed out. In the original text are not a few corrupt passages, and the temptations to emend the papyrus readings are numerous. Proper names require overhauling. At p. 11, 5–7, perhaps read τούτου [ἔδει εἶναι καὶ] κτλ μέχρι Εὐθύνου; p. 27, 14, τρεῖς, if right, belongs with ἑβδομήκοντα, l. 13, not with ἑξήκοντα; p. 36, 10, διαψηφισμόν (cf. ἀποψηφίζειν, Dem. *Cor.* 132); p. 45, 8–11 cannot be right; p. 55, 2, οὐκ (ἂν) συνεπίπτεν; p. 76, 4, ὥστ' ἐξῆν or ὅπως ἐξῇ; p. 98, 7, πρεσβεῖς (οὖν) or (δέ), and often (τόν) with τόνδε τρόπον; p. 101, 13, πρὶν ἀναγραφῆναι or πρὶν ἂν ἀναγράφηται (cf. p. 149, 8); p. 116, 5, erase τ', or read καὶ οὗτοι ἀφεῖναι (cf. p. 138, 11), etc. And there are many places where a better restoration seems probable than Mr. Kenyon's; *e. g.*, p. 2, 6, ἦν γὰρ [τότ'] ἡ (cf. the probable ἔπεμπον τό[τε] μεθ' ὅπλων, p 48, 16); p. 16, 4, 5, οἱ [βουλό]μενοι βλασφημεῖν (cf. p. 79, 7); p. 16, 19, μέμνηται (cf. p. 28, 24); p. 43, 3, τῶν δὲ κοινῶν [αὐτὸς ἐπιμελήσεσθαι (cf. p. 43, 17); p. 44, 16, δ[ι'] ἡσυχίας or τ[ὴν] ἡσυχίαν; p. 44, 26—45, 1, ἔμεινε [κύριος ὢν καὶ ὑπό]τ' ἐκπέσοι (there seems to be hardly room for the tempting ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ); p. 45, 16, ἐφ[ευ]γεν; p. 71, 7, ἐφαιρεθέντας; p. 80, 20, Πυθοδώρου το[ῦ Πολυζή]λου; p. 99, 7, συλλαβόντες [δὲ καὶ Δ]ημάρετον; p. 135, 8, ἀλλ' ἢ τοῦ (cf. p. 130, 14). In some of these suggestions we observe that we have been anticipated.

Many of the editor's remarks and notes need revision. To the list of absent fragments, add No. 360 (p. xv, 21). The sketch of early conditions on pp. xx xxii is fuller than the text bears out. The demes were combined by Cleisthenes into trittyes, not the trittyes subdivided into demes (p. xxxii). The Thirty were not known as "tyrants" in their own generation (p. xliii). The scholiast on Ar. *Nub.* 37 can hardly have got his passage from Harpocration (p. 56); in such cases the scholiast is ultimately the great Didymus, from whom, through Pamphilus, Harpocration himself drew. An inferior text of Pollux is quoted at p. 177, and the MSS. of Lex. Cantab. read ἐπιχειροτονίαν (p. 112). The note on Nicomedes is inept (p. 61); the word means 'masterful in counsel,' like N cobulus, not 'conqueror of the Medes.' Though θυρίδες (p. 125) commonly means 'windows,' its use here, in the sense of 'doors,' seems to be sustained by [Arist.] *Oec.* ii 4; but certainly all that the regulation signifies is that doors (and windows) should not swing into the street; they might—set back in a vestibule—swing towards it.

With all its blemishes, however, the text as furnished by Mr. Kenyon has its permanent value, and must form the basis of all future work on this book, of which the editions promised by Diels, Kaibel and Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, Sandys, and perhaps Herwerden, will be but the beginning. A decade or two must pass before this memorable discovery—the most extraordinary of its kind since the Renaissance—can be properly appreciated in all its bearings; for some time to come we shall swing back and forth between the extremes of opinion as to the authorship and ultimate value of this 'Constitution of Athens.' The final result will be not only a richer and more intelligent knowledge of Athenian history and political and legal antiquities, and of certain aspects of classical historical literature, but also the introduction of greater order and organization into much of the later derived literature, of which this treatise is a sort of key, and a distinct clearing of the atmosphere in that already popular branch of classical research known as the study of sources.

RECENT FICTION.

Juggernaut: A Veiled Record. By George Cary Eggleston and Dolores Marbourg. Fords, Howard & Hulbert. 1891.

The Sardonyx Seal: A Romance of Normandy. By Belle Gray Taylor. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1891.

"Down the O-h-i-o." By Charles Humphrey Roberts. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. 1891.

The House of the Wolf. By Stanley J. Weyman. Longmans, Green & Co.

The Blind Musician. By Vladimir Korolenko. Translated from the Russian by Aline Delano. Boston: Little, Brown & Co.

Youma. By Lafcadio Hearn. Harper & Brothers.

The Heriots. By Sir Henry Stewart Cunningham. Macmillan & Co.

"O Thou My Austria." Translated from the German of Ossip Schubin by Mrs. A. L. Wister. Philadelphia: J B. Lippincott Co.

Miss Eaton's Romance. By Richard Allen. Dodd, Mead & Co.

With the Best Intentions. By Marion Harland. Charles Scribner's Sons.

'JUGGERNAUT' is the grimly suggestive title of a political-social novel of New York and Washington life. There is very little by-play in its dramatic action, only enough to relieve the two intensely individual characters who move swiftly to the end. These characters present psychologic problems that are not satisfactorily solved in the dénouement. At least, there will be a difference of opinion as to the correctness of their solution. Given a young man with high aims that seek altruistic ends, of measureless ambition, but with a supreme belief in his power to achieve success, and it is difficult to conceive that he should suddenly commit moral suicide at the first temptation. To be sure, the temptation was a terrible one, and presented itself, as temptations have a way of doing, at a critical point in his career; but the scarcely perceptible struggle was soon over, and in the hours of meditation and retrospect that followed, there is no apparent desire to revoke his decision. And yet, years after, at the close of a career of political chicanery, dishonor is said to have been a hardly acquired thing with him, and "honesty and uprightness were innate." But, "with the woman, things were different." The character of the woman is more subtly conceived than that of the man, but a false note is struck towards the last that jars upon one's sense of harmony. A beautiful, impulsive girl, having no knowledge of his crime, marries this moral suicide. With absolute faith in and reverence for her husband, she blindly follows his lead, feeling a naïve delight in the unfolding of her powers. Her beauty, her wit, her naïveté are with fatal facility used as instruments for the furtherance of his political ends. Blinded by exceptional success, the husband gradually neglects his wife, and tries to stifle her craving for affection, coolly laying upon her the interdict of child-bearing, so intolerant is he of anything that may hinder the gratification of his insatiable ambition. From such a state of affairs a revolt on the part of the woman was inevitable; but the rapidity of her downward career, with its sordid accompaniments, comes as a shock of surprise to the reader, for neither her self-revelations nor the disclosing hand of the authors have prepared for such a radical change in her moral being. This, with the inscrutable attitude which she assumes towards her repentant husband, and maintains till her death, would presuppose an unbalance of reason itself; but we are forbidden this natural explanation by the apparent desire on the part of the authors to achieve a more striking dramatic effect.

The exhilaration produced by a sojourn on the romantic coast of Normandy may be communicated to others through the medium of speech or written sign; but its sparkling effervescence is apt to be quickly lost, and in a novel of three hundred pages, even though its ingredients are composed of sinister hypnotic experiments and thrilling escapes from a variety of dangers, unless there is good literary quality as a basis, the effect produced on the reader is far from exhilarating. The story of 'The Sardonyx Seal' might have been very interesting as an episode, but in its present form, and weakened by inverted sentences and needless French words and phrases, it soon palls upon the taste.

The story of 'Down the O-h-i-o' has a free movement and a racy flavor not unlike the old river song. The times of which it treats are the uneasy days of slavery, and the scene of its main action that borderland of Ohio so favorable to the successful working of the "underground railroad." A sketch of one of the stations on this road is very well done. The heroine, a little waif from Pittsburgh floating down the river in search of an aunt who lived in the "Ohio country," finds a home among the Quakers, in a primitive community; and as her blithe and vigorous nature develops, she presents an amusing contrast to the steady-go-

ing Friends, the worldly side of whose character is pithily expressed in the old saying, "Godward he was a very fine man; but manward he was just a leetle twistical." It is true that the vagaries of the human, not to say the feminine, mind are past understanding, but there is an unnecessary mystification in the fact that such a self-reliant, clear-seeing young woman as the heroine of this story should consent to an elopement with a stranger and a charlatan. Aside from this fault the plot is well constructed. The style is somewhat uneven, and at times awkward, but the story maintains a wholesome quality throughout.

'The House of the Wolf' purports to be an English version of a French autobiography written in 1620 by the Vicomte Caylus, who, as a youth of seventeen, chanced to spend in Paris a single night—that night the 24th of August, 1572, the awful one of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew. For historic pedigree one is referred to an incident of the massacre related by De Thou, who tells how on that evil night a certain man, falling into the power of his deadly foe, was led out of harm and dismissed to a place of safety through very shame of the occasion and through respect for a courageous enemy. This pretty episode is the foundation of the pretty romance before us. Three striplings ride to Paris to warn of danger the affianced husband of their kinswoman. Their adventures and the happy outcome of their journey are told in language touched with quaintness, and with an artistically hidden art that is graceful and attractive. The story makes a delicately pleasing contribution to that class of books which gilds for our gilded youth the pill of history.

'The Blind Musician' is a sketch called by its author "a psychological study," wherein he essays a description of the feelings of a person blind from birth. Mr. George Kennan's introduction bespeaks the reader's interest in the Russian author on literary grounds, and others as well. He is one of a group of young Russian writers whose careers have been interrupted by the heavy hand of Government. Although Korolenko is not specifically a political writer, his stories have held enough of "Young Russia" in their views to draw upon him repeated sentences of banishment and the censor's veto. The present sketch is further introduced by a letter from Mr. Anagnos of the Perkins Institute for the Blind. The story itself is less a story than a searching and touching analysis of the inner experiences of one who has never known sight. It spares no pang, but it also carries a hope in the tranquillity and usefulness attained by the hero. The brusque realism, the sharp outlines, of many Russian stories are not wanting here, but not all Russian stories have the tenderness or the artistic quality of this one. The style is poetic and somewhat mystical; the translation is smooth and sympathetic; the illustrations, though graceful, are superfluous in so slight a story, and the lustrous paper is well fitted to furnish new subjects for studies of the blind.

'Youma' is the story of a West Indian slave. The scene is laid in Martinique; the dénouement occurs in 1848, just before the news of the abolition of slavery reached the island, too late to save the beautiful Youma and her friends from a tragic doom. Mr. Hearn writes with an exquisite sensibility to the literary resources of his chosen theme. His fine feeling for nature, poetry, pathos, romance finds a happy field in the tropical life he draws with a pen from which truly "flows the color of the dawn." It is gratifying to find that his literary sense is fast overtaking his æsthetic sensitiveness. The rank luxuriance of style in his earlier 'Chita' has been pruned to a saner richness in 'Youma,' and gives hope of further progress in the same wise way.

The first chapters of novels make a class of literature by themselves. Like the curtain-lifter at the theatre, they often bear no relation to the main entertainment; but that is precisely the business of the curtain-lifter, whereas the opening pages of the novel may be supposed to be set in a certain key which indicates what is to follow. The seasoned reader of fiction will not be betrayed into judgment, much less hope, by the initial pages of his author. The unseasoned reader will think, upon beginning 'The Heriots,' that he has embarked upon a novel of the Norris type—a novel of construction. We are bound to say that he will not find this, equally bound to add that he will find what will very possibly please him better, a novel of clever sayings. More and more as the plot advances it is seen to be a somewhat perfunctory affair, which sits a little uneasily upon even the author. For example, he is at some pains to secure an invitation to a dinner-party for his leading lady, and forgets to have her present. The usual machinery of suppressed codicils, thwarted young love, mortgaged ancestral acres, is employed with the usual effectiveness. What is really unusual about the book, however, is the wit of the conversations. To these one recurs again and again after comfortably dismissing the story. So much of easy familiarity with letters, both classic and modern, does not often permeate the pages of a novel, and very seldom does the novel-reader find the ball of conversation kept tossing to and fro in such brilliant flights. That cynicism is pushed to a point almost disagreeable at times is quite true, and one reflects that perhaps the ingénue was just as well absent from the promised dinner. It is not, however, the unpleasant which makes the wit of the book. It appears here and there and is easily forgotten, while its cleverness leaves behind the sense of a shining hour.

Ossip Schubin's novel is readable, absolutely modern, the work of a note-taker rather than of a thinker. It is crowded with characters and with incidents. A species of modern show, this, which fills the pages: a sunny Sunday afternoon in a great city, when promenaders, old, young, gay, fair, disreputable, pass before the eye. One never feels the temptation to say, "Verweile doch, Du bist so schön!" but it is a sufficiently amusing pageant to while away an hour withal. The translation is made with great elegance and spirit.

'Miss Eaton's Romance' breathes the noblest motives. It is a tale of shipwreck occurring on the New Jersey coast in the presence of large numbers of the summer boarders. The shipwrecked, being conveyed to the boarding-house, become an incidental divertisement in the boarders' lives, and the book is devoted to the meals of the boarders in detail, and to the struggle to have each of the watchers by the shipwrecked get his breakfast, dinner, and tea regularly. When John has to go out, Burr goes in, and when both need a meal, the Doctor enters the sick-room; this is repeated through 300 pages. After the provisions are all exhausted, the author bethinks him to bring the old lovers together and to drown the villain, and the curtain descends to the breakfast bell's merry clang.

'With the Best Intentions' is a most preposterous book. No one would predict, on reading the rather clever character sketch in the first chapter, the depth of literary degradation that he is doomed to witness. A young wife on her wedding journey becomes jealous of an old friend of her husband's whom they meet by chance at their hotel on Mackinac Island. Aided by some unfortunate appearances of evil, and by a caricature of a mother, the bride builds up her jealousy into a great hotel investigation of the career of a woman before whose perfections and fascinations those of angels pale. The author's infatuation with this lady is equalled only by that of the young husband, two gushing women, and all the men dwellers in Mackinac, who fight (sometimes literally) under the standard of the maligned goddess. Although the goddess's mother dies under the hand of calumny, she herself spreads her white wings and flies to Newport, where lurks a hint of a compensatory marriage. The persecuting bride sinks into oblivion, scorned by her husband and all attachés of the opposing faction.

A specimen paragraph describes the singing of "Nearer, My God, to Thee" by the hotel guests, under the auspices, of course, of the principal contestants in the *cause célèbre*. It begins in the parlor; then "the voices of old men and maidens were blended in holy rapture; young men cast aside their cigars to add deeper tones; children in their beds, the colored waiters in the far dining-room, fishermen in their craft alongshore, one and all, took up tune and words." Has the World's Fair Committee read this book? It certainly should find here a hint towards the colossal. The landscape and the historic associations of Mackinac Island are helped by quotations from Miss Woolson's 'Anne,' with whom we condole upon being made an accessory.

A LIFE OF DUPLEIX.

Dupleix. By Col. Malleson, C.S.I. [Rulers of India.] Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Macmillan. 1890.

THE career of Joseph Francis Dupleix is one of singular interest. He was a man of remarkable gifts, and gave abundant proof of them. But the only part of his work that was permanent was that by which his enemies profited. His own life was a lamentable failure; his efforts on behalf of France, which repaid him with such stupid ingratitude, serve only to constitute a striking instance of what some one has called "the might-have-beens" of history. He strove to create, and for a moment seemed to have created, a great French dominion in the East. Had he been better supported, India might have become French instead of English, and the history of two great states and an enormous territory have taken a wholly different turn.

Born in 1697, the son of the Farmer-General and Director-General of the French Company of the Indies, Dupleix entered the service of that company at Pondicherry, the headquarters of the French in southern India, eighty-six miles S. S. W. of Madras, in 1720. In 1730 he was appointed Intendant of Chandernagore, the settlement on the Hooghly, a few miles above Calcutta, which had been first occupied by the French in 1676, and which they still retain. Having shown his administrative capacity there by stimulating the trade of the place in an unexpected way, he was in 1741 transferred to Pondicherry, and named General Commandant of the French possessions in India.

In 1744 the War of the Austrian Succession, for which Frederick of Prussia was so largely responsible, broke out between France and England. Dupleix, who could count on little help

from home, tried to arrange with the English Governor of Madras for abstinence from hostilities in India. The English, however, refused, and were made to suffer for their imprudence, for Dupleix and La Bourdonnais, the French Admiral on the coast, forced Fort St. George, the English stronghold, which is now generally known as Madras, to surrender. Dupleix had promised the Nawab of the Carnatic that when once Madras was taken it should be delivered over to him. The non-fulfilment of this engagement led to an onslaught by the Nawab's troops upon the French; and the defeat of his forces by very small French detachments in two conflicts was the first revelation of the incomparable superiority of drilled European troops to native levies. Following up his advantage, Dupleix directed an attack on the one stronghold which remained to the English, Fort St. David, near Gudalar, some sixteen miles south of Pondicherry. But the officer to whom he intrusted this enterprise proved incapable, a second attempt was foiled by the sudden arrival of an English squadron, a third attempt, made after this squadron had withdrawn, was foiled by a vigorous sally of the British garrison; and then, so far from pressing his adversaries, Dupleix was himself beset in Pondicherry by a powerful British fleet. Though not a soldier himself, his energy so inspired the garrison that the repeated attacks of the fleet and the land forces were repulsed till, after a two months' siege, the British Admiral sailed away to escape the approaching monsoon.

Then came, in 1749, the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, under which France bound herself to hand back Madras to England. The *status quo ante* was restored. But Dupleix had achieved two great things: he had inaugurated the policy of alliances between the European establishments on the coast, hitherto occupied only in commerce, and the native powers, nominally vassals of the great but fast-decaying Mogul Empire; and he had proved that European troops, properly led, were able to overcome immensely more numerous native armies. He had disclosed the same secret which the Athenians disclosed at Marathon, but which was not fully appreciated till the return of the Ten Thousand from the expedition of the younger Cyrus had written it in bold characters, that the undrilled and ill-led multitudes of an Asiatic host are mere chaff in the balance against a small force of disciplined civilized soldiers. This secret fascinated him. A vista of conquest and glory for France and for himself opened before his eyes. A question of disputed succession which had arisen upon the death of the Subahdar of the Deccan gave him an opportunity of pushing his schemes. He espoused the cause of one of the claimants, and supported him not only with a small French detachment, but with a considerable force of sipahis (or, as we call them, sepoys), native troops whom he had drilled in European fashion. As his reward, he received from his successful protégé large territories and the promise of still further gains.

However, the English had now been roused, and though there was peace between England and France at home, that seemed no reason why they should not espouse the cause of an adverse claimant and extend their influence and opportunities for trade by giving him military aid. But they proved no match for the skilful combinations of Dupleix, who, partly by the vigorous action of his generals, partly by his astute diplomacy, established in two years the virtual supremacy of French influence over the greater part of Southern India. A large cession of territory was granted by the new Subahdar of the Deccan to the French, and the title of Nawab of the Carnatic offered to Dupleix, who, however, prudently declined it. He was fond not only of the reality but of the display of power, but he perceived that he would not be substantially the stronger for this Oriental honor, and he may well have felt that it might excite suspicion and jealousy in France.

Only one thing was needed to the triumph of France, the submission or capture of the adverse native pretender to the Nawabship of the Carnatic, whom the English had supported. He had fled to Trichinopoli, and from that almost impregnable fortress was imploring the help of the English. Hitherto their somewhat half-hearted efforts had been unsuccessful. But the extraordinary success of Dupleix seems to have at length roused them, and they sent a small force to help to defend Trichinopoli against the much stronger native and French army which was attacking it. No one who has seen can ever forget the Rock of Trichinopoli. It is one of those huge, isolated, craggy masses of granite which rise here and there from the plains of southeastern India, its top accessible only by a long staircase, most of which is cut out of the solid rock, and crowned by a Hindu temple. It soon became the centre of a series of memorable campaigns, in which the French failed to capture the fortress, while the English, unsuccessful at first, began to add victory to victory as soon as they had found two really capable men to lead their troops, Stringer Lawrence and Clive. Dupleix did all that energy and resourceful courage could do to raise forces to stimulate his native allies to frame plans for the conduct of military operations. But, unluckily for himself, he had, or thought he had, no gift for leading armies in the field, and his plans were constantly wrecked by the incompetence or sluggishness of his generals. When the struggle, which had virtually become a war between France and England for the control of Southern India, had lasted more than three years, the French Company of the Indies, who found hostilities costly, and saw no corresponding return in revenue, became impatient. They had for some time wished Dupleix to settle things any how with the English, and had been roused still further by communications from the English East India Company, who assured them that their restless and ambitious Governor was the only obstacle to peace. Thinking that, as the Latin maxim says, they might properly take advice even from an enemy, they at last resolved to recall him.

In 1754 a certain Godehen was sent out to arrange peace with the British of Madras and to supersede Dupleix. There seems to have been no intention to humiliate the latter needlessly, nor was he ill received on his return to France. But Godehen managed to investigate and deal with the complicated accounts between Dupleix and the French Company in such wise as to deprive the latter of nearly the whole of the large sums which he had gathered, for the far larger part of these sums had been advanced by him to the Company for current expenses, or had been lent on the Company's behalf to native princes; and of all this Dupleix could obtain no part from his successor. Nor had he any better fortune in France. The authorities of the company put him off; the Ministers of Louis XV. neglected him, and, after ten years of continued disappointments, sinking deeper and deeper into indigence as his creditors pressed him more severely, he died, in poverty and wretchedness, in 1764, being then sixty-seven years of age. Seldom has a great man been treated with more callous ingratitude, for it does not appear that any misconduct or misuse of his powers for selfish purposes was ever charged against him. Clive and Warren Hastings were by no means spotless; but in their cases great services were allowed to outweigh errors. England at her worst has been less unjust than the despotic monarchy in France; but it must also be remembered that Dupleix, though he had shown gifts equal to those of Clive and Hastings, did not, like them, return triumphant and wealthy.

That his gifts were of the highest order can hardly be disputed. Untiring energy, inexhaustible resource, great dexterity in devising schemes, great tact in carrying them out, were united to a remarkable power of inspiring respect and confidence in those he dealt with. His failure may be ascribed to three causes. One was the want of personal military capacity, which obliged him to intrust the fulfilment of his plans to the hands of others. Clive could strike as well as scheme. A second was his apparent deficiency in the power of choosing the best officers. Several times, no doubt, he made happy selections, but more frequently his commanders proved unequal to the emergencies they had to meet. And a third may be found in his omission to make secure his position at home. Carried away by the brilliant vista of conquest which he saw open in India, he seemed to have forgotten the absolute necessity of conciliating the authorities in France and keeping them in good humor by remittances of money. Yet, after all, he would probably have succeeded but for the accident that the pistol with which young Robert Clive had tried to shoot himself in 1745 missed fire, and left the founder of the British Empire in the East to destroy the armies which had begun to conquer an empire for the French.

Of Col. Malleson's book there is not much to be said. He is an experienced bookmaker and gives a readable narrative of the campaigns, though in a rather slipshod style. His reflections are trite and repeated with an iteration which occasionally becomes tedious. Hardly anything is done to bring out the personality of Dupleix and enable us to realize what manner of man he was in daily life. Nothing, for instance, is said about his love of display and ostentation, contrasting with the military simplicity which Clive practised in India, nor are we told anything about his personal appearance, nor whether portraits exist of him, nor where, when, and by whom his diary (once or twice quoted) was published. If a narrative of events takes the form of a biography, some personal account of the hero ought to form a part of it. Our curiosity regarding the ablest man that served France abroad between the death of Louis XIV. and the Revolution, is left unsatisfied by this book.

Canada and the Canadian Question. By Goldwin Smith, D.C.L. Macmillan & Co.

However decidedly the reader may dissent from Mr. Goldwin Smith's political opinions, he cannot fail to be interested in this carefully prepared statement of his views on Canada and the Canadian question. Besides being possessed of the rare gift of a beautiful style, Mr. Smith has lived long enough in Canada to have acquired perfect familiarity with its social and political features, and he is, therefore, peculiarly well equipped for his undertaking. It is true that the natural bias of his mind, which tends towards distrust of democracy, and has a yearning affection for British standards of fifty years ago, occasionally leads him

into what some of his readers will consider a misinterpretation of facts. But while these instances are of sufficient importance to call for comment, they do not seriously impair the soundness of his general argument or of his conclusions; and perhaps, in the discussion of such problems, the hard blows of the controversialist make for the best results as surely as the judicial calm of the philosophic historian.

Two-thirds of the book is devoted to a brief but admirably written account of the beginnings of Canada, of the French and British Provinces, of the union of the two provinces, and finally of the causes which led up to confederation. Here and there are evidences of the bias above referred to, as, for instance, when, in speaking of the defeat of the French by Wolfe, Mr. Smith says that England "should not be accused of blindness because she failed to foresee that the requital of this supreme effort on behalf of her American colonists would be their secession." Surely there is something grotesque in this allusion to the Revolutionary war as an unjust and ungenerous requital of past kindnesses! Again, Mr. Smith says that two generations have not sufficed to efface the evil memories of the war of 1812, and that "unprincipled American aggression" at that time counteracted or weakened any attraction that American institutions might have possessed for Canadians. But then, war must of necessity leave unpleasant memories, and is it true that all the aggression was on the side of the United States?

Nowadays the Irish question cannot be eliminated from the Canadian, or from any other English or colonial political question; and, Mr. Smith's views on the Irish question being of a very decided character, he loses no opportunity of expressing his dislike of the Irish people and of all who espouse their cause. He has a very poor opinion of Canadian politicians, and says of them that "unscrupulous craft and a thorough knowledge of the baser side of human nature have become their ideal of statesmanship." But he consigns to a still lower deep the British statesmen who "have leagued with the Clan-na-Gael and other enemies of their country for the subversion of the Union." Presumably this category includes Mr. Gladstone and all his followers; but their opponents do not fare much better at Mr. Smith's hands, for he declares that, in consequence of democratic change, the House of Commons, as a whole, is becoming "an anarchy and a bear-garden, incapable either of legislation or of government."

Again, in his account of the French Province and of the French population, Mr. Smith's anti-Catholic bias comes into play. He describes the ship of the Church, with the Jesuit at the helm, as "steering on a course opposed to progress and the organic principles of modern civilization." And yet, almost in the same breath, he warns British statesmen against free education, on the ground that the whole community is taxed for the benefit of a portion only, and that parental responsibility is extinguished. Fortunately, Mr. Goschen has succeeded in bringing even British Conservatives to the point of believing that free education is one of the "organic principles of modern civilization."

After disposing of the historical part of his subject, Mr. Smith proceeds to discuss the "Fruits of Confederation" and the "Canadian Question," the latter being defined as the question "whether the Provinces of the Dominion can for ever be kept by political agencies united among themselves and separate from their continent, of which geographically, economically, and, with the exception of Quebec, ethnographically, they are part." Mr. Smith's unfavorable view of the results of Canadian Confederation under the Act of 1867 is well known, and is here presented in vigorous and unmistakable language. Much of what he says, especially in regard to the low tone of political morality in the Dominion, is undoubtedly true; but here also, as in the earlier portion of the book, his case suffers somewhat from over-statement. For instance, he says that "political morality, and to some extent general morality with it, have been sacrificed to the exigencies of this artificial combination of provinces, and of an isolation of these provinces from their continent." But he entirely fails to show that political morality is now at a lower ebb than during the period before confederation; and if he believes that, after annexation has put an end to the "isolation of the provinces from their continent," the atmosphere of Washington will rehabilitate Canadian political morality, he is certainly extremely sanguine.

Perhaps the most important, and certainly the most obvious, result of Canadian confederation is the Canadian Pacific Railway. American travellers will remember to their cost what the Grand Trunk service was in the days before the competition of the new road revolutionized Canadian ideas of what a railroad should be. But Mr. Smith is opposed to the Canadian Pacific because it is the child of confederation; and he expresses the opinion, which not one Canadian in a hundred will share with him, that the Grand Trunk Road has done more for Canada than the Canadian Pacific. He claims that the latter road has "carried settlers far away from their markets and their centres of distribution, raised their freights, and, what is worst of all, deprived them of the advantages of close settlement." He takes no account of the new "markets and centres of distribution" which are springing up on the rich prairies west of Winnipeg; of the development, as yet in its infancy, of the immense mining resources of Sudbury and British Columbia; of the new commerce which is seeking the magnificent harbor of Vancouver. His indictment is almost identical with that which the English squires drew against railroads in the good old days before the Reform Bill, to which Mr. Smith looks back with peculiar fondness. Equally out of date is the quoted opinion of two English artillery officers who in 1866 prophesied that the Intercolonial Railway would be so often blocked by snow as to be useless for the transport of English troops to India. Any military man acquainted with the working of Canadian railroads in winter would certainly rather face the remote risk of such a blockade than the infinitely greater risk of a stoppage of the Suez Canal in the event of a Russian invasion of India.

As to the general results of Canadian confederation, there is of course room for much difference of opinion. Many believe with Mr. Smith that the prosperity of the Dominion would have been much greater than it is if free trade had been adopted instead of protection as the basis of the financial system. A small minority of Canadians may share his idea that the different provinces would have done better without confederation. But the recent elections show that there has been no marked change in Canadian public opinion on the subject of the tariff, and the still more recent adoption of the Canadian plan of confederation by the Australian colonies shows that colonial opinion is satisfied with its results. Mr. Smith is strongly in favor of some system of commercial reciprocity between this country and Canada, and he regards eventual annexation by this country as the manifest destiny of the Dominion. He considers that this would be the best solution of the question from the English point of view, because England, under the present tariff, has no longer any exclusive control over Canadian trade, and would be freed from many causes of diplomatic disputes if she withdrew politically from the American Continent. But though there is much to be said in favor of these views, it is quite certain that at present, both in Canada and in England, they are favorably entertained by a small minority only. The French population of Canada is especially loyal to the English connection. It has been said by an eminent French Canadian that the last gun in defence of British dominion on this Continent would be fired by a Frenchman, and there is no doubt that the French feel that by annexation to the United States they would lose the disproportionately large share of political power which they now possess. Desirable as it is that the present anomalous condition of trade relations between the two countries should be changed, and that the change should take the general direction indicated by Mr. Smith, there seems to be no immediate prospect that his ideas will be realized. Nevertheless, he is entitled to our gratitude for the fearless manner in which he has stated his views, many of which will not tend to the increase of his popularity in Canada; and, in spite of the defects to which we have referred, his book is a noteworthy contribution to the literature of the subject.

Later Leaves. Being the Further Reminiscences of Montagu Williams, Q.C. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1891.

MR. WILLIAMS would have done well to resist the solicitations of his friends to continue the recital of his experiences at the bar. What he has here given his readers is but the lees, and the recollection of his former volumes will be too fresh for them not to be sensible of the falling off in quality. The fault is not in the style, for that retains its vivacity, but it is evident that the writer had told the best of his stories. We find almost nothing to which it seems worth while to call attention as especially entertaining, except one anecdote of Justice Maule—concerning whom all anecdotes are welcome. A person coming before him for trial, charged with an aggravated offence, brought forward a number of witnesses to his good reputation, and the Judge was asked to refer in his charge to this evidence. He complied in the following terms: "Gentlemen, I am requested to draw your attention to the prisoner's character, which has been spoken to by gentlemen, I doubt not of the greatest respectability and veracity. If you believe them, and also the witnesses for the prosecution, it appears to me that they have established what to many persons may seem incredible, namely, that even a man of piety and virtue, occupying the position of Bible reader and Sunday-school teacher, may be guilty of committing a heinous and grossly immoral crime."

We are very glad that Mr. Williams has preserved the admirable remarks of Lord Bramwell made at the trial of some trade-union officers for intimidating men who did not belong to their union in their search for work. They are a combination of pathos and good sense such as is rarely found. We mar them by quoting only a portion, but we cannot resist the opportunity of repeating the following sentences:

"Now I put it to your own judgment to reflect what right you have to call on any man to throw his labor into a common stock with your own because he happens to be in the same trade. You have no more right to call upon him to do that than you have to call upon him to throw what property he has into a common stock. Depend upon it, it is wrong. If any reason can be given for it, it must come from those who assert it, not from those who deny it. But you must be wrong in thinking it a desirable state of things. If all the journeymen tailors ought to combine together, so ought all the shoemakers and hatters and agricultural laborers, and, in fact, every class and description; and so ought, by a parity of reasoning, all masters and all other persons who have got some common bond of union among them. And what would be the consequence of that? Would it be for the benefit of society at large? You cannot think so. The only way it would be for the benefit of society at large would be if the object of the common desire of what is called wealth were thereby increased by such an arrangement as that. But would wealth be increased? Certainly not; because everybody knows that the total aggregate happiness of mankind is increased by every man being left to the unbiassed, unfettered determination of his own will and judgment as to how he will employ his industry and other means of getting on in the world. You must know it."

During recent years Mr. Williams has sat as a magistrate at the police courts in East London, and has been very deeply impressed with the horrors of human life in those districts. His accounts of what he has seen and heard are graphic enough, and the sentiments he expresses do credit to his humanity; but he has little to offer towards the solution of the problem, except a proposal that Government should remove some of the manufactories without the city. It is very suggestive of the difficulty of the situation to learn that Mr. Williams is informed that "the roads to London are choked with destitute and semi-destitute persons hurrying thither to participate in the funds which they anticipate will shortly be forthcoming" under Gen. Booth's scheme. But as to Mr. Williams's suggestion, we apprehend that the language of Tacitus might be applicable—*Solitudinem facit, pacem appellat.*

Frederick Douglass: The Colored Orator. By Frederic May Holland. Funk & Wagnalls.

THIS biography is markedly superior to that of Wendell Phillips by the editor of the series of "American Reformers," to which it belongs. Its cultivated style and its evidence of laborious research among the sources especially distinguish it. Nor is Mr. Holland a thick-and-thin eulogist, though he constantly talks of "our hero" and "our black knight." Still, it may be doubted whether the work was called for, seeing that Mr. Douglass is yet alive, and that there have been three editions of his autobiography, of which the latest appeared in 1882. Mr. Douglass has, of course, been politically prominent since that date, and there was something to relate concerning him as Marshal of the District of Columbia and as Minister to Hayti—two offices filled by him with a truly poetic justice. His letter in praise of Mr. Cleveland, after the latter had removed him, in 1886, from the office of Recorder of Deeds for the District, is highly creditable to both parties.

Mr. Holland's candor is not left to be inferred. He is evidently out of sympathy with Mr. Douglass's political views since the war—by which we mean since 1877; as respects the tariff, for example, or force bills, or Mr. Douglass's opposition to "one of the best nominations made that year [1888] by either party for Congress, that of Col. T. W. Higginson." On the other hand, he undertakes to defend Mr. Douglass's ante-bellum political career, which involves putting in the wrong his old associates, the disunion abolitionists. In this vindication Mr. Holland is biassed by his misconception of the anti-slavery disunion policy, which was primarily a discharge of conscience from all complicity with slavery, and only secondarily a means to the abolition of slavery. The disingenuousness, too, and historical falsification by which the political abolitionists sought to evade the logic of the Garrisonian postulates, are Mr. Holland's by adoption, but have become simple naïveté, as one may see from his calling the Garrisonian view of the pro-slavery elements of the United States Constitution the "Southern view."

Mr. Douglass's breach with the abolitionists grew out of his starting a newspaper against their friendly dissuasion. Mr. Holland shows that their apprehensions were completely justified — that there were already in the field too many meagrely supported anti-slavery journals; that Mr. Douglass could not avoid financial shipwreck, however much patronage he might draw from the other journals; that he would be tempted, under these circumstances, to abandon his disunion views in order to find support among hostile political and sectarian abolitionists. All this, in fact, came to pass, but Mr. Holland imputes blame to the prophets, while giving a very inadequate idea of Mr. Douglass's animus towards those to whom he owed everything but his native talent for oratory, and no idea at all of his adroit employment of the *odium theologicum* against them. Selfishly considered, his journalistic step was advantageous in giving him a more settled life than that of an itinerant lecturer; but he could not possibly shine as a writer as he did on the platform, and one is left free to judge that his usefulness to the cause was very greatly diminished.

His political change, once made, was full of the inconsistencies issuing from the absurd premise that the Constitution of 1787 was an anti-slavery instrument. The Buffalo Convention of 1848, which Douglass attended, took the Garrisonian and "Southern" ground that slavery in the States was unassailable through the Constitution; but, unlike the Garrisonians, the nascent Free-Soil party had no intention of attacking slavery where it existed already, or might exist if new slave States should after all be created. Mr. Douglass, an ex-slave, eager to attack and overthrow slavery, pronounced this standard "low" (p. 201). The Free-Soil Convention at Pittsburgh in 1852 did not raise the standard in the least. Its whole policy was for circumscribing slavery, while Douglass (like the disunion abolitionists) was for extermination (p. 211). Nevertheless, he took the stump for John P. Hale, who was avowedly ready to give effect to all the pro-slavery clauses of the Constitution. In 1855 Douglass reproached the abolitionists to their face with holding disunion views which, "if carried to a successful issue, would only place the people of the North in the same relation to slavery which they now bear to the slavery of Cuba or Brazil"; yet Hale's election on the Buffalo-Pittsburgh platform would have left the North much worse off, since she would have held herself bound not only to let slavery alone in its own domain, but to return fugitives, to put down slave insurrections, and to give to slaveholders a disproportionate representation in Congress. In the case of Cuba or Brazil, none of these obligations existed. Mr. Douglass partly saw this himself when the Republican party was organized (p. 249):

"The objection to this movement," he said, "is the same as that against the American Anti-Slavery Society: it leaves the slave in his fetters, in the undisturbed possession of his master, and does not grapple with the question of emancipation in the States."

Of course it did not, since it held the historical, Garrisonian, and "Southern" view of the nature of the Constitution. Nevertheless, Mr. Douglass took the stump for Frémont. In 1860 he was still more disgusted with his political allies (p. 249): "The National Conventions held successively in Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, and Chicago have formed a regular descent from the better utterances [alias "low standard"] of 1848 at Buffalo." Nevertheless, after supporting a forlorn attempt to make Gerrit Smith a candidate for the Presidency, he took the stump for Lincoln, "with firmer faith and more ardent hopes than ever before"—but not in politicians.

Meantime he bore explicit testimony to the worth of the abolitionists whom he had bitterly denounced. In 1860 he wrote to the *Liberator* concerning the American Anti-Slavery Society (p. 279): "So far from working for the annihilation of that society, I never failed, even in the worst times of my controversy with it, to recognize that organization as the most efficient generator of anti-slavery sentiment in the country." In 1865 he supported Mr. Phillips in the division over the continuance of the society, when Mr. Garrison withdrew (p. 313). And only last September he said in Boston (p. 391): "It was they [Garrison and Phillips] who made Abraham Lincoln and the Republican party possible. What abolished slavery was the moral sentiment which had been created, not by the pulpit, but by the Garrisonian platform."

This review certainly greatly damages the pretensions of the political anti-slavery parties from 1848 to 1860 as respects their part, intentional or accidental, in the abolition of slavery. It also raises some questions as to the worldly wisdom and morality of a black man's joining them and abandoning the abolitionists; and perhaps, on reflection, will appear not to bear out Mr. Holland's censure of the latter in their treatment of Mr. Douglass.

The Septonate and the Centralization of the Tonal System. By Julius Klauser. Milwaukee: W. Rohlfing & Sons. Pp. 274.

THERE is at present a great spirit of unrest and dissatisfaction in the musical world in theoretic and technical matters. Although great progress has been made in the simplification of the means of writing and interpreting music, as well as in the theory of harmony, it is yet felt that much more remains to be done before the art of musical construction and instruction will have been reduced to its simplest terms. The Janko keyboard is now in the field, promising to halve the difficulties of playing the piano and to double the pianist's powers of execution; while among the theorists a conviction seems to be getting more and more settled that what might be called the anatomical analysis of music calls for analogous simplification.

Mr. Klauser's book is an attempt to show that the reason why the building is unsatisfactory is because its very foundations are unscientifically laid. Instead of the old scale system, which has the tonic at the base, he takes as the basis of music a septonate consisting of two scale-halves with a single tonic as a common centre; or, in other words, he holds that the septonate, and not the scale, presents the seven principal sounds in music in their fundamental position. "The septonate," he contends, "clears up and solves the leading

tone mystery, presents this tone in its primal relation and position, and furnishes solutions of many old and perplexing problems, especially of those melodic and harmonic problems which have arisen in the upper half of the scale, and which are brought forward in current theoretical works." He introduces many other iconoclastic notions—such as this, that inverted chords do not exist; and gives new and somewhat arbitrary meanings to old terms, as when he uses the word harmonics (which is now understood to mean the faint partial tones that accompany fundamental tones in music) to designate parts of chords.

The author's exposition of his system has not convinced us that the adoption of it would bring about the musical millennium, although it cannot be denied that it contains many valuable suggestions, some of which may gradually find their way to general acceptance. There are some sensible strictures (p. 62) on the habit of confounding time with measure, and on page 71 it is clearly and suggestively shown how accent determines harmony. The author is familiar with the speculations of Riemann, Marx, Hauptmann, Hey, Faure, Spencer; he is evidently a man who thinks for himself, and no one who is interested in musical theory can afford to overlook his treatise. But it is not for theorists alone, for there is an introductory essay of twenty-two pages on "A Higher Education in Music," the repeated perusal of which ought to be enjoined on every musician and music teacher in the country by special act of Congress. If the hints given in this chapter, and similar ones scattered throughout the book, were followed universally, musical intelligence and skill would take a miraculous bound forward in a few years. Read especially page 25, where the greatest defect in the present educational system is shown to lie in the fact that pupils are taught music by the eye instead of by the ear. "As it is, the average pianist sees a note, sees a key, strikes it, and, last of all, hears it. According to the above remedy the pianist first of all hears mentally what he wants, and then sets about producing it in a rational manner." Among several hundred pupils known to the author, "there was not one that had ever heard or thought of *thinking* tones and of mentally constructing phrases." He makes the sensible suggestion that it would be a good thing if pianists were compelled to study without an instrument for a few weeks at a time. Vocalists will find many useful hints, as on p. 136: "Let every vocal student be on his guard if he grows hoarse after practising. This is the unmistakable symptom of incorrect practice and usually of an incompetent teacher; if such practice is continued too long, it means the wrecking of what might have been a good voice; it means more, for in this way the foundation is laid for many throat diseases." His remark that "consonants are the muscle of the voice" is very felicitous. Read also the strictures on p. 117 on the faulty common way of studying harmony.

Perhaps the most novel and striking thing in Mr. Klauser's book is his contention (pp. 18-20) that "there is no such thing as an uncultivable ear for music, so long as there is no structural defect in the organ." He describes his treatment of a boy who heard no difference in pitch within the limits of two and one-half octaves, and, of course, could not tell a concord from a discord. By an ingenious but simple method, fully described by the author, he taught this boy in four months to discriminate the intervals of the scale, to sing little melodies, etc. "I do not doubt," he adds, "that by similar methods Goethe, who could not tune his instrument, and Charles Lamb, who tried in vain to sing two measures of 'God save the King' in tune, could have developed an acute sense of tone and pitch." Here is hope for the unmusical legions!

Year Book of the Societies Composed of Descendants of the Men of the Revolution. By Henry Hall. New York: The Republic Press.

Mr. Hall has compiled, in a beautifully printed book of nearly four hundred pages, the organization of the affiliated Societies of the Sons of the American Revolution in twenty-six of the States, with the statistics also of the National Society of the same name, and those of the similar associations in New York and elsewhere known as the Sons of the Revolution.

It appears that California took the lead in such organizations, having founded its society on the 4th of July of the centennial year, 1876. The different bodies under similar names are, according to Mr. Hall's statements, divided into two very unequal camps by the unwillingness of the New York Society of the Sons of the Revolution to be merged in the larger organization. The editor points to the fact that the Society of the Cincinnati has dwindled to a small and purely social body, exerting no appreciable influence upon the times even in the way of stimulating patriotism. He thinks this is due partly to its exclusiveness, since it was made up of officers in the Revolutionary Army and their lineal representatives by strict primogeniture, but partly also to its provincial and social character.

The lines of these later societies are, t must be confessed, rather vague. They receive descendants on either the paternal or maternal side from any soldier or sailor of the Revolution, or from "officials" in the service of the original States or colonies or of the United States, or from "recognized patriots" of the Revolution. They aim at keeping alive the patriotic spirit of the fathers, to collect and secure historical documents, and to promote social intercourse among their members. The proceedings of the State societies give evidence that political action and influence is also aimed at, with more or less distinctness of purpose.

A constituency so wide as these societies base themselves upon would, if all entitled to join were enrolled, embrace the whole American element of the people—meaning thereby the descendants, in both male and female lines, of the whole and of the half-blood, of the population of the country in 1783. The show of limitation or exclusion within these lines would prove illusive, if any general disposition in the eligibles to become members of the societies should be stimulated. Is it not pretty plain, then, that the real cause for the creation of such societies must be the old-fashioned "native-Americanism" that has its periodical revivals about as often as new generations come into the field of action? Is native-Americanism a force, politically or socially, upon which any one can reckon for active and persistent work? If it were, the directer and probably more successful way to organize would be upon an avowed political purpose. This, of course, means the recognition of the fact that the organization must remain a minority party, content to exert its influence as a balance of power, just as the Irish vote, or the German vote, is supposed to be used in that way, openly or covertly. Experiments in the past seem to prove that native-Americanism cannot be made a rallying point in any such way. A revision of the immigrant laws and the naturalization laws would be the extent of any probable activity in legislative or political directions, and such revision is as likely to be aided by the first generation descended from immigrants as by the third or the tenth.

For political purposes, then, the new societies are not likely to be strong, and whenever their members become inoculated with political ambition, they will begin to disclaim their Americanism as sedulously as typical politicians have disclaimed their honorary membership in the Cobden Club. For social purposes it may at least be queried whether the narrower lines of the Cincinnati are not more attractive; for what are social clubs if not exclusive?

Walter of Henley's Husbandry, together with an anonymous Husbandry, Seneschaucie, and Robert Grosseteste's Rules. The transcripts, translations, and glossary by Elizabeth Lamond. With an introduction by W. Cunningham. [Published for the Royal Historical Society.] Longmans. 1890. 8vo, pp. xliv, 171.

These four French treatises, which apparently date from the thirteenth century, all deal with the management of feudal estates. They contain practical instructions designed to assist in the conduct of ordinary affairs, especially the management of a large farm and a great household.

The most important of these treatises is Walter of Henley's 'Husbandry,' which teaches the lord of an estate how to husband his resources in managing the demesne or home farm, so as to derive most profit from the soil and avoid falling into poverty. The instructions are given in the form of advice by an old man to his son, who is informed how to spend his wealth, how to make an "extent" or survey of his lands and tenements, how to select and supervise servants, how to keep cattle, how to sow and manure the lands, how to sell the produce, etc. In short, every branch of rural economy is described. Concerning Walter of Henley, almost nothing is known. One manuscript states that he was a "knight who afterwards became a Dominican Friar." His book was long regarded as the best work on tillage. Hence many manuscripts of the tract still exist, and Mr. Cunningham gives a full account of them. It continued to be very popular until superseded by Anthony Fitzherbert's 'Husbandry,' which was published in 1523.

The second treatise in the volume before us is also entitled 'Husbandry,' the author being unknown. It deals primarily with the finances or accounts of a manor. It shows how the bailiff's accounts are to be kept, and how the lord can check them. It also enumerates the expenses and profits of an estate. The third treatise, the 'Seneschaucie,' describes the duties of the seneschal, bailiff, reeve, hayward, lord, auditor, ploughman, wagoner, cowherd, swineherd, shepherd, and dairymaid. The fourth treatise, 'Saint Robert's Rules,' is attributed to Robert Grosseteste, the well-known Bishop of Lincoln. It contains twenty-eight practical rules or maxims written for Margaret, Countess of Lincoln, about 1240, to guide her in the management of her estate and household. Most of the rules relate to the domestic economy of a great feudal household in the Middle Ages. Directions are given regarding the supervision of officers and servants, the care of guests, how to provide food for the table, how to sell grain, at what fairs to make purchases, how meals were to be served, how the servants should behave in presence of guests, etc.

The four treatises collectively form an important contribution to our knowledge of the inner life of a mediæval manor. The work of editing them has been admirably done, many manuscripts having been collated. There is also a good translation of the French texts, and an excellent Glossary, which the compilers of the forthcoming Anglo-French Dictionary of the Selden Society will find useful. This Glossary, however, is cumbered with a large number of words—such as avantage, bouche, bref, cas, office, possession—that are used in their ordinary modern sense. The following additions or changes seem to be advisable: certeyn = a sum certain, a fixed amount; chapitre = article or head; dener = money; poyn = regulation or rule; provost (præpositus) = reeve. Mr. Cunningham errs in stating that "few prose specimens of Anglicized Norman French survive outside of the Statute Book" (p. xix). There are numerous specimens in Littleton's 'Tenures,' the Year Books, the Rolls of Parliament, and other public records; likewise, in local muniments, such as the Liber Albus of London, the Domboc of Ipswich, the records of Winchester, Leicester, Southampton, and many other towns. But these slight flaws are scarcely worth mentioning in view of the very scholarly manner in which both Mr. Cunningham and Miss Lamond have done their work.

Dust and its Dangers. By T. Mitchell Prudden, M.D. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1890.

THIS little book may be regarded as complementary to the 'Story of the Bacteria,' which we noticed some months ago. That explained in popular language what those micro-organisms are; this shows how they are liable to do harm, especially to mankind, when dried and floating in the air—for the dangers here discussed are almost exclusively those of bacterial origin. Exaggeration is a common fault in popular books treating of scientific subjects, but this is quite free from it. Nothing is overstated, and in fact the average citizen who, in these latter days, may look upon all the food we eat and air we breathe as veritable traps baited with death, will rest easier when he learns how few of the little organisms are caught out of doors. But fewness does not mean immunity. It is as bad to be slain with the single bullet of an assassin as to be peppered with many in battle; and forewarning is, in part at least, fore-arming.

The danger upon which special stress is laid is that of infection by the tubercle bacillus, the consumption cause. We believe physicians are gradually abandoning the constitutional theory of consumption, in so far as that involves the doctrine of heredity with the "seeds" of disease necessarily implanted from the beginning, and are looking upon those individuals or families who become consumptive as having a better prepared culture-ground for such stray germs as may fall thereon. The effect is nearly but not quite the same; for if the seeds are kept out of the hot-bed, the death-plant will not blow, and if the most stubbornly healthy person is showered with enough of these micro-organisms, some will make a settlement. It is thus that consumption is contagious. The moral is to kill or avoid the germs, and to this Dr. Prudden's book leads up, and it deserves careful consideration at the hands of all of us. In his desire to be simple, the author, we think, has written down a little too much; but that is merely a question of taste. It would have been better, also, had the exact degree to which the microscopical objects are magnified been stated. "Highly" is not sufficiently definite, and a scale would add nothing to the trouble or the cost.

Teuffel's History of Roman Literature. Revised and enlarged by L. Schwabe. Translated from the fifth German edition by G. C. W. Warr. Vol. I. London: G. Bell & Sons. 1891.

SCHWABE'S second revision of Teuffel's well-known work is published in two volumes. The first volume, to the end of the Augustan age, has been translated by Prof. Warr of King's College, London, and the second is in preparation. The original work is well recognized as an indispensable handbook, and its characteristics are preserved in this revision. Of course, there is much new material in each succeeding publication (the present is a third as large again as the first), and Dr. Schwabe does not hesitate to differ here and there from the views of Teuffel, whenever his own judgment or the results of late research warrant such departures.

Prof. Warr has made his translation more valuable by additions, in the lists of editions and treatises, of many useful English books which have been loftily overlooked by the German editor. His translation is in the main a most faithful one, in the plain, straightforward manner of the original, and English readers will be very grateful to him for undertaking the task and carrying it through so promptly. His style, however, is greatly marred by a too close adherence to the German, chiefly marked by his employment of compounds, awkward in English and directly due to German influence. For instance, he talks of "art-poetry" (*Kunstpoesie*); yet he rightly renders *Kunstdrama* by "the regular drama." Among other harsh words is "well-to-doness" (*Wohlstand*). There is a perfect apotheosis of the hyphen in this book, but it is all in the same line of imitation of the German. Another offensive Germanism is the printing of Latin proper adjectives with a small initial letter, as *parthicum*. But all these are errors of taste, which do not diminish the usefulness of the book. We have observed only a few real blunders in translation. On page 99, "combated" is exactly the reverse of the meaning of *verfochten*, which here means "supported." On page 20, "subsisted" is not a proper translation of *erhielten sich*.

The book is well printed in two sizes of clear type, and even with its additions contains some seventy pages less than the German. The binding, however, is exceedingly flimsy and altogether too cheap for a handbook. Yet this first volume costs 18 shillings, while the price of the whole work in Germany, in a good strong half-morocco cover, is a trifle less.

Lessons in Astronomy. By C. A. Young. Boston: Ginn & Co. 1891.

THIS is a brief introductory course, without mathematics, for use in schools and seminaries. It might very well follow the home reading of Ball's 'Starland,' which is still more elementary, and precede Young's 'Elements of Astronomy.' It presents a chapter of definitions, a considerable account of the constellations, and the fundamental problems of latitude, time, and longitude in their most elementary form; then the earth, moon, sun, planets, comets, meteors, and stars. It is always a satisfaction to meet such a text-book as this, the work of an author who has not had to "read up" in its preparation. There need be no search to see if the statements are correct, for Prof. Young is an authority in his science; nor to learn if their presentation is in form well adapted for school use, for he is the most eminent teacher of astronomy in our country. To such an author a reviewer always feels thankful.

The chapter on the stars contains much of interest concerning variables, showing how clearly the changes in the light of these exceptional bodies permits their classification into several groups, and gives some indication of their condition or arrangement, although their physical features are far beyond direct sight. The rational quality of the book may be inferred from this sample sentence: "It is a natural question whether some of the small companions that we see near large stars may not be the 'Jupiters' of their planetary systems. We can only say as to this that no telescope ever constructed could even come near to making visible a planet which bears to its primary any such relations of size, distance, and brightness as Jupiter bears to the sun." The freshness of the book may be inferred from the paragraph on spectroscopic binaries—that is, double stars too close to be separated by the telescopic eye, but known to be double by the periodic displacement of their spectroscopic lines. The first star of this class was discovered at the Harvard College Observatory only a little more than a year ago. Illustrations are plentiful and good, except that the figures of nebulæ lack delicacy; the one of the nebula in Orion, from the photograph by Roberts of London, hardly does justice to the wonderful original.

George Washington's Rules of Civility traced to their sources and restored by Moncure D. Conway. New York: United States Book Company. [1891.] Pp. 180.

IN the preface to this very neat little volume of nearly two hundred pages, reprinting 'George Washington's Rules of Civility,' Mr. Conway explains what the sources are, traces the probable method by which the Rules reached Washington, and embodies some reflections upon their influence in forming the young man's character. All this has a certain antiquarian interest, but it may be doubted if the labor thus expended upon "copy-book" material is justified by the result, seeing that the Rules were not George Washington's, any more than the geometrical and surveying problems in the same MSS. were his, and it would be quite as useful to trace these problems to their sources, so far as they may be regarded as formative influences. The Rules can never possess any of the interest that attaches to a plan of campaign, a summary of political correspondence, or even a scheme of farming Mt. Vernon, for something of the man's individuality and habits are shown in such records. Mr. Conway hints that political reasons have prevented these Rules from being better known; he remarks upon the absence of any religious precepts or references to women in them, while insisting upon Washington's "rather precocious admirations" for the girls in his school-days. This is "unimportant, if true," and rests entirely upon tradition. It was enough for Mr. Conway to have discovered the sources of these Rules, as was set forth in the *Nation*, No. 1301. We wish he had carried his researches one step further, and traced the so-called poems of Washington to their originals. These verses constitute one of the weightiest indictments against the good sense and judgment of the farmer, the soldier, the statesman, and the national hero.

Decorative Electricity. By Mrs. J. E. H. Gordon. With a chapter on Fire Risks by J. E. H. Gordon, B.A., M.Inst.C.E., Director and Consulting Engineer to the Metropolitan Electric Supply Company. Illustrated by Herbert Fell. London: Sampson Low; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

It gives one a shock of surprise to receive a book on the decorative treatment of anything so new as electric lights, and makes one consider how much there is to do to tame them into things of beauty. But when we look into Mrs. Gordon's book, we are tempted to ask, If so little as this has been done, why write a book about it? The obvious idea of collusion with manufacturers disappears as we read and see that the present volume is the work of an enthusiast. Its substance is of the slightest, and consists, not of study of principles and methods, but of recipes and small conceits, as in most books on household decoration; things which, used once, may please, but are not simple enough for repetition, and if applied broadcast become as tiresome as patent medicines. The most attractive part of the book is the chapter entitled "Some Personal Experiences," which sketches briefly and freshly the labors, disappointments, anxieties, and successes that wait on pioneers. The naïve story of Mr. Gordon's superseded electric lamp, of the inventor's magnanimous welcome of a contrivance that extinguished his own, and the quiet tear of the wife over an invention smothered in its cradle, moves the reader to admiring sympathy. Mr. Gordon's chapter on fire-risks is chiefly occupied with pooh-poohing other people's statements that there are risks. Of the designs with which the book is illustrated and the drawings in which they are presented, the less we say the better.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Ammen, Rear-Admiral D. The Old Navy and the New. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. $3.
Anvers, N. d'. The Life Story of Our Earth. 2d ed. Thomas Whittaker. 40 cents.
Anvers, N. d'. The Story of Early Man. 2d ed. Thomas Whittaker. 40 cents.
Arnaud, Col. C. A. de. The New Era in Russia. J. S. Ogilvie.
Barker's Facts and Figures for the Year 1891. Frederick Warne & Co. 50 cents.
Boissevain, G. M. The Monetary Question. Macmillan & Co. $1.
Brentano, Dr. Lujo. The Relation of Labor to the Law of To-day. G. P. Putnam's Sons.
Burton, W. K. Photographic Optics. The Scovill & Adams Co. $1.
Chansons Populaires de la France. G. P. Putnam's Sons. $1.50.
Cole, C. The Auroraphone. 2d ed. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Co.
Freeman, Prof. E. A. The History of Sicily from the Earliest Times. 2 vols. Macmillan & Co. $10.
Houston, W. Documents Illustrative of the Canadian Constitution. Toronto: Carswell & Co.
Janvier, T. Stories of Old New Spain. D. Appleton & Co. $1.
Johnson, W. F. Life of William Tecumseh Sherman. Philadelphia: Hubbard Bros.
Kellogg, Rev. S. H. The Book of Leviticus. A. C. Armstrong & Son. $1.50.
Kirchhoff, Theodor. Eine Reise nach Hawaii. E. Steiger & Co.
Knowles, E. R. Songs of the Life Eternal. Boston: J. Stilman Smith & Co. 75 cents.
Kipling, R. Mine Own People. John W. Lovell Co.
Lewes, G. H. The Principles of Success in Literature. San Francisco: Samuel Drew & Co. 50 cents.
Lincoln, Mrs. D. A. The Peerless Cook-Book. Boston: Roberts Bros. 15 cents.
Loney, S. L. The Elements of Statics and Dynamics. Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan.
Lowell, Percival. Noto: An Unexplored Corner of Japan. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $1.25.
McAllister, W. Society As I Have Found It. Cassell Publishing Co. 50 cents.
Meredith, G. One of Our Conquerors. Boston: Roberts Bros. $1.50.
Mérimée, P. Colomba. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co.
Moore, G. Impressions and Opinions. Charles Scribner's Sons. $1.75.
Parry, E. A. Charles Macklin. Longmans, Green & Co. $1.
Parsons, T. The Professor's Letters. Boston: Roberts Bros. $1.
Perry, Lilia C. From the Garden of Hellas: Translations from the Greek Anthology. United States Book Co.
Putnam, G. H. The Question of Copyright. G. P. Putnam's Sons.
Réville, J. Études sur les Origines de l'Episcopat. Paris: E. Leroux.
Ribot, T. The Diseases of Personality. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Co. 75 cents.
Saint-Amand, Imbert de. Marie Louise. Charles Scribner's Sons. $1.25.
Scott, Sir Walter Marmion. Boston: Ginn & Co. 50 cents.
Sihler, E. G. Complete Lexicon of the Latinity of Cæsar's Gallic War. Boston: Ginn & Co. $1.60.
Sims, G. R. Tinkletop's Crime. Chas L. Webster & Co. 50 cents.
Sonnenschein, W. S. The Best Books: A Reader's Guide. 2d ed. G. P. Putnam's Sons. $9.
Stevens's Facsimiles of MSS. in European Archives relating to America 1773–83. Vol. VIII. London: B. F. Stevens.
Stickney, A. B. The Railway Problem. St. Paul: D. D. Merrill Co. $2.50.
Story, W. W. Excursions in Art and Letters. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $1.25.
Sully, J. Pessimism. New ed. D. Appleton & Co. $4
The Log of a Jack Tar. Macmillan & Co. $1.50.

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MAY 14, 1891.

The Week.

THE presentment made by the New Orleans Grand Jury on the events of the 14th of March in that city reads more like the report of a Committee of Public Safety than a legal narrative. The Grand Jurors devote themselves mainly to an exposure of the condition of the jury system in their city, and indict six men for "jury fixing"; but, although they find that the acquittal of the Italian assassins was a corrupt verdict, they indict none of the jurors who were "fixed." The attack on the jail on the 14th of March they dispose of very briefly. What they say about it is that, after the trial,

"Good citizens were profoundly impressed by the repeated and signal failures of justice. The arts of the perjurer and briber seemed to dominate in the courts, paralyzing and rendering powerless the ends of justice. Certainly, this was a desperate situation."

A meeting was thereupon called to discuss this desperate situation on the day in question. It "embraced several thousands of the first, best, and most law-abiding citizens of the city, who assembled, as is the right of American citizens, to discuss in public meeting questions of grave import." At that meeting "the determination was shown that the people would not submit to the surrender of their rights into the hands of midnight assassins or their powerful allies." The number of citizens participating in the demonstration is estimated at 6,000 to 8,000, and the Grand Jury pronounces it "a spontaneous uprising of the people," and says: "The magnitude of the affair makes it a difficult task to fix the guilt on any number of the participants; in fact, the act seemed to involve the entire people of the parish and city of New Orleans, so profuse is their sympathy, and so extended their connection with the affair." This, as we have said, is not a legal document. It is the apology of a political committee for an act of revolutionary violence committed by the entire population of a large city, and expressed in the inflated rhetoric in which such manifestoes are usually couched. We fear, therefore, it will not give Mr. Blaine much help in any further controversy he may have with the Marquis di Rudini.

Senator Quay's personal organ in Philadelphia, the *Inquirer*, publishes a leading article informing the President that he "ought to call off his son" from making further statements in his illustrated newspaper about Mr. Blaine, and Mr. Blaine's attitude towards the President, and the President's right to the authorship of Mr. Blaine's alleged ideas. "The combative attitude that young Mr. Harrison has assumed," says Mr. Quay's mouthpiece, "seems to indicate a fear that Blaine may prove a stumbling-block. The position taken by the young man is unquestionably a mistaken one. He should have confidence in Blaine, not distrust. He is taking the right course to force the Secretary to the front." This deliverance from Quay adds greatly to the interest of the Republican situation. The President is travelling over the country claiming in his speeches that he is the originator of all the ideas for which Mr. Blaine has been getting credit. The President's son is saying in his newspaper that not only is what his father says accurate and truthful, but that Mr. Blaine is willing to admit the same, and is so eager for his father to be renominated that he will not consent to have his name mentioned as a candidate. Now comes Quay, who elected Mr. Harrison President, and who is kept at the head of the National Republican Committee by the President's influence, and advises the President to "call off his son." Prince Russell ought to turn about now and advise his father to "call off" Quay.

There is nothing surprising in the report which comes from Ohio that the Republicans of that State are beginning to have doubts about the wisdom of running Mr. McKinley as their candidate for Governor. They begin to perceive that his candidacy would involve a large number of political complications, any one of which might prove fatal. In the first place, if he runs, it must be as the author of the McKinley tariff, and hence that tariff will be the chief issue of the campaign, making it necessary to defend high prices and denounce cheapness as un-American and nasty. In the second place, if Mr. McKinley were to be elected, he would at once become a formidable candidate for the Republican nomination for the Presidency next year, to the exclusion of all other Ohio aspirants and to the damage of the President and of Mr. Blaine, or whatever person shall be chosen to represent his reciprocity ideas. With McKinley as its Presidential candidate, the Republican party must go before the country on the McKinley tariff—that is to say, without any reciprocity to speak of either in its platform or its campaign.

The more the Ohio Republicans look at these conditions, the more they doubt. Are McKinley prices so popular in the State that a Republican victory with them as a battle-cry can be anticipated? That is the first question they ask, and its answer is not so favorable as they wish it was. Would other Presidential candidates in Ohio and elsewhere assist in lifting McKinley into formidable prominence as a Presidential candidate, or would they allow "apathy," or a "knife," or some other occult political influence to remove him from the national field through the medium of a State defeat? Would either the friends of the President or the champions of Blaine and Reciprocity, or Blaine and Business, be likely to exert themselves energetically for McKinley's success? These are questions which disseminate silence and gloom in all Republican circles in which they are raised. The chilling reception which the muzzled Republican press of the country gave to McKinley's "great speech" at the recent high-tariff banquet in this city, is cited as affording grounds for grave suspicion that he may be much too heavily loaded with uncertain issues to be a safe candidate to run for Governor this year.

The Republican leaders in Pennsylvania have succeeded in "fixing" the pending Ballot Bill so thoroughly that they are now willing it should pass the Senate. Its author says he disclaims it utterly, and would much rather see it defeated than passed. As it stands it furnishes a model of a Machine politician's idea of ballot reform. It makes 10,000 names necessary for an independent nomination for any State office. It requires all independent nomination papers to be filed three months in advance of election. These are, of course, nothing less than prohibitive provisions, and are meant to be such. They are correct samples of nearly all the changes which the Senate Committee has made, and their object is without doubt the destruction of the bill. There has never been any hope that Boss Quay and Mr. Cooper, ex-Chairman of the Republican State Committee, would allow the Republican majority in the Legislature to carry out the party's pledge to give the State genuine ballot reform. Both these leaders, who control the Legislature absolutely, have been outspoken against the reform, and the only doubt as to the Legislature's conduct has been as to the way in which the defeat would be accomplished.

A fresh proof of the incompetency of the modern legislator comes from Tennessee. During the recent session an attempt was made to amend the election laws so that they should apply to counties having a population of 50,000, but in the process the registration law was made to read, "having a voting population of 50,000." No county in the State has a "voting" population of 50,000, and, as a consequence, it is held that the registration law fails, and carries down with it the Dortch Secret-Ballot Law, because the latter law is based upon the existence of a registration law, and forbids a man to vote without showing his registration certificate. The blunder is ascribed to carelessness in engrossing and inattention on the part of members when the amendment came up for action. It is taken for granted that the Governor will have to call an extra session, as the error invalidates all the election laws of the State. What makes the matter worse is the fact that the preceding Legislature muddled the same subject, and had to be called together in special session to revise its

work. It really looks as though law-making would soon be a lost art.

The temporizing policy of Bulkeley in the Connecticut lawsuit over the Governorship still goes on under a mask of legal subtlety and craft. What was evidently his original intention, of delaying the case by pleading directly no jurisdiction of the courts, had to be modified, owing to the Democratic outcry and the objections of the Merwin men. So instead last week he filed an answer which, while not raising the jurisdiction question regularly, seems to have raised it practically, and, besides, brought in certain questions of disputed fact which are likely to drag the suit through a lower court before it reaches the supreme tribunal of the State. As has been the case heretofore, Bulkeley was able also to force his policy on Merwin, whose meek conduct under the coercion of the hold-over Governor is a singular exhibition of political weakness. Indeed, the whole attitude of the Republicans, as a party, in the State is most discreditable. A few weeks ago, while the dispute was in the Legislature, they were clamoring to have it go to the Supreme Court for "advice." Now, after the Republican House has gone home and the Democrats have rushed the case to court in the form of a regular lawsuit, the Republicans, including Bulkeley, pettifog and act exactly as though they were afraid of the decision of a tribunal in which four out of five Judges confess the Republican faith.

The trustees of the Ohio State University are facing the old and difficult problem how to make their graduates, or at least a goodly proportion of them, turn farmers. One of the principal objects of the institution was the education of the sons of farmers with a view to filling the agricultural regions with an intelligent, educated race of men, who should be able to develop the resources of the land to the utmost; but nearly all of the students insist upon entering the professions. The trustees, at a meeting last week, decided to appoint a committee who should accompany the President on a visit to similar institutions in other States, and learn what they are doing to encourage the students to avoid the professions and devote themselves to agriculture. But there is little to hope from such a tour, for the same complaint is made from every agricultural college in the land.

One suggestion of interest, however, comes from the Ohio University. The Columbus correspondent of the Cincinnati *Times-Star* says that there has been a change in farming methods which opens better opportunities for educated young men. According to this authority, the financial straits of the small farmers have been throwing large tracts of land into the hands of capitalists who believe that the methods employed in large business enterprises can be successfully applied to agriculture. But this will involve the superintendence of these large holdings by men who are more than mere hewers of wood and drawers of water, and here is believed to be an attractive opening for educated young men. One of the trustees is quoted as saying that he has one friend, a wealthy Cincinnatian, who owns 1,000 acres in Highland County, and who would gladly pay a man of the necessary qualifications to manage the property $2,000 a year besides his home and food; and another friend who owns seven farms, and who wants a man to take charge of them, and who would cheerfully pay $2,000 or $2,500 a year to some one who could take all the care of them off his shoulders and hand him the profits at the end of each year. This trustee says that if any young man will come to the University and acquire a thorough education in the advanced studies, and at the same time make a special study of agriculture, "I'll guarantee that he will not have to wait long for a well-paying position." If this is a correct view of the situation, it may be possible to draw young men back from the University to the farms. They certainly will not go unless there is a good prospect of "a well-paying position."

Those mysterious "American Tin Plate Works" are on the move again. The Philadelphia *Press* of Saturday has the news of the sudden appearance of them in two places. It publishes the telegram from Anderson, Ind., saying that a party of "Chicago capitalists closed a contract Friday night with an Elwood, Ind., land syndicate for the erection of a tin-plate factory at that place to employ 500 people. The plant is to be in operation by January 1, 1892." The *Press* precedes this joyful intelligence with a jubilant account of a similar development in its own city on Friday. "A great company," it says, "most of the incorporators of which are Philadelphians, has been organized and will soon be incorporated under the laws of Pennsylvania for the purpose of the manufacture of tin and terne plates, black plate, taggers, and sheet steel, with a capital of $1,000,000, with the power to increase this capital. The Chairman of the Board of Directors of the new company is F. R. Phillips, who said last night that the mills will be located in the neighborhood of this city on one of the main lines. Four mills will be erected at first with a product of 2,000 boxes of finished plates per week, and it is proposed as soon as possible to increase the plant to twenty mills with a product of 10,000 boxes per week, or a total yearly product of 500,000 boxes." There is some indefiniteness about the exact location, but this is a peculiarity of the "works." They are almost invariably to be "near" some place or other. There is to be no chance for foreigners in this enterprise. "It is declared," says the *Press*, "that the company will be thoroughly American, and that no Welshman, unless he has become a naturalized American, will ever be allowed to be a stockholder. Neither will any Welsh or other alien employees be engaged, unless they are citizens, or have declared their intention of becoming citizens. It is also proposed to give skilled workmen a pro-rata percentage of the profits."

Purchasers of tin plate, meanwhile, will do well not to be deceived by advertised offers of "American tin plate," even when accompanied by a specimen of the tin, or a picture of "the works," both of which devices are being resorted to. There is no reason to believe that as yet "the works" anywhere consist of anything but a room, with a pot of solder, in which English steel or iron plates are dipped by an "old man and a boy." A picture of a factory is of no more value as proof that tin-making goes on inside than the hole the 'coon came out of was proof that the boy had killed the animal. The truth seems to be that the effect of the tariff on the morality of those whom it protects, is very like that of the horse on the character of the men who deal in that noble beast. No early training or even religious culture seems sufficient fortification against its insidious influence. It is, like the horse, full of defects and shortcomings, which have to be covered up somehow or anyhow, and the current kind of covering is bald lying. Hence the forged quotations, and the fables about the Cobden Club, and the semi-lunatical praise of dearness, and the curious concoctions about the tin-plate manufacture.

The agency of the railroad companies in promoting temperance is not generally appreciated. They employ 689,912 persons, not counting those who mine the coal and iron, make the rails or locomotives, or build the cars and carriages used by the road. The freight and passenger traffic of the country is practically controlled by 600 of these corporations, and of these 600 no fewer than 375 prohibit the use of intoxicating liquors by their employees, among the number being most of the largest companies. The Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers uses its influence in the same direction. "Whenever a member of the order is known to be dissipated," says Mr. Arthur, long the head of the organization, "we not only expel or suspend him, but notify his employers," and during the last year 375 members were expelled for this cause. This is only one illustration of the way in which practical business considerations are operating to promote the spread of temperance. It is purely a matter of business with the railroad companies. They simply cannot afford to employ a man who is liable any day to get drunk and precipitate some terrible disaster. In like manner other employers find that it pays them much better to hire a man who is not in the habit of drinking than one who may be intoxicated when his services are most needed, and between two applicants they give the preference to the one upon whom they can depend. The average workingman thus comes to see that it is "money in his pocket," in more senses than one, if he keeps out of the saloon; and the moral is not lost upon him.

Presbyterians were looking forward to a peaceful and harmonious meeting of the General Assembly, at the end of this month. The report was given out that the committee on the revision of the Westminster Confession had unexpectedly been able to agree. Thus the burning question of last year's Assembly was to be quickly settled, and unpleasant doctrinal debates put to one side. But just about that time came the startling inaugural address of Prof. Briggs. It instantly buried the revision matter out of sight. The learned committee that had so carefully prepared their compromise report on the two or three points of sublimated theology in debate, saw their work forgotten—forgot it themselves, in fact—in the presence of the bold challenge of the Union Seminary professor. In place of theological quiddities, he brought sharply forward a question of fact: not whether this or the other logical inference could be made from an infallible record, but whether the record itself was infallible; not whether this or that theory of inspiration was the correct one, but whether the Church was to go on any longer with eyes shut to the revolution wrought by modern scholarship in every thinking man's conception of the Bible. No wonder that more than forty presbyteries should have already called for the suppression of the fearless questioner, that the denominational press should be filled with discussions of his case, and that action upon it is to be the main event at the Detroit gathering.

Prof. Briggs is no rash enthusiast courting martyrdom. There is method and a fixed purpose in his audacity. He himself was an opponent of revision of the official creed. This was partly due to his extremely conservative theology, if one can distinguish, as he seems to, between that and his Biblical scholarship, and partly to his belief that no revision practicable would be thorough enough to meet the case. His idea has been to let the creed alone, but to give an official sanction to the loose way in which it has been notoriously taken by many subscribers to it. In his "American Presbyterianism" he pointed out that this is the way in which the Church can constitutionally recognize progress in doctrine. The creed is subscribed to for "system of doctrine." Now, says the Professor, let the Church from time to time declare as to certain debated points whether they are consistent with the "system," and there you have the evolution of doctrine perfectly provided for without any need of formal revision. It seems clear to us that the decision must be against him. He will be stoned, and the next generation in his church will build his sepulchre. The time for the advance which he advocates has not yet come. He has a considerable avowed following, it is true, and a greater number of uncommitted sympathizers. Two professors in Lane Seminary and one in McCormick have ranged themselves by his side. Many of the younger ministry will vote to sustain or at least to tolerate him. But the large majority of his denomination is undoubtedly against him—in parts, bitterly against him. And we cannot doubt that the American Presbyterian Church will soon be able to claim the distinction already achieved by the Free Church of Scotland—that of having silenced its most learned professor.

The chief interest of the late "bye-elections" in England lies in the fact that they are considered to be, and are, an answer to the bid for votes made in Mr. Goschen's budget. As a general rule, a popular budget is one which not only shows a surplus, as his has done, but also makes some remission of taxes. In truth, the production of a surplus is apt to involve an English Minister of Finance in a sea of troubles, owing to the pressure of various interests for a lightening of their burdens. Mr. Goschen made a great blunder in the last session of Parliament by an attempt to treat a publican's license as a "vested interest," entitling him to compensation in case it were revoked for any other cause than misconduct, and he actually attempted to provide, by an increase of taxation on beer and spirits, a fund for such compensation. This was treated, and not unreasonably, as a bid for the liquor-dealers' vote at the general election supposed to be near at hand, but, after raising a storm of obloquy, the project was killed by a shrewd parliamentary objection interposed by "Tim" Healy. The gloom which this spread in the Conservative ranks was dispelled by Parnell's downfall and the resulting split among the Irish. This split, and the resulting cudgel play in Ireland, were considered the ruin of the Home-Rule cause and the complete and final discredit of the Gladstonians. The Tories, in accordance with Lord Salisbury's advice, all "put their money on Parnell," and felt very confident that the Irish constituencies would stick to him in a way that would definitively alienate the bulk of the Liberal party in England. But things did not fall out in this way. The Irish did not stick to Parnell, and when the Hartlepool election came round, to the astonishment of everybody a great Liberal victory proved that the Parnellite dissensions had made no serious impression on the Liberal vote.

Things were in this position when Mr. Goschen, on the 24th of April, introduced his budget. Every one expected that it would contain some feature intended to restore the Tory fortunes, and that it would probably be something outbidding the Radicals for the working-class vote—an old Tory device, already successfully practised in times of distress both by the late Lord Derby and by Lord Beaconsfield. But nobody, or very few, expected that it would be be a proposal to use the surplus in establishing absolutely free schools, because there is probably no one article in the Radical programme against which all the leading men of the Tory party were more thoroughly committed. They have nearly all denounced it on the stump, chief among them Mr. Goschen himself. But apparently both the Ministry and the Liberal Unionists have given way to the seeming necessity of the hour, and are preparing to go to the country with a proposal which is perhaps the most remarkable piece of tergiversation in their history. Coming from a party which has been greatly shocked by the immorality of Mr. Gladstone's change of mind on the Irish question, there is wonderful audacity in it. Mr. Goschen revealed the scheme on the 24th of April. The judgments of the constituencies on it began to come in ten days later. On the 6th of May the Liberals won the seat of Stowmarket, in Suffolk. On the 8th of May they cut down the Conservative majority of 991 at the last election in South Dorset to 40 on a much larger vote. Finally, on the 9th of May they won another seat in South Leicester, a Tory stronghold, by a majority of 489, also on a much larger vote, where they were defeated in 1886 by majority of 1,138—a succession of most disheartening disasters for the Conservatives.

The International Congress of Miners, held at Paris during the first week in April, was a body made up of ninety-nine delegates, representing 909,167 miners. Great Britain had forty-one delegates for 448,636 constituents, Germany eighteen for 141,531, Austria but one for 100,000, Belgium sixteen for 92,000, and France twenty-three for 127,000. The chief end of the gathering was the furthering of the project to secure an international agreement for an eight-hours' day. On all hands it was believed that the surest means was a general strike, or, at least, the threat of one. The main difference was over the question of the immediateness of such a strike. The Belgian delegates were for precipitate action, but the Englishmen were for cautious proceedings, and their views prevailed. Accordingly the resolutions ultimately adopted set forth the determination to order a strike of miners throughout Europe, if necessary, but first called upon Governments and Legislatures to set about securing international legislation of a special sort for miners, including the eight hours' day. Such special agreements had been given international effect, the resolutions argued, in the case of mails and the telegraph, as also in that of railroads and other forms of international communication. There was no reason why the same thing should not be sought in the interest of miners. Another resolution was adopted proclaiming the solidarity of miners throughout the world, and promising aid to the Belgians in their coming strike, by refusing to mine coal to be sent to Belgium, and in all other ways possible. The Committee on preparing a plan for an International Federation of Miners was continued, with instructions to report at the next Congress. In connection with this, we may mention a workingmen's convention held in Brussels April 5, which threatened a general strike throughout Belgium unless the Chambers should grant universal suffrage.

AN INSTRUCTIVE PARALLEL.

THE New Orleans Grand Jury's account of the causes which led to the lynching of March, 1891, should be read in connection with the history of the Cincinnati riots of March, 1884. Nothing bears stronger evidence of the ease with which Americans forget even the most impressive events, than the fact that the New Orleans affair is almost universally spoken of as the first uprising of the kind in our national history. In many ways it was the duplicate of the Cincinnati disturbance. Its first cause was the same, the complete breakdown of the machinery of criminal justice, owing to the tampering of politicians and criminal lawyers with the jury system and the criminal laws. It is worth while to recall briefly the history of the Cincinnati riots in order that the closeness of the parallel may be seen.

On March 28, William Berner, who had made no less than seven confessions of his guilt in committing a most brutal murder, was convicted, after a long trial, of murder in the third degree, and sentenced to twenty years' imprisonment. The verdict was at once denounced as an outrageous miscarriage of justice. Judge Carter of the Court of Common Pleas of Cincinnati said at the time, that Berner escaped hanging by a "verdict acquired by the cunning and adroitness of lawyers known for their legal talent," and that they had succeeded because the "father of the murderer had $6,000 or $7,000 to spend." Scarcely had the result been published when a mass meeting of citizens to take action on the verdict was called to meet in Music Hall. Fully 10,000 people, including the most eminent and respectable citizens, assembled, and the meeting was called to order by one of the foremost physicians of the city. Speeches were made in which it was shown that during the eighteen years between 1866 and 1884 there had been only two convictions for murder in the county; that one of these had been of a negro, and that the sentence of the other murderer had been commuted to imprisonment for life; that there were at that moment no less than twenty-three murderers in the city jail who had not been brought to justice, and that this condition of affairs was due to a corrupted jury system and to the presence in the city of a large force of astute and unscrupulous criminal lawyers, who were working in connivance with political leaders to protect criminals from the penalties of their crimes. Resolutions were adopted denouncing the Berner verdict and the loose methods of criminal justice which had made it and other similar verdicts the rule, and appointing a committee of fifty to report at a second meeting a plan for correcting the evils complained of.

The assemblage refused to wait for the second meeting. During the proceedings there had been repeated cries of "Hang the jury!" "Burn the jail!" "Hang Tom Campbell!" The latter was the leading criminal lawyer, and had been Berner's counsel. He was a political power in the community, for reasons similar to those which make men of the same type "powers" in any great city. As soon as the meeting adjourned, the crowd, composed mainly of laboring men, but embracing men of good character and orderly habits of life, organized itself into a mob and started for the city jail. On the way they broke into a blacksmith's shop and obtained instruments for breaking down the doors. They assaulted the jail, but found it well guarded, first by police and afterwards by the militia, which was called out for its protection. The latter fired upon the crowd, killing and wounding many innocent people. On the next night a second and much more formidable riot broke out, in which all the most disorderly elements of the population joined. Their point of attack this time was the County Court-house. They rolled barrels of coal oil against the sides of it, and threw dynamite bombs through the windows, setting fire to it, and burning it to the ground, destroying many valuable records and documents. They were repeatedly fired upon by the militia, and many more people were killed and wounded. The riot broke out again on the third night, and yet more people had to be killed before the city became quiet. In all about 50 people were killed and 120 wounded.

In their report upon the riots the Cincinnati Grand Jury said in May following that they had been caused by a popular belief that the administration of justice in the courts had been blocked by the bribing and "fixing" of jurors to meet the designs of politicians and criminal lawyers, and that this nefarious work had been assisted by the conduct of the so-called good citizens in avoiding jury duty. Fifty-four persons were indicted, including "Tom" Campbell.

It will be seen that the causes in New Orleans and Cincinnati were practically identical. They arose in both cases from the pernicious activity of the political and criminal forces in the community on the one hand, and the indifference and carelessness of the respectable elements of the community on the other. In both cities the point was reached at which evils whose existence had been known and tolerated for years became intolerable, and the only way in which the crisis could be met was by a resort to the methods of barbarism. Is it necessary to point out that many other American cities are travelling the same dangerous path today, with the same indifference? In how many of them is the machinery of criminal justice kept free from the corrupting touch of politics? Look at our system in New York, with our "Mikes" on the police justice bench, and our "Barneys" in charge of the jury lists, and with Tammany's gang of semi-criminals in charge of every department of the city government. Are we prepared to sit still until the time comes when we shall have nothing left to turn to, to set us right, except a mob? And if we were to resort to a mob, would our best citizens be able to control it? What is the condition of Boston, so far as its police and criminal classes are concerned? Gov. Russell tried to break the obvious and notorious connection tween the two, but the whole power of the Republican party in the State was used to prevent him, and succeeded. Is Boston prepared to go on tolerating its evils till they become intolerable and the mob point is reached? Are other cities prepared to do the same? If so, then we ought to turn our attention to the invention of some system of regularizing mob law. Why not fix a public holiday once a year, to be called Mob Day, for the assemblage of a reformatory mob and the selection of politicians and criminal lawyers to be shot or hanged, and of houses to be wrecked and gunshops to be plundered?

MR. BLAINE'S TU-QUOQUES.

MR. BLAINE'S last despatch to Lord Salisbury on the Bering Sea question has been published, but contains nothing new except a *tu-quoque* in the shape of a recent statute of Great Britain (1889) regulating the mode of fishing within the great bay on the northeast coast of Scotland, between Duncansby Head in Caithness and Rattray Point in Aberdeenshire, "comprising an area of 2,700 square miles of ocean on the coast of Scotland." He accepts Lord Salisbury's proposed points of arbitration, with a few unimportant modifications, so that on the general subject there is nothing more to be said.

Nothing in this controversy has brought out so strikingly his ignorance or fatuity—one cannot tell which, owing to the presence of the "North American Commercial Company" in the background—as his *tu-quoques*. They have been from the beginning veritable curiosities. He assumes that any British statute prohibiting anything on the high seas is meant to be applied to foreigners if foreigners are not expressly exempted. The presumption in all civilized countries is exactly the other way. All municipal statutes are presumed, as a matter of course, to apply only to the subjects or citizens of the Power which makes them. Consequently, an act of the British Parliament cannot control foreigners on the high seas, whether it mentions them or not.

This point did not need judicial settlement, but it received it just seventy-five years ago in the *St. Louis* case, where a Frenchman whose ship had been seized as a slave-trader by a British cruiser, got damages against the commanding officer in the British Court of Admiralty, Lord Stowell laying down the law—which is law still—that no act of Parliament can overrule the law of nations. Consequently, when a British act of Parliament says that "no person" shall do so and so, it means, as a matter of course, no subject of her Majesty Queen Victoria, just as the American statutes regulating the Alaska fisheries, when they say "all persons," or "no persons," mean citizens of the United States. This rule applied to the St. Helena *tu-quoque*, and also to the Australian pearl-fishery *tu-quoque*, as well as to the Scotch *tu-quoque*. They are all ridiculous. If any American ship had been seized for "hovering" eight leagues from the shore of St. Helena, the captain of the cruiser would have been cast in damages in the British Court of Admiralty, and the ship returned to the owners. If any foreign vessel were now seized for violation of

the Australian statutes regulating ocean pearl fisheries, or for violating the British statutes regulating Scotch high-sea fisheries, the same result would follow.

Mr. Blaine does not cite the Australian statutes at first hand, but simply quotes a vague reference to them from a book of Sir George Baden-Powell's. The Australian Act of the Federal Council to which Mr. Blaine has referred, of August 18, 1890, regulating open-sea fisheries on the coast of West Australia, is careful to state that "this act applies only to British ships and boats attached to British ships." The "similar act" to which he refers, as having been passed by Queensland in 1888, but which he does not specifically describe, and which cannot be found in the Queensland statutes, is, if it exists, probably the same as the Queensland fishing statute of 1886, amending a statute of 1881, which simply declares that "*pearl and bêche-de-mer fishing shall be unlawful within the colony of Queensland, or within one league to seaward from any part thereof, without a license.*"

One does not well know what to say of a Secretary of State who sticks to these childishnesses through thick and thin. The journalistic geese who follow his lead and applaud him, are more easily described.

If any civilized Power were to put in its statutes an express claim of jurisdiction over foreigners on the high seas, we do not believe it would call forth anything but smiles from other nations. No other government would take the trouble to protest against it, as long as no attempt was made to enforce it. Down to the reign of George IV., the King of England described himself officially, even on his coins, as "King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland," but Frenchmen did not concern themselves about his claim as long as he did not try to make it good. In like manner, the King of Sardinia, down to the establishment of the Italian kingdom, called himself "King of Sardinia, Cyprus, and Jerusalem," but the rest of the world let the thing pass as a good mediæval joke. They would treat British or American municipal legislation expressly asserting the right to control foreigners on the high seas, or in foreign territory, with similar indifference.

This, too, explains the indifference with which the Czar's 100-mile ukase about Bering Sea was treated. As long as no vessels were seized under it—and none were seized—the maritime Powers ignored it utterly. It probably pleased the Czar and did them no harm. All departures from the rule of the freedom of the seas, even as regards the slave-trade, have to be settled by joint agreement. Nobody but a pirate is on the high seas subject to every country's jurisdiction, because he is held to be an enemy of the human race. These are things which ought, apparently, to be taught in primary schools, for some of us seem to find them so hard to comprehend that instruction in them cannot begin too early. Mr. Blaine has given the *Tribune* a map illustrating the Scotch *tu-quoque*, a performance which is worthy of *Puck*, for it is in that journal that the map ought to have appeared. The production of an engraved diagram to illustrate one's own ignorance is something new in comedy.

TAXATION IN MASSACHUSETTS.

In the determined efforts recently made in New York and New Jersey to introduce more rigorous systems of taxation, great stress was laid by the supporters of the proposed measures upon the example of Massachusetts. It is interesting, therefore, to learn that a vigorous attempt to reform the system prevailing in that State is now going on, the principles of the desired reform being stated in the report of a commission on taxation appointed by the Mayor of Boston. While the Commissioners could hardly be expected to adduce new arguments upon so well-worn a theme, they have certainly succeeded in stating their case with so much clearness and force as to deserve universal attention.

The burden of taxation in Boston is not a light one, amounting for municipal purposes to nearly $38 *per caput*, exclusive of revenue derived from licenses and miscellaneous resources. In spite of the severity of the law, and of its execution, about three-fourths of the revenue raised by taxation comes from real estate, and if all personal property were exempt, the rate of taxation on land would be little more than $17 per thousand of the assessed valuation. The Commissioners are decidedly of the opinion that it would be expedient to confine taxation to real estate, considering that the encouragement given to manufactures and commerce by this policy would very soon render the burden upon land no heavier than it is at present. They declare that many industries have been driven out of Boston by the present laws, and that many which would have come there have thought it safer to go elsewhere. Boston, they say, "is avoided like a house guarded by a savage dog. It is true that one may not be bitten; but it is pleasanter to go where the dog is not so fierce."

The Commissioners, however, do not propose to abolish all taxation upon personal property, but devote their attention to an extremely plain statement of the case against double taxation. They point out that the city of Boston, whose credit is beyond all suspicion, and we may add is sustained by decisions that make all the property of its inhabitants security for its corporate indebtedness, could borrow at a rate of interest one-half of one per cent. lower than it now pays, if its bonds were not subject to taxation when held by its own citizens. This saving would amount to $250,000 a year, while the whole amount of town and city bonds included in the sworn returns to the assessors for 1890 is $384,000, upon which the tax is less than $5,000. In short, the municipalities of Massachusetts compel themselves to borrow of non-residents by threatening their own citizens with a deduction from the interest stipulated in their bonds. Residents of Massachusetts, therefore, invest in the bonds of foreign municipalities by preference, as it is easier for them to conceal the possession of such securities.

It may be laid down as substantially true that the rate of interest paid by safe investments is determined without reference to the taxation of income arising from this source. Such income is very generally taxable, but only exceptionally taxed. Were it otherwise the net return upon such investments would be to residents in many of our cities less than 2 per cent. In the language of the Commissioners:

"The holder of a 4 per cent. bond of the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad, *if he is taxed*, pays the tax out of his own pocket, because his being taxed is an accident. It is not a payment under the universal law of trade, but a piece of ill luck, like having his pockets picked of the same sum. The risk of such accidents is greater in Massachusetts than anywhere else, because our system is more ingenious and greater vigilance is exercised. The risk in New York and Chicago is much less. In Philadelphia there is no risk at all. . . . If all civilized nations were able to and did tax the lender on every railroad bond in the world $15 a thousand, there is no doubt that the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad would have to pay about one and one-half per cent. above the present average interest rates. While London and Berlin, New York and Philadelphia stand ready to lend the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroad at 4 per cent., that railroad will not pay 5½ per cent. to a citizen of Massachusetts who wants the extra 1½ per cent. because he may be taxed."

Upon the subject of double taxation in the case of evidences of debt, the Commissioners use some illustrations which ought to make the matter plain to the humblest wayfaring man. They might very well be employed by teachers in the public schools, and are fitted to be of so much service in laboring with the benighted that we quote them for the convenience of such of our readers as are animated by the missionary spirit. Public opinion is more affected by arguments of this kind, perhaps, than by more elaborate disquisitions:

"To test the justice of the taxation of a piece of paper, such as a note, bond, or certificate of stock, we recommend the following experiment:

"Let the experimenter take a ten-dollar gold piece in his left hand. Let him write an I. O. U. ten dollars, and hold it in his right hand. Then exchange the two—get the gold piece in the right hand and the I. O. U. in the left.

"Are you ten dollars richer by this process? Are you rich enough in consequence to pay two taxes instead of one?

"Try the experiment with a friend. Let him hand you his I. O. U., and you hand him the gold. Are you two any richer? Do you two become able by this process to pay two taxes?

"Call in a third man. Hand him your I. O. U. for ten dollars, and your neighbor's I. O. U. for ten dollars as collateral. Are you three able, in consequence, to pay three taxes on the original ten dollars?"

When the law has once provided for the taxation of all land and all tangible personal property, it is obvious that further taxation of liens or claims upon such real and personal property is double taxation. It is undeniable that taxation of this kind is earnestly defended by many well-meaning men, who sincerely believe that the holders of evidences of debt who do not pay taxes upon them escape taxation altogether. But it is not true, as often said, that a large amount of personal property wholly escapes taxation; it is only true that it escapes the double taxation which the law attempts. The mistake is due to a confusion of thought arising out of the some

what mysterious functions of money and credit, and will probably continue until correct notions upon these subjects are generally accepted.

But there is a form of double taxation in Massachusetts which is indefensible upon any principle except that of the brute force of the State. If a resident of Massachusetts owns tangible personal property situated in another State, he must pay taxes upon it to Massachusetts, on the legal theory that personal property follows the residence of the owner, although he has also paid taxes on it where it was situated. But if the State of Massachusetts finds within its borders tangible personal property belonging to a non-resident, it taxes it upon the theory that it has not followed the residence of its owner. There is no confusion of thought about this, no mystification arising from the nature of *choses in action*, nothing but the bald fact that certain specific things shall pay twice the tax paid by other things of the same kind. This abuse is denounced by the Commissioners with appropriate severity.

In this respect other States are sinners as well as Massachusetts, but there is one iniquity peculiar to the law of that State. There has been provision since colonial days for the taxation of incomes arising from a profession, trade, or employment, but with the restriction that income derived from property subject to taxation shall be exempt. A comparatively recent decision, however, has declared this law to mean that a merchant is to be taxed not only on his stock in trade—without any deduction for his indebtedness therefor—but also for a part, if not the whole, of the income that he makes out of this stock, this income being supposed to be "derived" from the industry and skill of the merchant. It is hardly necessary to say that the merchants of Massachusetts do not concur with the Supreme Court, and commit what is technically perjury with clear consciences.

The abuses attacked by this Commission are inveterate, and it is not to be expected that they will be soon cured. Yet as, after a severe struggle, the taxation of mortgages on Massachusetts real estate has been done away with, there is nothing unreasonable in the hope that all forms of double taxation may yet be abolished. The example of Massachusetts is at present a hindrance and discouragement to reform in other States; and a recognition by her people of the injustice of their present laws would greatly stimulate those who are endeavoring elsewhere to make taxation more equitable in its methods and its incidence. This report is a step forward which indicates the existence of a sentiment likely to increase and eventually prevail.

PROFESSOR HILGARD.

JULIUS ERASMUS HILGARD, late Superintendent of the U. S. Coast Survey, who died in Washington on Friday, was born at Zweibrücken, Bavaria, January 7, 1825, and came to America with his father in 1835. The elder Hilgard, Theodor Erasmus, was a jurist of note in his own country, and devoted much of his leisure to belles-lettres. He settled with his family on a farm near Belleville, St. Clair County, Illinois, and was the first to introduce viticulture into the State. More important was his discovery, after careful experimentation with foreign vines, that the indigenous Catawba grape not only was best suited to the climate of the region, but was capable of producing wine of satisfactory quality. He gave personal attention to the education of his children, whom he instructed in languages and philosophy. Each of the sons, Julius, Theodore, and Eugene, has since attained honorable distinction.

The subject of this sketch began the study of engineering at Philadelphia in 1843, and two years later entered the service of the United States Coast Survey, then directed by the distinguished administrator, Alexander Dallas Bache. This organization, like most of our official scientific bureaus, was developed from a germ represented by a few lines in annual appropriation bills, which gave opportunity and scope to some person of genius. Such were Hassler and Bache, Henry and Baird, Gillis, Maury, and Hayden, to cite only some of those who have passed over to the majority. It is difficult to say whether such scientific success as has been reached by the Coast Survey, the Smithsonian Institution, the Fish Commission, the Naval Observatory, and the Geological Survey, could have been finally attained in any case, had the new-born infant been swaddled in so much red tape and hampered by such legal restrictions as are now thought necessary for the developed bureau. The presumption is against it; at all events there can be no doubt that, to the freedom of action left to the executive officer, with the opportunity for unlimited experiment in methods, control in promotion of subordinates, and the general exercise of expert judgment untrammelled by rules, is due the speed with which success has crowned the work of all of the above-mentioned organizations. Each represents the crystallized energies and life-work of some one or two leaders. The danger in each case lay in the changes inevitable at the death of the leader. If he had no competent and worthy successor, the very features leading to scientific success would afford an easy transition to degeneration and decay. It is a matter of history that, on the foundations laid in defiance of all obstacles by the audacious self-confidence of Hassler, the genius of Bache erected an organization whose world-wide reputation renders eulogy unnecessary.

A prime factor in securing the best endeavors of every subordinate was the explicit recognition of his particular services on every copy of the completed chart or in every annual report. No service, involving skill of brain or hand, was too humble for acknowledgment. Promotion was not attained by examinations or by favor, but by the tests of results in the work of the Survey. It rested with the Superintendent to raise the rate of pay, within certain limits, and it did not detract from the pleasure afforded by the approbation of the chief, to have it accompanied by an increase, even of a trifling sum, in the monthly remuneration. The system was avowedly lax in certain ways: men were supposed to be gentlemen, and not potential thieves; work was largely done "on honor." Faultless it was not; human nature in the Survey was much like human nature elsewhere. Grumbling and laziness were not unknown; but, all allowances made, the scientific world knows and has approved the results. Bache seemed to inspire his young men with a personal affection and something of his own genius for work.

Into this environment came young Hilgard. He began, like other civilians, at the bottom of the ladder, upon a temporary footing, as the original structure of the organization contemplated the survey of the coast by officers of the army and navy temporarily detailed to report to the Superintendent, and assisted by such civilians as were required from time to time. The continuity of work necessary to the attainment of the best scientific training was on this account possible only to the civilians in the service. By a process of selection from these, a small but able corps of workers gathered about Bache, among whom Hilgard soon took an honorable place, both as a student of his profession and in an executive capacity. He was enthusiastic, an indefatigable worker, alert in the recognition of all that was valuable in new methods, and, from his linguistic proficiency and wide reading, thoroughly informed on the progress of geodesy and engineering in foreign lands. A certain inborn mannerism of speech and gesture often impressed unfavorably persons whose knowledge of him was but superficial, but counted for nothing with those who were able to read more deeply the true character of the man.

The outbreak of the rebellion withdrew from the survey all military and naval officers, and checked on a large portion of the coast the progress of the ordinary work. A new and serious demand upon its resources arose which has been realized by few except those professionally engaged. Except to the Coast Survey men, the Southern coast, apart from a few harbors, was practically unknown. The charts were mostly still in manuscript. They must be kept out of the hands of the enemy and his blockade-runners, but the fleet must be supplied with quantities of transcripts. Coast-Survey men took soundings under fire on the bars from which the aids to navigation had been removed, and, as pilots, carried the men-of-war under the guns of Fort Fisher and led the fleet into Port Royal. The direction of the work was responsible, heavy, incessant; the anxiety, watchfulness, and care not less wearing than for the commander of an army corps. As one strong man after another went out into the field from the office, in time it came to Hilgard to act as principal executive officer to his chief under the designation of "assistant in charge of the office." At last the fine organization of Bache gave way under the strain. In 1863 a cloud settled upon his mind which never was lifted. Meanwhile Hilgard did double duty, inspired by equal loyalty to his country and his dying chief. As in time it became known that the state of Bache offered no hope of recovery, the question of a successor began to be discussed. We have learned from excellent authority that representations were made privately to Hilgard, with the assent of the appointing power, to the effect that the position was his if he chose to ask it. His answer was that he understood that the family of Bache were to some extent dependent on the salary of the Superintendent, and that, so long as Bache lived, he would do nothing which would prevent them from having it. Honorable to his friendship and disinterestedness as this course was, it cost him dear. Bache lingered through four weary years. At his death, long anticipated, several strong candidates were in the field, and, after an indecisive struggle of some length, all parties acquiesced in the appointment of Benjamin Peirce as the best method of restoring harmony.

Meanwhile the scientific abilities of Hilgard

and the results of his work had met with the approval of men of science. His work lay directly in the line of his profession, in the improvement of methods, the determination of weights and measures, and the novel method of ascertaining the differences of longitude by telegraph. His publications on these subjects are to be found chiefly in the Coast Survey Reports. One of the most noteworthy relates to the telegraphic determination of the differences of longitude between Greenwich, Paris, and Washington. He was a delegate to the International Metric Commission in 1872, and a member of the International Bureau of Weights and Measures of which he declined the directorship. He was an original member of the National Academy of Sciences, and for some years its Home Secretary. In 1874 he was elected President of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. He succeeded to the work of Bache in connection with the work of the Bureau of Weights and Measures, and took a leading part in preparing exact metric standards for distribution to the States and Territories.

The appointment of another, however worthy, when Peirce resigned the superintendency, was, without doubt, a severe disappointment to Hilgard. He already suffered physically from overwork, and death invaded his household, always tenderly united. However, he kept busy at his old post, in spite of weakness, grief, and adverse fortune. After the death of Mr. Patterson in 1881, he was appointed Superintendent, and, for a time, the tardy recognition seemed to give him new life. But his strength was broken, he suffered cruelly at times, and to those about him it was evident that his working days were nearly over. On the political changes of 1884, and their consequences to the Coast Survey, we shall not dwell. Those events are too recent to be impartially discussed. For Hilgard, prostrated by illness at the time, the severance of his relations with the organization to which he had devoted his life, was a crushing blow. The end, long in coming, was awaited with marvellous patience and met with Christian resignation.

The characteristics of the man partook somewhat of his father's poetic temperament. This sometimes led him, if his sympathies were excited, into hasty and ill-advised participation in other people's controversies. Thus he raised opponents and laid obstacles in his own path. The same element in his character was, however, responsible for the kindly charitable and self-sacrificing actions which, to those intimate with him, were known to adorn his unpretentious daily life. To this also may be ascribed the almost quixotic way in which he was known sometimes to aid the fortunes of his most active professional rivals; as if he had forgotten that self-preservation is the first law of nature. Now that death has swept away the fog of controversy, few of his former subordinates will be able to forget the kindness and consideration for their personal welfare characteristic of his administration, or to approve the manner in which that administration was brought to a close.

HERNE'S "MARGARET FLEMING."

BOSTON, May 10, 1891.

OF very much greater significance than the occasional presentation of an Ibsen play, whose momentary success as an exotic might be accounted for by the curiosity of the reading people of this continent to see for themselves what so stirred another, is the writing and presentation here of a native play of quite as advanced a type. This is what Boston has been witnessing during the past week, and will probably be able to do for a fortnight longer; for, although Chickering Hall is small, and his play appeals to a very limited audience, Mr. Herne has fortunately received enough encouragement already to extend his announced week to two.

His play was declared in advance by several critics to be far beyond the ordinary, Mr. Howells speaking with especial enthusiasm of it, and Mr. Barrett Wendell even writing a letter, in the daily of the Harvard students, to say that no one who was really interested in the stage could afford to miss hearing it. As a result, Mr. Herne's audiences have been exceedingly good ones, scholarly, interested, and critical, in spite of their numerical smallness. It is a pity for our stage that we have no Théâtre Libre, as Mr. Herne has just lamented in an after-dinner speech. No theatre-going public is less concerned than ours with serious drama, and no managers are so ready as the American to pander to bad taste with new extravagances of buffoonery. The "drama of the future," no doubt, will not be a paying venture at first, and a manager can scarcely be blamed for following the secure road of the present; but it is none the less a pity that a man who puts conscience and thought into his play should be compelled to produce it on the inadequate stage of a small concert-hall, and this is what Mr. Herne has had to do, in the absence of any small theatre, devoted to originality, where his talent might find a setting as well as a hearing.

The play itself is an attempt to dramatize the ordinary life of the American home—though the home selected is none of the happiest. Mr. Herne had previously written a play called "Drifting Apart," whose originality was hampered by the demands of melodramatic convention. In "Margaret Fleming" convention is cast to the winds, with a novelty of result that is inconceivable. The story is a familiar one. *Philip Fleming*, a manufacturer, is a small-witted, sensual man, luxuriously fond of his fine wife, his baby, and his home, yet beginning after his marriage, and with no compunction, a fresh liaison with a German mill-girl. The play opens with the crisis of this girl's motherhood before him, as well as an embarrassment with his creditors. In both extremities he acts with cowardice and meanness. The wrong towards the girl he tries to smother in her and himself with money; he anticipates his insolvency by settling his property on his wife and child. The wife, one of the high-minded women whose marriage to worthless men is a common source of surprise, refuses with handsome scorn to be a dishonest beneficiary, and spiritedly exacts of her husband that he shall meet his debts if he has to sell his house. This trouble she looks lightly upon; but she is not to be spared. The girl betrayed by her husband is dying; and *Mrs. Fleming*, at the request of her maid, the girl's sister, goes to visit her bedside, both being in ignorance of the betrayer's identity. Once there, there is the inevitable disclosure, which acts with such dreadful effect upon *Mrs. Fleming* that an hereditary trouble of her eyes is suddenly turned by the shock into total blindness. She sends for her husband, who arrives upon the scene just as she is preparing to give suck to the famished child of the dead woman—a climax as tragic as any that ever was put upon the stage.

Two additional acts add little to the strength of the piece. *Fleming*, with characteristic cowardice, has run away from home and taken to drink, emerging, much chastened, from a hospital where he has been brought by brain-fever. The wife's blindness is followed by temporary insanity; and, on her discharge from the asylum, her child and husband have both disappeared. (It is but just to add that this is told, not acted, on the stage.) The child has been stolen, out of revenge, by the German nurse-girl, who is leading it a life of misery in the North End; and its subsequent recovery involves the bringing of husband and wife together again in a police station, where the latter, without bitterness, but without emotion, refuses to return to a marriage which she declares, "without having asked the assent of Church or State," to be dissolved, and delivers a forcible, if somewhat gratuitous, lecture on unchastity to her contrite husband.

This is the story, very briefly. Action, as we understand it on the stage, is absolutely wanting; situations, almost wholly. Yet the interest is intense. The scenic accompaniment—the absence of supernumeraries—was naïf almost to a comical degree; but it detracted little from the interest in the play itself—a real interest, because the play was real. Its language was that of every-day life, the lines of the wife and the doctor alone having anything declamatory in them. It had, too, not only the verisimilitude, but the terrible frankness of speech called out by a great moral stress—all the indignation of outraged integrity and the cringings of cowardice; it was not pruned for recital. A comic element, in the person of a philosophic peddler, *Joe Fletcher*, the nurse girl *Maria's* husband, was well rendered, even if superfluously, by the author; while the part adds nothing necessary to the story, this compound of Sam Slick and Jacques Strop is a most accurate character study in himself.

The modern drift towards realism was noticeable all through in minor touches—the scene at the telephone, where *Fleming's* wife is supposed to be holding up the baby at the other end for him to talk to in his office; the itinerant sidewalk vender; the North End store, with its wretched customers; and the fine touch of the visiting lady from the "Fresh Air" Committee. But a more striking example of the gap between the ancients and the moderns is the part which the doctor plays in this piece. To be sure, in our modern plays, the medical profession is seldom treated with disrespect, and a better tribute to its humane tendency since the cupping and blood-letting era could scarcely be asked; but in Mr. Herne's play the doctor becomes something more—he is the moral adviser, the spiritual consoler, by virtue of his gentle calling. He points out the cringing *Fleming's* duty to him in language more forcible than agreeable; he soothes the sick wife, and would save her, if he could, from her misery, before and after the tragedy. In short, he shows how completely we have left the past where Doctor Pangloss exemplified the popular distrust of his profession, and some platitudinous old Vicar (the *deus ex machinâ* to calm the jarring elements) the respect paid to his. In this play there is no reference to the clergy, or even to God, except where *Mrs. Fleming*, as before quoted, denies that either can bind her to a marriage dissolved *per se*.

In acting, Mrs. Herne easily bore off first honors. Her home-life, with her husband, with her baby, with her maid, was the picture of a sweet wife and a good mother. Her reproach to her husband for his shifty money-dealing was simple and earnest; but the never-to-be-forgotten scene in the house of the dead girl, her magnificent dignity and forced composure under her sufferings, her skill in

dealing with her superserviceable doctor and infuriated maid, while herself almost distraught, and the pathos of her maternal yielding to the cries of her husband's starving bastard, was masterly. Her voice is a very beautiful one, not unlike Bernhardt's (to whom, by the way, she has a slight facial resemblance). Mr. Herne's *Joe Fletcher* was unctuous and amusing, Mr. Carter's *Dr. Larkin* very spirited, and the remainder of the company acted at least with earnestness.

Whatever may be said of the necessity for reshaping "Margaret Fleming," of its unfitness to be presented on the great stage—at least of its undoubted unsuitability as food for the "young person"—of its total lack of resemblance to anything ever played before, it marks, none the less, the beginning of a new epoch in the American stage, the success or failure of which the next generation will know.

L. McK. G.

TALLEYRAND'S MEMOIRS.—V.

PARIS, April 29, 1891.

THE second volume of the Memoirs of Talleyrand ends with the Congress of Vienna, and this period may be considered as the test of the abilities of the famous diplomat. Hitherto, his task had been somewhat easy, as he had nothing to do but to consolidate the effect of great victories won by Napoleon. Now he represented France vanquished and invaded; he fortunately represented also a principle which helped him to make an appeal to the feelings of all the sovereigns—the principle of legitimacy.

He arrived in Vienna on the 23d of September, 1814, and immediately called on all the members of the diplomatic body. He saw Lord Castlereagh, Prince Hardenberg, Humboldt, Nesselrode, Metternich, Gentz. He was long and deliberate in taking his position. At the first sitting of the Congress, Prince Metternich and Prince Hardenberg spoke of the intentions of the *allied* Powers. He interrupted them with some warmth: "Allies," exclaimed he, "and against whom? Not against Napoleon, he is at Elba. . . . It cannot be against France, peace is signed. . . . It cannot be against the King of France, he is the guarantor of this peace. Gentlemen, let us speak with frankness; if there are still allied Powers, I have no place here." And, after a moment, he added: "And still, if I were not here, I should be much missed. I am, perhaps, the only one here who will ask nothing. I only claim much consideration for France. . . . The presence of a minister of Louis XVIII. consecrates here the principle on which reposes all social order. The greatest need of Europe is the banishment of the opinion that you can gain rights by mere conquest, and a revival of the sacred principle of *legitimacy*, which is the fountain of order and of stability."

It is necessary to show what Talleyrand meant exactly by the principle of legitimacy, because he did not understand it in the narrow sense in which it is often understood by the French Legitimists. He says in his Memoirs (vol. ii., p. 159): "I speak of the legitimacy of governments in general, whatever their form may be, and not of the legitimacy of kings alone, for it ought to apply to all governments. A legitimate government, whether it is monarchical or republican, hereditary or elective, aristocratic or democratic, is always the government of which the existence, the form, and the mode of action are consolidated and consecrated by a long succession of years, and I should like to say by a secular possession." It is only in consequence of this principle that, in an hereditary monarchy, the right of succession is confined to the persons of the reigning family; so much so that Machiavelli, in his 'Prince,' says "that the usurper can only establish solidly his power after he has taken the lives of all the members of the family which ruled by legitimacy."

When Talleyrand made an eloquent appeal at Vienna to the principle of legitimacy, he knew that he should touch a very sensitive chord and procure allies among the sovereigns. Saxony was in the hands of Prussia, and the Prussians meant to keep it; it was with the greatest difficulty that they gave it back to the King of Saxony, only obtaining from the King the voluntary cession of a portion of his territory. Talleyrand was chosen, with Metternich and the Duke of Wellington, as a deputation to persuade the King of Saxony, who was living at Pressburg, to make this cession. Russia, on her part, intended to keep the whole Duchy of Warsaw, but, through Talleyrand's influence, she renounced her pretensions. Prussia recovered a large portion of the Duchy, and Austria a few districts. "Polard," says Talleyrand, "remaining almost entire in the hands of Russia, would have been an object of continual uneasiness for Europe. It was important for its safety that two Powers, instead of one, always liable to lose what they possessed, should be, by the sentiment of a common danger, disposed to unite themselves on all occasions against the ambitious pretensions of Russia. The same interest became the strongest tie between them, and it is for this reason that France stood in this case by Prussia and Austria." What was to become of the kingdom of Naples, which Napoleon had given to Murat? Talleyrand could not abandon his principle of legitimacy in this case, and therefore he was obliged to abandon Murat. The kingdom was restored to Ferdinand IV. Switzerland was proclaimed independent and for ever neutral.

Notwithstanding all the disadvantages of France's position at the time, her representative succeeded in acquiring such an ascendancy in the deliberations that the most important questions were, partly at least, decided according to her views and her principles. During the Hundred Days and the ephemeral return of Napoleon, Louis XVIII., though he was at Ghent, exercised the same influence at Vienna as if he had been at the Tuileries. At Talleyrand's request, Europe made a solemn declaration against the usurper. "I called him so because that is what he was after his return from Elba." The final acts of the Congress having been signed, Talleyrand left Vienna for Ghent, and, on his arrival at Brussels, he learned the news of the battle of Waterloo from the mouth of the Prince de Condé.

The closing portion of the second volume of the Memoirs is filled with Talleyrand's correspondence at Vienna. His letters to Louis XVIII. relating his conversation with the Emperor Alexander are the most interesting of all. He had a singular ability in relating all the striking parts of a conversation and in summing up its conclusions. This part of the Memoirs, however, has been a little deflowered by the numerous works which have been published of late since the doors of our archives have been opened. The documents now published have been compared with the documents kept in our archives, and their coincidence has been well established; the only differences which could be pointed out are slight. Talleyrand employed secretaries, he corrected his despatches, he attached great importance to small shades of expression. It is not at all singular that the notes which he preserved for himself should show a trace of his changes; but, I repeat, the changes are all insignificant.

The question has been asked, What has become of the original Memoirs? Were they in the hands of Talleyrand himself, or in the keeping of his secretaries? Have they been preserved, and, if so, where are they? The manuscript which the Duc de Broglie is publishing just as he received it from the hands of the executors of M. Andral, is a copy of the Memoirs made by M. de Bacourt; is this copy an exact reproduction of the original manuscripts? Great discussions have taken place on these points. You probably scarcely know in America the name of "Gyp." Gyp writes little articles and books which are sometimes amusing and always flippant, and which give us the slang of the fast people, of the set which is now commonly called *fin de siècle*, a mixture of folly, impudence, and light depravity. The real name of Gyp is Madame de Martel, and she is the grandniece of M. de Bacourt. She has had herself interviewed on this question of the Memoirs, and says she remembers that in M. de Bacourt's house were the papers of Prince Talleyrand, an immense number of small copybooks. "In this disorder there was order; everything was classed, pinned, ticketed. My uncle, who spent eight consecutive years in a perpetual tête-à-tête with these papers, knew what they contained, and moved with singular ease in this intellectual Capernaum." Madame de Martel and her mother helped M. de Bacourt copy certain documents. "He reserved for himself the notes of the Prince." M. de Bacourt had become the real proprietor of all these papers. Talleyrand left them in his will to his niece, Madame de Dino, charging her to intrust their publication to M. de Bacourt. She accordingly left them in her will to this diplomat.

Madame de Martel says that Talleyrand was a sort of demigod in the eyes of M. de Bacourt. "Never would my uncle have suppressed a phrase or changed a word in the notes of the Prince. He classified, copied, and that was all; and all this work was done without a secretary." M. de Bacourt died in 1865, at Nancy, appointing as his executors MM. Andral and Chatelain. They went to Nancy and took possession of the four volumes, bound in calf, which contained the copy made by M. de Bacourt, and which is now being published by the Duc de Broglie. The unimpeachable character of the Duke is a great security; it is certain, as he says so, that we have now the exact reproduction of the copy made by De Bacourt such as he left it. Nobody doubts that the Duc de Broglie has published all that he has received; but M. de Bacourt may have received verbally from Talleyrand himself permission to make some suppressions. M. Paul Andral was a most honorable man, a good lawyer, but not a literary man; his only object seems to have been, for some reason which we do not know, to delay the publication of the Memoirs; at the same time, in confiding their publication to a literary man, to an historian, to the Duc de Broglie, he took the best means of giving a perfect guarantee to the public.

On the whole, the noise which has been made over this question of the authenticity of the Memoirs seems to me to have been quite useless. The Memoirs have in themselves the proof of their authenticity. Talleyrand lives in them, with his curious shades of character and of thought, his singular mixture of fixed ideas and of flexibility of resolution, of solidity and of fluidity. Even the negligent style of some

parts, even the small errors of fact, which might have been so easily corrected, are a guarantee. More striking than these small negligences and errors are the enormous omissions; there are great periods which seem quite forgotten. But here again the omissions are proofs of the authenticity of the Memoirs. For some reason or other, it did not please Talleyrand to speak of some periods, of some events, of some men; his silence is significant. Many of the mysteries covered by this silence will probably be explained in the succeeding volumes. We wait for them with the greatest impatience, and we have little doubt that, like the present volumes, they will form a most important contribution to the historical literature of our age.

Correspondence.

THE IMMIGRATION PROBLEM.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: It has long been a conviction with me that the only political salvation for this country consisted in educating the children of both natives and immigrants. As has been well shown, it is manifestly impossible to apply any educational qualifications to adult immigrants coming to this country, desirable as it may be. The older folks we cannot touch, but the younger we can and must. In my school, which will perhaps serve as a type of a fairly heterogeneous community, about one-fourth are by birth Germans, one-fourth Irish, one-fourth Scandinavians, and the remainder Poles, English, French, and native Americans. The parents work mostly in rolling-mills, lumber-yards, and large factories. A large percentage of them speak English not at all, or very poorly. But their children, who mostly attend the public schools, can at the end of their course through the four years of primary and four years of grammar school (they generally avoid the high school), speak and write good English, and, more than that, have a fair knowledge of American history and political institutions. Beginning at the fourth year or grade, the supplementary reading, supplied by the city, is chiefly historical — of course simple and adapted to their mental strength. This historical reading continues through the fifth and sixth grades, until the seventh, when a regular text-book on American history is taken up and finished in the eighth. In the last half of the eighth year English history and a little civil government are taken up. Some political economy is, of course, brought in incidentally. The result is, that when these youngsters are ready for their diplomas, they can and do get up on their feet and talk rationally and intelligibly and fearlessly about the present and past of the United States, and it is a fair inference that at the end of about six or seven years they will cast their first votes as calmly and wisely as any native-born American.

To abolish or curtail universal manhood suffrage is an impossibility. As a nation we are committed to and must stand by that policy. Further immigration may be restricted, and stringent ballot laws may reduce fraud and intimidation among those adults who are now within the fold; but the future destiny of the United States lies in the training which the public school can give to the rising generation, especially that of foreign parentage. The aim of the public-school teacher, in Chicago at least, is to turn out intelligently patriotic citizens. I may be pardoned for saying that there is, all things considered, no more noble (and ill-paid) vocation. E. L. M.

South Chicago, May 5, 1891.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: On reading your editorials in the *Nation* for April 16 and 30, I cannot but think that you have drawn the meshes of your proposed sieve too small. It seems to me that the favorable light in which immigration from Great Britain has always been looked upon in this country is because of the character of the Englishmen who in the Puritan migration settled New England. Most Americans seem to think that the immigrants whom we to-day receive from England are still "the siftings of a nation." But this, as shown by your correspondent in your number for April 30, is not the case. While I agree with you that unity of language does much to give stability to a nation, I do not think it so essential as unity of race and of racial ideas, if I may so speak. Now of the same race and possessing the same racial ideas as the English and ourselves is the entire Teutonic people, and I would suggest spreading the meshes of your sieve so as to let all such through.

In Minnesota we have, perhaps, a larger Scandinavian population than any other State, and we could not have more desirable immigrants than the thousands who are every year coming here. They are industrious, frugal, peaceful, and, unlike the immigrants from Great Britain, who, coming from a manufacturing and commercial country, settle in the towns and cities, largely settle in the country, and the highest ambition of most of them is the laudable one to own a farm and farm it. They quickly learn our language, and, save where they have settled in large communities, their children invariably speak English in their ordinary conversation. They have political thought, are not mobilized in any party, and they become American citizens, in the true sense of that term, in much less time, I think, than any other immigrants now coming to us.

With the popular feeling against Italians and Spaniards, and with the comparatively small vote cast by nationalities not Teutonic, I do not think that there would be any insurmountable difficulty in obtaining the passage of an act which would practically exclude all immigrants with the exception of those from Great Britain, Germany, and the Scandinavian countries. And this, in my humble opinion, would practically settle the immigration problem, for it is not a cessation of immigration which we need, but a regulation which will exclude all undesirable persons and classes of persons.—Yours respectfully, J. A. L.

Minneapolis, Minn., May 8, 1891.

Notes.

The Johns Hopkins University Library has just been made the recipient of the entire collection of MS. and other historical material of Mr. J. Thomas Scharf, the prolific author of State, city, and county histories. It is very rich in documents dating from early colonial times to the close of the late war. "In documents illustrating the history of the Southern States it is believed to be unrivalled," and the University is naturally prompted to make it the nucleus of a library of materials for authentic Southern history. "These records will not be merely stored away, but they will be arranged and made accessible, under proper restrictions, to writers or students of history." Moreover, the University will receive and deposit what the present owners do not wish to alienate permanently. We trust that prompt advantage will be taken of this opportunity by North and South alike.

J. B. Lippincott Co. have in press 'The Swiss Republic,' by Boyd Winchester, late U. S. Minister at Berne.

Dodd, Mead & Co. will publish, in connection with James R. Osgood, McIlvaine & Co., London, 'Intentions,' by Oscar Wilde.

Messrs. F. F. Burgin and Leon Barritt of the N. Y. *Press* are about to issue 'Engravings: How to Estimate their Cost,' with many pictorial examples, accounts of processes, etc.

Fords, Howard & Hulbert announce 'Beyond the Bourne: Reports by a Traveller Returned from the Undiscovered Country,' by Amos K. Fiske.

'In the Heart of the Storm,' by the author of 'The Silence of Dean Maitland,' is in the press of D. Appleton & Co.

A second edition, revised, of Wm. Harrison Clarke's 'The Civil-Service Law: A Defence of its Principles,' etc., is about to be issued by Charles T. Dillingham.

'The Coming Terror,' Robert Buchanan's new volume of essays, will have the imprint of the United States Book Co.

D. Lothrop Co., Boston, have in preparation 'Leaves from an Artist's Field-Book,' by Wedworth Wadsworth.

The fifth bound volume of the 'Century Dictionary' is a reminder that this noble undertaking is nearing its end, for the sixth and final volume will make its appearance in the autumn (The Century Company). Up to this point, or as far as the word *stroyl* in the vocabulary, the editors reckon that they have disposed of about 185,000 words; and the letter S, when finished, will occupy more space than any other—860 pages all told, or not far from the bulk of a whole volume. The editors remark on the distinctively literary character of this volume, by alphabetic chance. A glance at such titles as Reconstruction, Republican, Repudiation, Resolution, Secesh and Secession, Slavery, Stalwart, etc., will show no small proportion of American political-historical information. Our peculiar use of the substantive "record" is embalmed with a quotation from Bryce's 'American Commonwealth.' The illustrations continue to be abundant and of a high order; the typography a model for all dictionary-makers.

Under the title of 'Etudes Américaines,' Mr. Henri Gaullieur reprints four articles concerning this country which he contributed to the *Journal de Genève*, and which, though not quite free from some of the errors that foreigners are so apt to fall into when writing of the United States, afford a fairly correct picture, and evince a degree of familiarity with things American which only a long residence here could account for. It may be worth mentioning that the writer accepts as authoritative the work of Robert Anderson Wilson on the Conquest of Mexico, which was published in 1859, but which, by common consent on this side of the ocean, has been consigned to oblivion.

Very nearly one-half of the April number of *Nord und Süd* is taken up with the first instalment of a journal kept by Ferdinand Lassalle in 1840, when he was in his sixteenth year. Paul Lindau furnishes an introduction which raises expectations that are doomed to disappointment, unless, indeed, the concluding portion, to be published the following month, will justify the almost stilted language of the preface. The journal, as so far published,

reveals simply an offensively conceited, ill-tempered, and underbred boy, not particularly advanced in his studies and addicted to many objectionable habits and practices. The most interesting fact we learn is that the agitator's name was really Lassal, and that he Frenchified it by adding a final *le* in 1846 while living in Paris—a lamentable indication of petty vanity.

We are in receipt of numbers 34 and 35 of the Fourth Series of the *Anales de la Universidad Central del Ecuador*. This monthly bulletin of the Quito University is "devoted to the promotion of general education and the cultivation of the arts and sciences in Ecuador." The number of cases in which "R. P." precedes the names of contributors, and "S. J." follows them, is an indication of the extent to which the higher education of the country is under ecclesiastical control.

A sad interest attaches to the "Pedagogic Autobiography" which is the opening paper of the *Educational Review* for May. It was the last manuscript on which the late R. H. Quick was engaged at the time of his sudden death in March last, and was left unfinished. Its style is perfectly characteristic of the lamented author of 'Essays on Educational Reformers,' who was happily distinguished from the Dryasdust tribe of writers on education. Mr. Quick felt a scruple in complying with the request to write this paper, being "in the habit of protesting, in season and out of season, against the amount of time spent on periodicals." "Woe," he goes on to say, "to the man who, in the days of his youth and ignorance, tries to keep and even bind up a periodical!"

A handsome reprint from the Cambridge *Tribune* (Cambridge: W. H. Wheeler) gives the history of 'The Society for the Collegiate Instruction of Women, commonly called "The Harvard Annex."' The original work in science and history of some of the students has been very significant.

From the Laboratory of Physical Geography of Harvard College we have a paper, by S. M. Ballou, confuting Prof. Thomas Russell's theory of "cold waves."

In the current *Harvard Monthly*, Mr. Edwin H. Abbot takes up the subject of Harvard clubs. These have come into being at about the rate of one a year since 1865, when the State withdrew from all control of the college management. Mr. Abbot names twenty-one, scattered across the continent, with memberships ranging from 25 to 567 (New York); and there are several more with undeterminable memberships. He would have a standing committee on "Harvard Clubs and organizations of the alumni of the University schools," with a view to promoting intercourse of these clubs with one another and with the governing bodies of the University.

The *Cornell Sun*, the daily paper of the undergraduates, lately remarked in an argument for the erection of an observatory that "Cornell leads in every other branch of learning; her professors are the best in the country." To this claim a member of the original Faculty, Prof. Wilder, objects in the issue of May 6, that it "is not warranted for any institution," adding: "If those who constitute the peripatetic 'teams' would take the opportunity to witness such unexciting 'events' as the performance of the legitimate educational functions of the institutions which they visit, their absences might serve at least one useful end in broadening the views of their fellows and preventing the publication of boasts which—like some of the earlier announcements of our prospective achievements—merely bring deserved ridicule upon us."

No. 3 of the Occasional Lists of the Manchester (Eng.) Public Free Libraries is a catalogue of the collection of works on Short-hand, Spelling Reform, and Cryptography collected by the late John Eglington Bailey. It fills 44 pages in double columns.

Mr. W. M. Griswold has, as a professional guide to literature, performed no service better than in his "Descriptive Lists" of novels. He began with the class dealing with American country life; he has now issued a list for those portraying American city life, and another for "international novels." The method is the same in all: alphabetical arrangement by title, carefully chosen characterization from a reputable source, and index of titles, authors, and locality. We should also notice a very convenient indication of the year of publication, beside the publisher's name. We have before said, and we repeat, that these lists should be kept in quantity in all public libraries, to serve as a sieve for fiction-readers; while parents with growing children who frequent such libraries, would find the lists an invaluable check on indiscriminate reading.

Reviews and notices, news, and summaries of periodicals fill much the larger part of the *American Journal of Archæology* for December (Boston: Ginn & Co.). The brief leading paper is by Mr. A. S. Murray of the British Museum, on a vase of the Mycenæ type in the Abbott collection of the New York Historical Society, shown in a photographic plate. The discoveries at Platæa in 1890, under the auspices of the American School at Athens, are fully detailed and illustrated with a plan. An interesting debate takes place in the department of Correspondence between Prof. Charles H. Moore and Mr. A. L. Frothingham, jr., touching some alleged errors in the former's work on the 'Development and Character of Gothic Architecture.'

—In the May *Macmillan's*, Dr. Birkbeck Hill reminds us that the 16th of this month will be the hundredth anniversary of the publication of Boswell's Johnson, and he expresses a hope that the celebrated biographer will be remembered upon his centenary. The book and the man are so much one that the day of publication may fairly be treated as the author's birthday. Dr. Hill points out the unnoticed fact that the date was the anniversary of Boswell's meeting with Johnson, and uses it to illustrate the vein of sentiment in him which is also shown by his publishing his other two volumes upon his own birthday. It is too late to say anything new upon Boswell, and Dr. Hill attempts no more in his pleasant article than to show that the first of modern biographers, though he acknowledged a certain indebtedness to the example of Mason in his 'Life of Gray,' was truly the original inventor of his method; and, having made this claim, he reminds us of Boswell's failings, especially in his devotion to the bottle, and congratulates us that the book got itself written amid all the difficulties of its author's habits. He calls attention, also, to two striking facts: one, that this work is only one of the several excellent biographies of the century past which have preserved the author's name and go by it—we speak not of 'Johnson's Life,' but of 'Boswell'; the other, that, unlike Boswell's other books, it has never been translated. It would, perhaps, suffer the most of any English book in a foreign version. One cannot fancy the Doctor's most celebrated phrases and sayings in French, for example, and his personality would suffer as much as his English. Yet that no foreigner has tried to fail in the attempt to give some knowledge of a work so famous in English, is singular.

—In the remainder of the number we observe a very favorable notice of Théodore de Banville, by Mr. Arthur Symons, in which full justice is done to the light qualities of the French poet, and perhaps criticism has passed into that merely personal admiration which is now so often the substitute for judgment—it is so natural for the impressionist to become the egoist. A third literary paper is Mr. Saintsbury's brief history of the war songs of English verse, in which he gives the palm to Campbell among the moderns, and writes very sensibly by the way of the weakness of Campbell's other poetry. He mentions, of course, Drayton's fine poem on Agincourt, but a better example of the danger of verbal criticism by a man who is not a poet, could not easily be found than his expression of a wish that in the lines about the archers—

> "None from his fellow starts,
> But playing manly parts
> And like true English hearts
> Stuck close together"—

the poet had written *Shot close together;* "but why," he adds, "gild the lily?" The emendation is one of those stupidities that give to all criticism that pleasing touch of burlesque at which gods and poets laugh.

—On account of the serious attempt just now being made to revise the Westminster Confession, the Presbyterianism of the English Commonwealth naturally acquires a fresh interest. Consequently the 'Minutes of the Manchester Presbyterian Classis,' printed for the Chetham Society, and 'Materials for an Account of the Provincial Synod of the County of Lancaster,' privately printed, both being edited by W. A. Shaw, M.A., of Owens College, are quite worth the attention of students. It is to be remembered that these are not only the most important, but almost the only published records of this particular phase of English ecclesiastical history. Mr. Shaw has prefaced the Minutes with an able introduction sketching the origin of the Presbyterian experiment—a disastrous one, he thinks, so far as the normal development of the English Church was concerned. Among the instructive documents revealing the spirit and aims of the Presbyterian movement, not the least important are the records of ordinations, for the questions proposed and discussed by the candidates give us a glimpse of old-fashioned, belligerent, dogmatic Calvinism. For example, one candidate, "aged about 24 years," maintained the affirmative of *an gratia sit irresistibilis;* another the negative of *an fides justificans potest amitti;* still another the negative of *an Christus sit mortuus pro omnibus et singulis hominibus;* while a fourth was "approv'd" and "ordayn'd" for answering negatively *an Christianus magistratus potest legitime tolerare omnes religiones*—agreeing thus with eminent Catholic authorities.

—The 'Harvard Studies in Classical Philology' (Boston: Ginn & Co.) offer an inviting range of subjects, and are by no means confined to pure philology, for which American scholarship has been said to show a predilection. They include papers on the time and place of the "Feast of Trimalchio," on "Greek and Roman Barbers," on "An Inscribed Kotylos from Bœotia," and on "The Stage in Aristophanes," as well as discussions of such purely linguistic questions as "Gajus or Gaius?" (Prof. Allen), "Some Uses of Nec" (Prof. Greenough), "Nedum" (J. W. H. Walden),

"Some Constructions in Andocides" (Morris H. Morgan), and the "Participial Construction with τυγχάνειν and κυρεῖν" (Prof. J. R. Wheeler). Mr. Haley reviews in clear and business-like Latin, with great acuteness and research, the opinions of Studer, Franz, Teuffel, Bücheler, and Mommsen, as to the vexed question where Petronius intended to place the "Banquet" and at what period. Mr. Haley agrees with Mommsen in fixing the time of the Banquet about A. U. C. 740, after the death of Virgil and before the Consulate of Gallius and Censorius; he differs with Mommsen and agrees with Jannelli in placing the scene at Puteoli, instead of Cumæ. Prof. Greenough illustrates some peculiar uses of *nec*, in which it seems to be almost equivalent to *non*, by our vulgar English use of *either* and *neither*. Two street boys quarreling will say: "You're making faces at me," "I ain't neither." "You be too." The shade of meaning which *neither* gives in these sentences was probably felt in the Latin phrases *nec manifestum, res nec mancipi, nec procul aberat*, and in all similar cases, whether stereotyped or accidental. That is to say, in almost all such examples *nec* meant, and was felt to mean, more than *non*. Prof. Allen's paper corrects the conflicting testimony of the grammars, and shows, by an exhaustive summary of the testimony of the Greek and Latin poets as well as of inscriptions, that the earliest form of the proper name was Gauius; and that the trisyllabic pronunciation Gāius prevailed in Rome from as early as 190 B. C. till 100 A. D. or later. Prof. J. R. Wheeler's is one of those statistical investigations which sum up in a few tables the result of an enormous amount of labor, involving in the present instance the usage of nearly thirty authors and of Attic inscriptions with regard to combinations of τυγχάνειν and κυρεῖν. One inference drawn by Mr. Wheeler was first announced in Prof. Goodwin's latest edition of the 'Moods and Tenses,' and is here reinforced, viz, that in combination with the present or imperfect of these verbs, the aorist participle does not coincide with the time of the verb, but retains its own reference to past time. The learning of the antiquarian discussions is tempered by an agreeable style, and the layman is by no means barred from understanding and enjoying their general drift. The manners and customs of the classical barber, his wealth, his instruments, his fashions in cutting hair, and the vital question whether he ever used scissors, are conscientiously treated by Mr. Nicolson; and the gravity of the subject is relieved by anecdotes which reveal the pedigree of the modern barber, and of the latest jests about him that circulate in the daily papers. Of Prof. White's paper on "The Stage in Aristophanes," we must speak at another time.

—Recurring to the 'Dictionnaire Général de la Langue Française du commencement du XVIIe siècle jusqu'à nos jours,' of Messrs. Adolphe Hatzfeld, Arsène Darmesteter, and Antoine Thomas (Paris: Ch. Delagrave), we remark that the plan of this new dictionary, four parts of which have appeared, differs from that of the Academy and of Littré, both of which are much larger works. Messrs. Darmesteter and Hatzfeld intend their book to be a *dictionnaire raisonné* which shall exhibit all the changes the language has undergone during the past three centuries and state the causes of these changes. To attain this end the personal history of every word cited has to be traced and told. The magnitude of the work is therefore dependent in part upon the number of words to be admitted, and a rule had to be laid down for this purpose. It is thus formulated by the authors: "Words which have a fixed use in the spoken or written tongue." Consequently, neither localisms, except such as are known over a whole region, nor technical or scientific terms which have not been commonly accepted, are included, save in those rare cases when a local expression may elucidate a general one. But a large number of technical terms and of popular names of fauna and flora have been admitted, and the asterisk, which indicates that the word is not to be found in the last edition of the Academy's Dictionary, is of frequent occurrence. The word admitted, its etymology is next ascertained. The constant progress made in etymology has enabled the authors to include the latest facts bearing upon doubtful points, and in several cases has led them to differ markedly from their great model, Littré. When he gives an etymology as certain, or nearly so, Darmesteter and Hatzfeld sometimes either reject the derivation or state that it is yet uncertain. *Aller*, *bâbord*, *barre*, *bouée* will furnish examples of this. It is to be noted, also, that while words in use since the beginning of the seventeenth century alone form the subject of study, all forms anterior to that date are largely used to illustrate the sequence of etymological changes. This is in accord with the historical and logical method employed throughout, the principle of which in this particular case is, that, no matter how numerous and unlike the existing meanings of a word may be, they can all be traced back to one original signification. The tracing back involves enormous labor, but the result, as exhibited in the Dictionary, is at once most instructive and fascinating. A double chain of connected forms brings the word from its origin — itself indicated by date and quoted text whenever possible—down to the present day, on the one hand exhibiting its transformations in form, on the other its variations, and extensions in meaning. Examples which may readily be referred to are *à*, *aller*, *âme*, *ange* (from 'angel' to 'chain-shot'), *assiette*, *blanc*, *bouchon* (from 'a clump of wood' to 'fishing float').

—It will be understood from this that not only is the history of the word itself given, but necessarily the history of the workings of thought which compelled these changes. Thus an interesting field opens up. How did *gagner*, for instance, which originally meant 'to feed,' come to mean 'to acquire'? The process of evolution and extension in this and other cases is fully explained in the Introduction, and the general laws governing the extension or limitation of the meaning of words are illustrated by numerous references. Careful definition, in the opinion of the authors, will clear away all synonyms so called, for no two words have absolutely the same meaning. Having selected the word, ascertained its etymology, accurately defined its original signification, its present meaning, and all the different ones flowing from the first, the authors have to decide on the classification of these meanings. Carrying out their plan, they consider that every word of multiple signification constitutes a genus, the principal meanings species, and the subordinate ones varieties. The great advantage to a student, whether native or foreign, of this classification is patent after a first trial, as the leading thought which connects the various significations is plainly brought forward, and what is incomprehensible in the ordinary dictionary becomes absolutely clear in this. It is this method, the exact definition, the wise selection of examples, which makes the work so valuable and so welcome. Completed, as it will be, by the "Traité de la formation de la langue," which is to form part of the book, and in which the laws governing the transformations of words and their changes of meaning will be explained, the 'Dictionnaire Général' will be indispensable to all who would keep abreast of the times in the study of French. The type used is small, but clear, and, even without reference to the key, the signs used in subdivision of articles would be intelligible. The four parts issued contain, besides the Introduction (xxviii pp.) the whole of the letter A and to *brouette* in letter B.

—When Prof. Albrecht Penck was called from Munich to the chair of Geography in the University of Vienna several years ago, he established a serial entitled *Geographische Abhandlungen*, for the publication of advanced geographical essays. Four volumes have been issued, containing in all twelve monographs, among which are studies on the Glaciation of the Salzach District in the Eastern Alps, and Climatic Variations since 1700, by Prof. Brückner of Berne; the Distribution of Air Pressure over Middle and Southern Europe, by Prof. Hann of Vienna; the Cordillera of Merida, by Dr. W. Sievers, and others of the same original quality. The first number of the fifth volume contains three papers by students of Prof. Penck's in the Geographical Institute of the Vienna University. It is easy to see that there is nothing to compare with this advanced line of study in our universities, and, however well equipped we may be in other departments, there is still good reason for students to go abroad if they are geographically inclined. Prof. Penck contributes an account of the study of geography in his University from ancient times, when Master Rudger Dole von Ruremund lectured "de coelo et mundo" in 1391—500 years ago. A. Swarowsky studies the occurrence of ice in the Danube, F. Heiderich treats of the mean height of the continents and depth of the oceans, and L. Kurowski discusses the snow limit in the central Alps. Heiderich's paper is of the most general interest; his results are based on elaborate calculation from the best maps obtainable.

—These *Abhandlungen* are published by the active house of Ed. Hölzel of Vienna. From this press we have a number of notable works of geographic value, particularly in the way of excellent maps and diagrams. Of the former, we may instance Von Haardt's wall map of the Alps, including the entire system from the Mediterranean to the plains of Hungary, and a new map of Africa, by the same cartographer, for school use; and in the line of colored geographical diagrams Hölzel may certainly claim to have produced the best series yet published. They are seldom seen in this country, but were brought prominently to the attention of visitors at the Brooklyn Geographical Exhibition in March, where they occupied the greater part of a large rack. Speaking of this exhibition, we note that, thanks to a committee of the Appalachian Mountain Club of Boston, it has been reopened in that city in the Winslow Skating Rink. Plenty of space is secured for the fullest display of the maps, models, and other objects of this remarkable collection, and it promises to attract a good share of public notice till its close on May 30. The Boston School Board has given its approval to the plan of the exhibition, and has notified the teachers in the public schools of it. Other cities will watch with interest the success of this experiment in travelling exhi-

bitions, and during the coming fall it is likely that Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Washington will follow the example of Brooklyn and Boston.

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY LETTERS.

Political and Social Letters of a Lady of the Eighteenth Century, 1721-1771. Edited by Emily F. D. Osborn. Dodd, Mead & Co. 1891.

THE letters which are published in this volume are from the same family papers that afforded lately the delightful correspondence of Dorothy Osborn, but they take up the story in a later generation. They are all from the hand of Mrs. Sarah Osborn, a daughter of Admiral Sir George Byng, created Viscount Torrington, and sister of the Admiral whose trial and execution for alleged bad conduct of the Minorca expedition make one of the most notorious instances of injustice in English history. She married, at the age of seventeen, Mr. John Osborn, eldest son of Sir John Osborn, and was thus by this connection a grandniece of Dorothy. Her husband died nine years later, and on the subsequent death of his father she became the guardian of the estate for her son, Sir Danvers, and managed it with great success during his minority. He in turn married, and died in 1753 in New York, where he had been appointed Governor, and left a son, Sir George, during whose minority Mrs. O born again had charge of the estate, and managed it with the same ability. She lived to see a great-grandson, and died at the age of eighty-two. The letters cover her whole active life, with considerable gaps, from 1721 to 1771, and were written to either her son or other members of the family.

The volume is very different from that which has given Dorothy Osborn a distinct place among historical Englishwomen. There is no such personality or vigor of intelligence and feeling in it, and the subjects are of less attractive matter. But it does afford an interior view of the affairs and interests of a woman of strong sense and force of character, and of the habits of living and thinking in the aristocratic society of the last century. A good portion of the contents concerns merely the business of a landed estate, its money matters, repairs, stock, refurnishing, and the like; but a considerable space is also occupied with such news of the city as Mrs. Osborn thought would be welcome to her relatives. She does not descend to anything that can be called gossip; her news is, nine-tenths of it, of marrying and giving in marriage and of politics. What is most striking in the first of these topics is the frankness with which the fortune of the bride and groom is regarded as the main point. The place of money in society is nakedly shown. The tone may be illustrated almost at random in the volume. Here is an instance: "This is Sir Cecils lucky year. His mother has dyed, by whom he has got £2,000 a year, he has also a place of £500 a year in y^e^ Ordanance, his son page to the Prince of Wales, and his daughter to be soon so well married." Or this: "Pit has the reversion of Lady Grandison's £9,000 a year if young Villiers her son dyes under age. He is inclynd to be wild, and has not had the small pox, and Pit is lucky. Therefore everyone concludes the Boy is to dye." The will of the second Duke of Manchester gives occasion for a sketch of how it was received at the old Duchess of Marlborough's, where the Duke's widow was staying:

"I saw a Lady yesterday, came piping hot from thence, left the old Dutches at cards, and exercising her Witt on y^e^ poor Duke's will, commends the Dutches who is in high favour at present, she has talkd so sensible and propper on the occasion. She is charmd with her, but the Will is her whole redicule, and since it is so, tis pitty he named his Dutches in it. He has left her £300 for mourning, which is not 3 pence, her watch and jewels for life, and after to his brother. This is set out by saying y^e^ watch cost I forget what, when she married in her youth. She has broke it and changd it away for one that cost but £14. The baubles of jewels are set in the same light, but the great Joke of all is the Sedan chair, which cost £30 at her weding, and now not worth £4 . . . Dutches Marlborough says he has left his Dutches and all his Serv^t^ a half year's wages for £360 was half a year's pin mony . . . However I well remember how they treated the Duke of Bedfords character when his Dutches died, and therefore am not astonished to hear the same now."

Whether the subject be death or marriage, the comment is altogether the same, and who is to have and how much, are the questions. There are, however, many items that show a moderate scale of living in several particulars. Mrs. Osborn states her own expense for eatables, for herself and five servants, "exclusive of Beer, Coals, Candles, Tea, Coffee, Sugar, Wine and several other articles which slip in to Housekeeping" at only 30 shillings a week; wages of servants are very low; and she writes to her grandson Jack that he can live like a gentleman in London on £320 to £340 a year.

Next to the expense side of life, with the kindred financial interest of marriage and death, the subject of politics and changes of the time in manners and morals holds the second place. The panic in London at the rebellion of 1745 is the most important historical event of which there is contemporary reminiscence, and then it is but a slight one:

"Wednesday last was the most dismal day I ever knew, it being believed here it was the day of Batle, not only myself but every mortal in terror for their ffriends. . . . By ffryday these fears were over, and others succeeded which seizd indeed the whole Town, and was, I must say, a most shameful Panick, but the express that came had that effect upon all sorts of people. . . . Thousands of the Pretender's Declarations were threw about the Park and streets, every woman thinking where to run for safty, and every man getting Arms and Horses to go with the King, Brother Torrington among the rest. Lord Shannon was so good to take me and my children to Ashly, thinking cross the water most safe. I found a place to hide what was nessessary. Dr. Osborn was in town, thought it high time to remove the things from Chicksands. He went down that morning before the consternation was so great and sent Thomas Green with your two Boxes a Sunday, which are now here, and £100 for Denbigh. I beggd the plate to be burried anywhere near him, for imposible to trust that road by the Wagon since we imagind the Highlanders would be at their heals."

Other matters touched upon are the growing expenses of elections, and particularly the "spendthrift election" in which her grandson, Sir George, stood, and the degeneracy of the Parliament. Mrs. Osborn was connected with Lord Halifax, whose sister her son married, and therefore was interested with the Opposition. She more than once laments the change from the political ties of family connection to those of personal advantage, saying that honor and faith and friendship may be scratched out of the dictionary as words of no meaning; and in 1767 she notes the end of the old régime. "It is said two millions will be spent in elections, £20 and £30,000 comes out of every purse. Nabobs, Contractors, Silversmiths, Bankrupts are in high luck, there will hardly be 200 real gentlemen in the House. The landed Interest died with the last Parliament." She observes, also, that hardening of manners by a colder demeanor in the expression of personal feeling which came in towards the second quarter of the century, and refers more than once to her own affectionateness as old-fashioned. Thus, on reading over some old letters, she writes to her son about them:

"Some from my father with such tenderness and esteme for you that I must still preserve them for your perusal, and tho it may be ffashion to explode such tenderness and humanity as I have lately been reading, yet I thank God for having been born in the days when such passions were praiseworthy, and having received the Benefit of them from my ffriends, for it surprises me to collect together the heap of civilitys and kindness I have received, and the great want I was in of them. . . . My latter days have been so much happier that I had forgot how I strugled in Life in my youth, till this leisure time has refreshed my memory."

Another trait of the times comes out in a few words on the neglect of education of gentlemen's sons. Her standard was certainly low enough: "For Godsake let all boys have a pproper school till 12 year old at least. Tis terible to think when they are Captains y^t^ it will be a shame for them to write to the Admiralty. Poor boys, tis sad when no one belonging to them think Learning is necessary. I even am come to think if they are to be Coblers they should first go to Westminster." Toward the close of her life the increase in the style of living gave her some concern, and she seems to despair of her country as much for extravagance as for political degeneration. "Everybody is undone in England," she writes in 1767; "every day produces new distresses, the immense expense of the Hunting gentlemen makes horses and hounds a drug that must be sold, an infatuation runs through the whole plan of living, and insted of being happy, everyone has made themselves miserable and must all transport themselves to America."

Mrs. Osborne, however, though she took this discouraged view of affairs and praised the old days, lost no interest in the welfare of her grandchildren, and it is plain to see that care for them was the motive of her whole active and energetic life, and her attachment to them the only thing that called out these letters. She was devoted, indeed, to her entire family, and when the great trial of her life came in the execution of her brother, Admiral Byng, she, being then his only surviving near relative, did all that was possible in the way of appeal to her friends. None of the correspondence of that period is left except her letters to the Duke of Bedford and to the Lords of the Admiralty, excellent in form and tone. The letter of Voltaire, enclosing one from the Duc de Richelieu, who commanded the forces at Minorca, and gave his testimony to the probability that, if the Admiral had attacked, he would have been completely defeated, is also included in the account of this episode; but the most important documents are the manly statement of the Admiral himself, written just before his execution, and a brief letter of thanks and of affection to his sister. She discharged her duty equally well, however, in less marked situations, and a strong mind and faithful heart are revealed everywhere in these rather dry and bald memorials of her. The last letter she wrote contains this sentence: "I am ever full of a thankful remembrance of God's goodness to me in the most essential point of life, to have been made happy, and very uncommon to be so two generations together." She was quite ready to leave the scene long before the end came, but for one who had lost her husband early in life and all her children and a brother under such

distressing circumstances, and had been burdened with much care most of her days, this was a very cheerful farewell.

JOHN DICKINSON'S CASE.—I.

The Life and Times of John Dickinson. 1732–1808. Prepared at the request of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania by Charles J. Stillé, LL.D. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. 1891.

THE name of John Dickinson might almost deserve to find a place in Friedrich Bülau's curious cyclopædia of 'Enigmatical Men,' so obscure was the mixture of the elements which entered into his mental make-up, and so divergent have been the historical judgments pronounced on his character as a man and a statesman. Revered for a time as the foremost of American civilians, and dividing with James Otis the honors of intellectual gladiatorship in the first opposition that was waged against the Stamp Act and kindred aggressions of the British Government; wielding a vast erudition in the service of the popular cause, and lauded by patriots throughout all the colonies as a man of excellent heart, of transparent probity, and of inflexible rectitude, he subsequently fell from this high estate as the dispute with the mother country waxed hotter and hotter, until at last, on his open refusal to face the dread issue presented by the Declaration of Independence, he was doomed to hear himself denounced as a "piddling genius," as a man of "weak nerves," as a tame and spiritless creature, as the vassal of the Proprietary interest in Pennsylvania, as a craven who failed to act a man's part because he was henpecked by wife and mother, as a sordid recreant who faltered in the path of patriotism because he feared for the safety of his great fortune, as a victim of boundless ambition without courage enough to back it, and, finally, as a soldier who showed the white feather in the presence of the enemy. Even his physical traits—his hectic complexion, the ashen pallor of his visage, and his defective eyesight—did not escape the taunt and sneer of his embittered opponents. It is evident at a glance that any study in the biography of such a man must be at the same time a study in psychological analysis.

It is admitted by Dr. Stillé that Dickinson was always an intense conservative, and had a horror of any change brought about by revolutionary means; that he had a natural hesitation which he never quite overcame, and which sometimes damaged his reputation even when he hesitated at the right time and place; that rather than be a "revolutionist," he was sometimes over-ready to be a "prophet of evil"; that in his policy of pacification on the eve of the Declaration of Independence he was mistaken in his calculations and disappointed in his expectations; and, finally, that he was too distrustful of the people, and was wanting as well in enterprise as in confidence. Yet with all these admissions it is contended that the failings of Dickinson leaned to virtue's side, because they were always inspired by a self-denying sense of duty, and by a zeal for country which not only ate up all pride of personal ambition, but even made their subject willing to offer himself as a living sacrifice on the altar of patriotism—in short, that he acted at all times with the magnanimity of a large-souled and true-hearted statesman, and displayed in critical conjunctures the dauntless spirit of a Cato, who pleased himself with the conquered cause even when the conquering cause had proved pleasing to the gods.

The briefest record of Dickinson's conspicuous career will suffice to show how it is that a species of historical enigma has come to complicate itself with his name and fame in American annals. Born on the 8th of November, 1732, he was bred to the profession of law and studied at the Middle Temple in London with men like Thurlow and Kenyon for his associates. He early rose to distinction at the bar, and, combining an enlightened public spirit with his legal practice, he was elected a member of the Legislature of Delaware in 1760. In 1762 he was chosen to a seat in the Assembly of Pennsylvania, for at that time so intimate was the connection between Pennsylvania and "the Lower Counties," as Delaware was called, that, besides having the same Proprietary Governor, there was often an interchange of public men between the two colonies. As a member of the Pennsylvania Assembly he was a strong supporter of the Proprietary interest, not because he loved the Proprietary family more, but because he trusted less to the intrusion of the Crown in colonial affairs. The passage of the "Sugar Bill" and of the "Stamp Act" soon came to justify his political foresight. In 1765 he published an able pamphlet on these oppressive regulations of the mother country. In the same year he was sent by the Pennsylvania Assembly as its delegate to the Stamp Act Congress which met in New York city on the 7th of October, 1765, and he drafted in that body the resolutions which, as amended and finally passed, were accepted by the patriots of that day as a genuine Bill of Rights on which to base American resistance to Parliamentary usurpations. In 1767–'68 he issued the famous "Farmer's Letters," a series which more than any other publication helped to consolidate public opinion in favor of organized resistance to the British Ministry. In 1771 he drafted the Petition addressed by the Pennsylvania Legislature to the King. In 1774 he was appointed Chairman of the Philadelphia Committee of Correspondence on Colonial Grievances, and in the same year became a member of the first Continental Congress. He drafted in that body the Petition to the King and the Address to the People of Canada. In 1775 he was made Chairman of the Philadelphia Committee of Safety and Defence. In the same year he was elected Colonel of the first battalion raised in Philadelphia for the military defence of the Colonies. In the month of July, 1775, such was his influence in the Continental Congress that he carried through that body a Second Petition to the King in spite of the earnest opposition of the New England delegates. A little later he drafted for the Congress its Declaration of the Causes for Taking up Arms.

Meanwhile, however, he steadfastly opposed the revolutionary agitation organized in Pennsylvania for the overthrow of the Proprietary Government. He strenuously resisted the passage of the Declaration of Independence, on the ground, as he afterwards alleged, that it was premature, in the absence of any organic bond of union among the colonies and in the absence of foreign alliances. On the 12th of July, 1776, he reported to Congress the first draft of a Federal Constitution for the united colonies. Shortly after the Declaration of Independence he was superseded in his military promotion at an irregular election of the volunteer soldiery, voting in disgust at his defection from the cause of independence; and when this irregular election was approved by the revolutionary Convention which had displaced the Proprietary Government, he resigned his military command, as well for civil as for military reasons. The revolutionary Convention refused at the same time to reappoint him as a delegate to the Continental Congress. Elected, notwithstanding his reactionary opinions, to a seat in the revolutionary Assembly, he refused to act with that body, except on conditions which required it to discredit its own right of existence. Retiring to his farm in Delaware, he was elected by that State in November, 1776, to a seat in the Continental Congress, from which he had been exiled by the act of the Pennsylvania Assembly. "He absolutely declined this honor without assigning any reason for the refusal."

He now regarded his civil career as at an end. In 1777 he served as a private in the battle of Brandywine. In the autumn of that same year he was appointed Brigadier-General of the Delaware militia. Elected by Delaware to the Continental Congress early in 1779, he consented to resume his seat in that body on the 23d of May in that year. Appointed Chairman of the Committee raised to prepare an address to the States on the perilous condition of the public finances, he drafted the paper which was issued on this subject by the Congress, being the fifth of the great Revolutionary state papers which emanated from his skilful pen. In the latter part of 1779 he resigned his seat, in apparent weariness of public office, and retired again to his farm. In 1781 he was elected a member of the Supreme Executive Council of Delaware, and shortly afterwards was made its President, both of these offices being "literally forced upon him." In 1782 he was elected a member of the Executive Council of Pennsylvania, and by act of the Assembly was appointed President of the Council in November of that year. He then for the first time overcame his scruples and took the oath of allegiance to the Revolutionary Constitution. His return to office in Pennsylvania as the most conspicuous representative of the "Anti-Constitutionalists," or "Republicans," as they were called in the Pennsylvania politics of that day, was signalized by the most virulent assaults on his personal, his political, and his military character; but, in spite of these assaults, such was the confidence in his integrity that he was twice reëlected to the same office, and that unanimously. He was sent to Annapolis in 1786 to confer with the State Commissioners appointed to take measures for a revision of the Articles of Confederation, was made President of that Conference, and was deputed by its members to draw up the report which stimulated Congress to initiate the steps it took for a change in the Federal Constitution.

He sat in the Federal Convention of 1787 as a delegate from Delaware, and had a leading part in framing that clause of the Constitution which provides for the equality of the States in the Senate. In a series of notable essays, under the signature of "Fabius," he earnestly advocated the ratification of the Constitution while it was pending before the States. He held no office under the instrument he had helped to frame, but continued to take an interest in politics. In his political principles he was a friend and adherent of Jefferson. He drafted a bill for the gradual abolition of slavery in Delaware, but nothing came of it. In 1804 he advocated the restriction of slavery in the newly acquired territory of Louisiana. He died on the 14th of February, 1808. On learning of his death, Jefferson wrote of him as follows: "A more estimable man or truer patriot could not have left us. Among the first of the advocates for the rights of his country when assailed by Great Britain, he

continued to the last the orthodox advocate of the true principles of our new government, and his name will be consecrated in history as one of the great worthies of the Revolution."

Architecture of the Renaissance in England. Illustrated by a series of views and details from buildings erected between the years 1560–1630, with historical and critical text. By J. Alfred Gotch, F.R.I.B.A., assisted by W. Talbot Brown, A.R.I.B.A. London: B. T. Batsford; Boston: Ticknor & Co. 1891.

It cannot be said that English architecture has shown to advantage in any kind of classic dress. The classic qualities—fineness of proportion, dignified elegance, repose, subjugation of detail—are not those to which it seems born. The charms that sit naturally upon it—vivacity, picturesqueness, the free expression of individual humor or need—these have been stifled whenever it has been submitted to classic form. It does not, like the Italian, wear the yoke with freedom and grace; when it becomes formal it becomes dull. The most that can be said for the English Renaissance, by which is here meant the style of Elizabeth's reign and the following years up to the time of Inigo Jones, is that it was better than that which it displaced. The transition to the classic came when architecture in England was at the lowest ebb of tastelessness and poverty of design. The dryness, the irregularity without picturesqueness, the stiffness without dignity of late Tudor architecture were not a happy preparation for the classic revival. So it is not strange that the English Renaissance lacked the elegance of the Italian and the French; and if it has not the coarseness of the Dutch, it fails of the picturesqueness of the German. To recognize the difference of the soils in which the classic seed was sown we need only compare, for instance, the church of St. Wolfram at Abbeville with an English parish church of the beginning of the sixteenth century.

Nevertheless, it is worth while to put the English on record, for it has its artistic value and its historic interest; and though Richardson and Nash and others in their degree have given us a good many examples of it, nothing has been done with much fulness, nor with the precision of modern reproductions. It is purely domestic, for the early Protestants had no need to build churches, and of other public building there was in England at that time but little. The charm of English domestic architecture, to be sure, lies very much in its expression of home-like comfort, its immediate surroundings, and its adaptation to them—things not strictly architectural. But its qualities are its own; they are English if nothing else, and are peculiarly adapted to English ways of life, and so to American. Therefore, Elizabethan architecture has been a quarry for American builders. Its detail, mechanical and rather petty as it is, is easy of execution by fairly skilled workmen. It does not need the artistic turn of a French or Italian mechanic to do it justice, and it lent itself very kindly to the national jig-saw. It is, indeed, that quality of detail which one might expect to find where workmen, capable but not artistic, were cut loose from their own habits, and set, as they were at that time in England, to carry out a new style under the general guidance of foreigners or foreign fashions, but without minute supervision or the inspiration of direct example. It was rather rude, mechanical, only half appropriate to the style for which it was intended; but it was easily comprehended and executed—just the detail that can be learned from books. The English workman had lost the art of carving; the English architect had not the fine sense of form and proportion that distinguished the Italian and French. It is not strange that their minds worked uneasily under the constraint, that classic features were strained out of shape, that details were coarse and mechanical; that façades were dull and commonplace up to the cornices, but above, where the shackles of classic example were left behind, they blossomed out into untamed extravagance, in turrets, obelisks, arches without spandrels, chimneys composed of coupled columns, parapets of straggling scroll-work.

Mr. Gotch's work is a collection of folio prints, mostly phototypes from nature, but partly from very clear and straightforward drawings by Mr. Brown, with descriptive text. Part I., the first of six, contains illustrations of sixteen buildings, some conspicuous and famous, like Burghley House (more commonly known, we suspect, as Burleigh House) or Haddon, and others less known. The author has not attempted to illustrate any completely, but rather to give a series of suggestive plates, and the result is necessarily a little desultory. We hope that, as he goes on, he will illustrate the text freely with plans. Sketch-plans and outline views cost little in space or money: they save the interested reader much hunting, commonly vain hunting, in other authorities, and a feeling of unsatisfied curiosity which is akin to dissatisfaction; they go far, also, to correct the air of scrappiness which is the common blemish of books of this kind. The most attractive of the buildings here are, perhaps, not the most important. Burghley House, a stately, rather picturesque, but uneasy design of Thorpe, bristling with turrets and chimneys, challenges not too favorable comparison with the nearly contemporary châteaux of Chambord and Chenonceau. "Hardwicke Hall, more glass than wall," as Mr. Gotch aptly quotes, is a dreary pile, and its state bedroom, but for a bit of finer detail here and there, might pass for a burlesque design. Park Hall is a half-timbered house, resolutely picturesque. The older part, also half-timbered, of Hall i' th' Wood, is charming in spite of its dilapidation, with a breadth and nice proportion that are wanting in more ambitious examples. The tombs of Burghley and Leicester, and the curious sentry-box doorway in Broughton Castle, show an unusual care for proportion, and in parts fineness of detail; but all are disfigured by the structures that surmount them. Apethorpe and Stibbington, with more breadth than most and less effort of design, show also more animation and yet more repose. This is due partly to better lighting of the plates, but also to happier composition. Stibbington has a very clever solution of the difficult problem of applying a bow-window to a gable.

The plates are well executed, but a little dull and wanting in accent. Some of them, apparently taken on gray days, suffer from the dry monotony of tint that is apt to pursue the phototype. Mr. Brown's drawings are just what they should be. Mr. Gotch's text is very good. His introduction is admirable—animated, interesting, judicious in tone, and true in criticism. It does not appear whether we have the whole of it in this first part; we wish there were more. On the whole, the publication is timely, valuable, and very well done. The only reason why it is not of unusual interest is to be found in the quality of the material of which it is made.

New York. [Historic Towns.] By Theodore Roosevelt. Longmans, Green & Co. 1891.

Mr. Roosevelt has made a very readable book; but it is not altogether a history of New York city. We need not maintain, with a certain sect, that a work of art must have no moral, and yet we must recognize that it is desirable to tell a story, whether true or fictitious, without making its lessons too obtrusive. Mr. Roosevelt preaches a little too much. He lays down the singular proposition that a feeling of broad, radical, and intense Americanism is necessary if good work is to be done in any direction. Obviously he has been sickened by his familiarity with certain manifestations of provincialism, both past and present; but it is strange that this should have blinded him to the absurd provincialism of his maxim. Most people are not assailed by

> "—— temptations
> To belong to other nations."

They remain good Americans without ever thinking of it. To set "Americanism" as a supreme ideal is about as sure a way to produce bad work in any direction as could be devised. The sooner we get over talking about "American" systems of philosophy, and ethics, and art, and devote ourselves to the search for what is true, and right, and beautiful, the sooner we shall shake off our provincialism.

In truth, this remark of Mr. Roosevelt's may have been meant to appease the Chauvinists, for the story of New York, as he tells it, and as we fear it must be told, is not inspiring. The record is almost bare of glorious deeds, of lofty ideals, of elevating thoughts. The city was sordid when it was small, and sordid when it became great. No glamour of romance can be made to surround it. From a very early time it has been a mart, a place to buy and sell and get gain; and in this respect its past has been great and its future will be greater. But in civic life, such as gave Athens an imperishable name and made glorious the history of many mediæval towns, New York has always been deficient. It is not a mere "geographical expression," but it is hardly more than a commercial expression. The causes of this lack are clearly shown by Mr. Roosevelt. The city did not develop: it simply grew. Development was swamped by wave after wave of immigration, and, after it had been populated by those who came to it as a place for money-getting, it fell a victim to their parasites. The celebrated exclamation of Bücher, when he first beheld London, has been echoed by thousands of "legislators" both in and out of New York. The city has seldom been self-governing, and, after the tide of immigration fairly set in, it is doubtful if it was capable of self-government.

Mr. Roosevelt speaks with generous scorn of the narrow prejudice felt against immigrants by the descendants of immigrants. But the prejudice, though narrow, is rooted in the instinct of self-preservation. If a "community" is to develop, it must have a community of feelings and aims, based upon the mutual understanding of its members. A *colluvio gentium* is incapable of such an understanding. The chief merit of Mr. Roosevelt's sketch, so far as it relates to the history of the city of New York—for we think his digressions the best part of it—is the clearness with which he brings out the mongrel character of its population, and it is surprising that he should give so little consideration to the natural consequences of this feature.

The purely narrative portions of the history are very agreeably written, and leave the reader with the single regret that they are necessarily so much abbreviated. The opening is slightly marred by some affectation of archaic English and some leaning to alliteration, as in the sentence, "Their small ships dared

the dangers of the most distant oceans, and shattered the sea-might of every rival naval power; and they themselves led lives of stormy peril and strong pleasure"; but these blemishes soon disappear. The subject is really too large for the prescribed limits, and Mr. Roosevelt has perhaps done as well by a difficult piece of work as could have been done by any one.

The Evolution of Sex. By Prof. Patrick Geddes and J. Arthur Thomson. [The Contemporary Science Series.] Scribner & Welford. 1890. 8vo, pp. 315, 104 illustrations.

For several years the authors have been independently writing upon the theoretical side of biology, and now unite in adding one more to the adverse criticisms by scientific men upon Darwin's theory of sexual selection. The main points presented are that sexual selection is a minor rather than a major cause of sexual differentiation; that there are many varieties, especially in the male, which are not beautiful, conspicuous, or useful, which cannot aid the female in selection or decide the contest between rival males; that variations in their beginnings must have been slight, necessitating such a high degree of acuteness of vision and æsthetic taste in order to make the proper selection as to seem incredible; that colorings and markings occur in nature where it is not possible that they can be due to sexual selection. Darwin himself freely stated some of these objections, but, on the whole, considered sexual selection the most potent factor in the production of secondary sexual characters, while Wallace thinks that natural selection alone will account for the differences between the sexes.

Our authors consider that a more fundamental analysis of the question is demanded. As the basis for their constructive theory they cite the recent work of physiologists and chemists on the processes of protoplasmic growth, activity, and degeneration, grouped under the general name of metabolism, the upbuilding being due to anabolism, the tearing down to katabolism. With these two words to conjure with, they explain the most abstruse and puzzling phenomena of biology, though they do not deny to natural and sexual selection, function and environment, subordinate parts in organic evolution. The difference between the sexes in secondary characters is only the special expression of fundamental differences, caused by the more katabolic or destructive processes in the male, the more anabolic or nutritive processes in the female. Gaudy coloring, defensive weapons are expressions of overflowing, waste energy. The males are more variable, and "transmit more variations because they have more to transmit." The exceptional female cuckoo is explained on Eimer's hypothesis that her habit is only one expression of a consistent, self-seeking, active, voracious character, one in which katabolism predominates. The sexual elements are indicative of the difference between the sexes, the one large and quiescent, the other small and active. The sex itself of some individuals is supposed to be caused by the condition of nutrition at an early period, more females being produced under favorable conditions of heat, nutrition, etc.

With reference to the last point Minot says: "The relation of impeded nutrition to the development of sexual elements and the causation of sex needs investigation based on proper experiments." But, even on *a-priori* grounds, it seems that if a change of nutritive conditions can change the sex, there cannot be a fundamental difference in the protoplasmic constitution of the sexes, for protoplasm not only absorbs but assimilates what comes to it. Then, with regard to the size of animals, it is hardly made clear how katabolic activity can, among lower forms, produce males that are smaller than the females, and, at the same time, in the higher forms, reverse the relative proportions. Finally, while it might be conceded that the difference between the sexes lies in a difference of metabolism, the argument here presented only proves that the katabolism in males is less distinctly of a periodic or rhythmic character than in females.

The conclusion once reached that the difference between the sexes is fundamental, the question is raised as to the cause of that difference. Why has the more primitive and apparently more economical hermaphroditism so generally been replaced by conjugation or true fertilization in the dominant species? Recent experiments on very low forms are cited which accord with the common experience that close breeding tends to degeneration; but, after denial that "subsequent advantageousness" can explain the origin of sex, the question is left without an answer.

The human mind has come to distrust theories which are said to have universal application. Doubts are immediately excited when the theory outlined above is extended by the authors from the proper subject of the book to the more fundamental ones—the relations of growth, reproduction, and death. Especial attention is directed to the puzzling and anomalous matters connected with reproduction, hermaphroditism, alternation of generation, asexual multiplication, parthenogenesis, the extrusion of polar globules, and all are shown to be in perfect harmony with the main thesis, and all to be due to a greater or less degree of metabolism. The more favorable the conditions of nourishment and heat, the less likely is sexual reproduction to take place; but as soon as conditions occur which favor katobolic changes, "the organism defends itself by uniting its waning vigor with another." The inadequacy of this explanation is shown by a carefully stated observation of Weismann, that parthenogenesis is the rule in certain Daphnidæ during the spring and summer, when food is scarce, while in the warm autumn, food being abundant, sexual reproduction occurs.

The problems here treated are among those which always interest the acutest observers and thinkers, with the result that more energy is spent in thinking out and elaborating a theory than in taking a single fruitful field and gathering a ripe harvest of facts, so connected and complete as to give some real and permanent ground for advance. The methods of experiment and the criticism of observations are constantly becoming more rigorous. Naturally more confidence would be felt in a theory put forth by men who had, by a long series of published results, challenged severe counter criticism. The dictum of Foster, that "the whole story of proteid metabolism consists at present mostly of guesses and gaps," makes it evident that a theory based upon such an insecure foundation is far from that state when a complete theory of life and of ethics may safely be raised upon it as superstructure. Yet this is unhesitatingly done in the present work and put forth in popular form, and from it are derived suggestions as to conduct. It doubtless will be a relief to many who have been oppressed by the idea that the struggle for existence not only settles all questions, but is the true law of life, to find authors who base altruistic ideas upon the constitution of protoplasm. The few, however, who believe that genius is not necessarily a matter of sex, will receive a blow when they learn that "what was decided among the prehistoric protozoa cannot be annulled by act of Parliament." For the sure and true solution of the problems of population and the connected one of competition, "a new ethic of the sexes, . . . an economic of the sexes which will remove the present destructive industrial competition—a reorganization of life, work, and surroundings, is necessary."

Concise historical reviews of leading theories are given, while the summaries and bibliographies at the end of each chapter are valuable aids to the careful reader. An index to the volume insures its utility as a book of reference. The theory is clearly illustrated by several good diagrams, and in general the illustrations are well selected, though in some cases the text would have been made clearer for the general reader by a few more, as when reference is made to lower and more unfamiliar forms of life. As a whole the style is clear and pithy, but the elaborate effort of the first few chapters to use vernacular terms, as "maleness," "very male," "backboneless," meets with its usual antithesis in the later chapters, where the occasional use of a Latin expression, printed in italics, occurs, and "katastates" is introduced to the laity without definition.

The American Race: A Linguistic Classification and Ethnographic Description of the Native Tribes of North and South America. By Daniel G. Brinton, A.M., M.D. New York: N. D. C. Hodges. 1891. 8vo, pp. 392.

This volume is an expansion of one of the lectures published last year under the general title of 'Races and Peop'es.' To understand it properly, we must premise that, in that publication, Dr. Brinton accepts the theory of evolution as being the most satisfactory explanation of man's origin; and in the river drift of France and England he finds proof that the birthplace and original home of the species was in western Europe. This occurred before the great ice age, and at a time when a land bridge connected that continent not only with Africa, but also with Iceland, Greenland, and North America. Over this bridge, to the exclusion of all other methods and lines of travel, the primitive man is supposed to have come; and it was during his long sojourn in the region "east of the Rocky Mountains, and between the receding wall of the continental ice sheet and the Gulf of Mexico," that he underwent the changes that transformed him into the American Indian. From this region, or "area of characterization," as it is called, he gradually spread over the whole continent; and the fact that his migrations were along lines of longitude and not latitude is believed to account, in good part, for the uniformity in physical and psychical traits which seems to have been everywhere preserved. Indeed, so marked is this resemblance that, in spite of certain differences in appearance, culture, and language, we are told that "individuals taken from any part of the continent could be easily mistaken for inhabitants of numerous other parts."

All this is plausible enough, and, aside from the limit as to the routes by which the original immigrant is said to have travelled, there is nothing to which we particularly object. On this point, though, as we have said before, nothing definite is known. The American Indian may have been indigenous, or he may

have come from Asia or Africa, as well as from Europe. We may also add that while the plan of resurrecting a submerged continent in order to bolster up a theory has certain advantages, it is also attended with risk, for the reason that, when once committed to this style of reasoning, there is no telling where we shall have to end. Thus, for example, leaving the lost Atlantis out of consideration, it is as easy to imagine that the Aleutian Islands are part of a sunken continent as that Greenland and Iceland are. In fact, geologists assure us that, possibly, such is the case; and, so far as climate is concerned, there is no reason for supposing that the conditions that prevailed in the two sections were very different. Certainly, if what the botanists tell us of the flora that once existed in the north-polar circle be true, primitive man would have found life there quite as easy as his descendants now do in the country between Hudson's Bay and the Rocky Mountains.

This, however, is but a small matter; and as it is based, chiefly, upon conjecture, and is altogether preliminary, it may be dismissed without impairing in any way the value of our author's classification of the numerous tribes into which the American race is divided. Here Dr. Brinton is at his best. His knowledge of the questions involved is incontestable, and accordingly, when he brushes aside culture and craniology as tests, and declares (p. 57) that language is the only basis upon which the subdivision of the race should proceed, we accept it as an expression of the current scientific opinion of the day upon the subject. But into this field we do not propose to intrude. Unquestionably, this portion of the work, notwithstanding the frequent admissions as to the scantiness of the material, is of the first importance; but, being largely technical, it is "caviare to the general," and, hence, we content ourselves with observing that the author finds eighty stocks, or families of languages, in North America, and about as many in South America; and that among the curious linguistic relationships to which he calls attention is that which existed between the Utes and the Aztecs--tribes which, so far as culture is concerned, occupied the two extremes of the scale.

But while denying that culture, physical conformation, or geographical position can be used as a criterion of race, Dr. Brinton does not hesitate to draw from these sources when describing the appearance and development of the different stocks or families into which the tribes are divided. This he does in a few comprehensive phrases; and although there are a number of statements, or perhaps it might be more correct to say of possible inferences, to which exception can be justly taken, yet, regarded as a whole, his conclusions are so uniformly in accord with those with which the readers of this journal are familiar that we forget the little that is objectionable in this portion of the volume in consideration of the amount of good it contains.

Summing up a few of these conclusions, not so much on account of their novelty as for the purpose of showing the tendency of opinion upon the matters involved, it may be said that above everything else our author insists upon the unity of the race from Greenland to Tierra del Fuego as the bottom fact in American ethnography. Differences there were in many particulars, and some of them were very great, but they were of degree and not of kind. Take, for example, the shape of the skull, and such is the diversity in this respect that (p. 36) "it has frustrated every attempt to classify the existing tribes or trace former lines of migration by grouping together similar head-measurements." The very impossibility of forming any natural division founded upon this feature furnishes an argument in favor of the unity of the race. Cranial comparisons, it is admitted, are of use as marking "distinctive family traits," but beyond this they do not go, as "the shape of the skull is not a fixed element in human anatomy, and children of the same mother may differ in this respect." So, too, in regard to the color of the skin, which varies within certain narrow limits; and the form and color of the hair, which, so far from being uniformly coarse, black, and straight, occasionally "has a reddish tinge," and is sometimes "fine and slightly curly." Although often compared with that of the Mongolians of Eastern Asia, yet it is said "to differ in nearly every particular."

Finally, we are told that the culture of the race was of indigenous growth, and (p. 44) that it was not monopolized by a few tribes, as is generally supposed. Wherever the surroundings favored the development of culture, as in Mexico and Peru, "neighboring tribes, though of different stocks, enjoyed it to nearly an equal degree." Moreover, the difference between the highest and the average culture of the race is much less than has been usually taught. Except in architecture and the possession of one or two inventions which can hardly be considered as marking a distinct stage of civilization, "the Aztecs of Mexico and the Algonquins of the Eastern United States were not far apart." To contrast them, therefore—one as being a savage and the other a civilized people—"is to assume a false point of view and overlook their substantial psychical equality" as demonstrated in other ways.

With such opinions, there is, of course, no room in this volume for idle speculations as to the existence of extinct peoples of superior civilization, who are supposed to have built the mounds of the Mississippi Valley, the cliff-dwellings of Arizona, and the deserted cities of Yucatan. Examined in the cold light of fact, the theories built up with so much labor upon these questions are found to disappear. Ruined cities like Palenque, admitting that they were uninhabited when Cortez passed that way, and were unknown to him, do not differ materially from Uxmal, Chichen Itza, and Peten, all of which were occupied when the Spaniards first visited that region. The cliff-dwellers of Arizona are identified with Uto-Aztecan tribes like the Pimas and others, some of whom were overcome and driven southward within the historic epoch; and as for the mound-builders of the Ohio Valley, we are told, with a moderation that is in striking contrast with the usually positive tone of our author, that "there is a strong probability" that they were the ancestors of the Creeks, Choctaws, and kindred southern tribes. These he groups as "Chahta-Muskokis"—a bit of "pedantry" hard to reconcile with his condemnation of a similar fault in others.

Feudalism: Its Rise, Progress, and Consequences. By J. T. Abdy, LL.D. London: Geo. Bell & Sons. 1890.

It would seem to be impossible for people who write books in English to learn that any investigations of early feudalism have been made within the last forty years. Even Hannis Taylor, in his 'Origin and Growth of the English Constitution,' following Freeman, who follows Palgrave, makes the beneficiary system originate in "grants of land-benefices or fiefs" made by the Teutonic kings to their followers—a practice suggested to them by the Roman custom of granting lands upon a military tenure to colonies of soldiers on the frontiers. He refers to Waitz as authority for this statement, but this is exactly what Waitz says did not take place.

The volume before us would hardly deserve the space of this notice did not its title promise to supply a painfully felt want in our historical literature. But the promise of the title is left sadly unfulfilled by the book itself. It is confused and even self-contradictory, frequently inaccurate, and follows avowedly as its chief authority Guizot, though the later English authorities are frequently referred to. Guizot's writings will probably be worth reading so long as history is read at all, for their suggestive and stimulating presentation of the general unfolding of history; but as authorities for any detailed knowledge of the facts of mediæval institutions they are about as valuable as if they had been written in the days of Moses.

The part of this book which treats of the origin of the feudal system is but little more, as the author himself says, than a translation of the 'Essais' of Guizot. The fifth lecture, which has an extremely important subject—the origin of the benefice—is based upon Guizot's fourth essay, but is far less clear than the original, and can hardly give a definite idea of that process to any one. It starts out as if the benefice had its origin in the *comitatus*, but the idea is not developed clearly. It then discusses the length of time for which benefices could be held—an entirely subordinate and unimportant point in the real history of feudal beginnings; speaks of the Church lands and the Church *precariæ*, but with no indication of their relation to the origin of the beneficial tenure; alludes in passing to the secularization under the early Carolingians, but tells us nothing of the great controversy on this point nor of its importance; describes commendation, but does not state its origin nor appreciate its part in the growth of feudalism; speaks of tributary lands—meaning evidently land paying a *cens*, but appears to include under it Roman land made tributary to the newly established German State; mentions the commendation described by Salvian, but gives no hint of its connection with that which has been described before; and would lead us to infer that all benefices were held by military tenure from the beginning. Guizot's study of which this is a summary was an earnest one in the days when men were groping among these scattered facts for their lines of connection, and were still unable to indicate how each made its contribution to the common result—the feudal system; but why should such things be reproduced in English at this late day?

Instances of carelessness and even inaccuracy abound: a writer of the tenth century is put into the fifth; John Scotus Erigena is made the friend of Charlemagne; the oath of allegiance exacted by William of all the Saxons makes them the King's vassals and changes all tenures into feudal ones. But it is not worth while to multiply instances. The larger part of the book is devoted to Saxon institutions and those of the Norman conquest. Here the author has at his hand better and more recent authorities, though he does not follow them exclusively, and there are far too many evidences in this part of his work also of carelessness and incomplete knowledge.

There is a very rich field waiting to reward some investigator who shall examine the documents illustrating the semi-feudalism which grew up in England before the Norman conquest, and compare them in minute detail with the corresponding Continental documents of

the real feudal system in its formative stages. This is especially true with regard to the still only half-understood subject of the immunity and its relation to the growth of private jurisdiction. But such work, when it is done, will be very different from that before us.

La France. Par Angelo de Gubernatis. Florence: J. Civelli.

UNDER this title Count de Gubernatis has collected impressions and notes inspired by his warm attachment to France, and—delicate attention—he has written them out in the language spoken on the banks of the Seine. To say that the work breathes sympathy would be to express coldly the tone of it. Italian enthusiasm, when complimentary, is prodigal, and the amiabilities intended by the writer to prove to France how high she still stands in the admiration of the world are enough to disconcert the most self-satisfied Chauvinism. We doubt if there are many Frenchmen who would offer, in the name of patriotism, such unalloyed praise to their country as is done by this Italian writer. France is proclaimed the image of civilization. Each nation may have superior special qualities, but no population presents an ensemble more varied, more rich, more harmonious. With subtle deftness the writer gives the explanation of this enviable entity, showing the many foreign threads with which France has woven the tissue of perfect civilization. Spain, Italy, England, Holland, Germany, Russia, and America have furnished her with precious teachings, and, in her constant work of international assimilation, France, discarding the uncouth or the excessive, has embodied all the contributed elements in her organism. The eulogist, however, is not without his cordial censure. France is a great country, but let the French of 1890 take care. National politeness is on the wane; on the decline, also, the charm which came from the confiding bonhomie so characteristic of the French. The cosmopolitan spectator is forced to declare, with apologies for taking such a liberty, that priggishness is noticeable in the citizens, one and all, of the Third Republic, from the humblest to the President, who "salutes the crowd with Sultan-like bows that went out of fashion a century ago in foreign courts."

But De Gubernatis's work has another object than to deal with the French as a people, viz.: to bring about a permanent alliance between France and Italy. He contends that contemporary France does not sufficiently understand her real interests in Italy.

"So long as Papal Rome represented for France the tradition of the old Latin civilization," says the writer, "seeking a *point d'appui* in Rome was plausible; in the eyes of Charlemagne, Rome was perhaps the highest expression of civilization. But since the rise of the great communes and the Italian renaissance, Papal power has ceased to personify Italy. Each time France interfered to uphold the cause of the Pope against the new interests of the Italian people, she made herself unpopular. . . . To-day part of France still prefers to uphold the dead rather than the living, and to this traditional error in French politics, which delayed in the past the political resurrection of Italy, may be ascribed the misunderstandings now preventing France and Italy from joining in a march towards one purpose."

The writer expresses a desire that an international history of France and Italy should be written. The time has come for the historian to look behind the princes, causes of past wars, to the people who bore the brunt. Homage may be rendered to patriotic sentiment without precluding an equitable appreciation of the enemy of a day. Such a history would render a war hateful between two nations who have so much in common. Italy has borrowed much from France. In her administrative, judicial, financial, military, and scholastic administration it is the French mode that prevails. Geographically, too, the countries have links. Provence is the intermediary. If there were no political frontiers between Provence and Italy, the transition from one to the other would scarcely be perceptible. "The Italians of Florence speak as well as the Parisian [better, we should say] the Provencal tongue with its numerous dialects that have given such poetical opportunities to the Félibres." Yet M. de Gubernatis does not hesitate to decide the question of Nice French or Nice Italian. Sentiment apart, and considering only the interests of the people, he acknowledges that Nice is more at home than it would be under Italian influence. This acknowledgment is followed by the remark that if Nice has resisted five centuries of loyalty to the house of Savoy to become French, a single century of French dominion in Alsace does not prevent Germany from claiming that province as hers. He continues:

"The unity of Italy and that of Germany, to which France contributed, intentionally or not, have turned against her. The fact is to be regretted, but not because what is a boon for Germany and Italy is an evil for France, but because France has not had the good sense to embrace these two resurrected nations as soon as they rose up. Neither Italian unity nor German unity was a cause of alarm to France."

Had she behaved quietly towards her two neighbors, the author thinks that she would have attracted to herself all their sympathies and all sorts of benefits.

Treating of Colonial France, De Gubernatis offers parallel advice to France and Italy. More is gained by being in accord with neighboring nations than by constant discord, and it is better to refrain from future conquests and administer more wisely what is in hand. He is of opinion that Italy would be the best colony for Italy. Cleared, cultivated, and enlightened, it might be a promised land better than the Eldorados her immigrants seek elsewhere; but since colonization has opened to Italy a new field in Africa, he asks for encouragement so that she may link Europe with Sudan through Massowah.

A good third of the volume is devoted to Paris, in order to prove that the capital of France is not falling into decadence. This essay appears foreign to the object of the book—perhaps from the way it is presented. As an example, the writer, who is supposed to view the Paris of to-day, wanders into reminiscences of the salons of Mme. Mohl and Mme. d'Agoult—interesting reminiscences, no doubt, but likely to be voted superfluous by the reader seduced by De Gubernatis's theory that an alliance between France and Italy would lead to his ideal triple alliance, which, in addition to the two aforesaid countries, would include Germany. They could well have been spared to make room for a better appreciation of the evolutions taking place in Paris life.

Impressions and Opinions. By George Moore. London: David Nutt. 1891.

SIX essays upon books and authors, six upon the drama, and four upon art make the contents of this provocative volume. Mr. Moore works a vein of his own in criticism; he holds opinions of an uncompromisingly modern cast, and he applies them practically without much respect to persons or traditions. He writes like one who makes enemies easily and without any regret; he seems to have a fancy for a pretty quarrel, and he is much more interesting in his remarks upon the contemporary theatre and upon art than in those upon literature, where his pugnacity has less play. The literary criticism is, in fact, commonplace, except when it is erratic; it is no more than a succession of short book-reviews strung into an article on Balzac or Turgeneff, keeping close to the characters and growing wearisome with detail; and mainly it is craft-criticism—what one novelist has to say of the work of another. At the end of the paper on Balzac Mr. Moore expresses himself by saying, "As I understand criticism more as the story of the critic's soul than as an exact science, I confess that I would willingly give up 'Hamlet,' 'Macbeth,' 'Romeo and Juliet,' etc., for the yellow books." Perhaps if he had put more of the "story of his soul" into the paper, he would have illustrated this theory in a way which would have permitted some examination of it; but as he has already published his 'Confessions,' he may have thought the repetition of them in the critical form unnecessary. Meanwhile all we really learn is that personally he prefers Balzac to Shakspere, which is not a matter of great consequence.

An erratic critic, however, sometimes does a service by directing attention to little-known authors whom he has undertaken to patronize. Being an oddity himself, he has an affinity for oddities, in accordance with the gregariousness of cranks; and in literature a habit of eccentricity in one's self goes far towards the appreciation of eccentric writers. Mr. Moore takes pride in having been the first to introduce the French poet, Verlaine, to English readers—he indulges in much self-esteem on this account; and he returns to the modern Villon in this volume with effusion. He says plainly enough that Verlaine is a very malodorous person; he describes him as a kind of human beast, and the account of the single interview he had with the prodigy is nauseating. Here he couples him with Rimbaud, the young poet whom Verlaine, being his intimate friend, stabbed, and so was sent to jail for a while. They were both bad enough, but Rimbaud was converted, and, after a fruitless effort to draw Verlaine from his sins, immured himself in a convent on the shores of the Red Sea, where he is said still to be digging the soil in pursuit of grace. Verlaine remained the scamp he had always been, and continued to write verses, many of them of a religious sort. Mr. Moore says that the poems of this precious pair are great. We cannot better exhibit his attitude than by the following extract:

"Verlaine knows English very well, and he deeply regretted that he had not the necessary money to take him straight to Lord Tennyson, so that he might obtain permission to publish a volume of translations. I went to the Macmillans and asked them if the matter could be arranged, but I heard no more of it. Lord Tennyson has, therefore, missed being translated by one who in a sense is greater than he."

Could anything be more delightful, in the unfailing comedy of the hobby-horse, than this?

We let Mr. Moore's literary criticism go; but in dealing with the theatre, and more particularly with art, he is as original without being quite so antic in his disposition. The condition of the English theatre from the point of view of the literary play-writer is held up to scorn, playfully but vexatiously enough to the authors and actors. The amateurishness and materialism of the stage are dwelt on, and the secret of the literary paralysis of the

drama is said to be the "three-hundred-night run," in the main. But Mr. Moore is not content with smiting the present actors, hip and thigh, upon the boards; he has a word to say of their "reminiscences," and, not to delay with their fertility in such "literary" works, he has more than a word to say about their entrance into society. The conclusion of his remarks is after this fashion:

"To-day the stage is as moral as it was a hundred years ago—as much so and not one jot more. The alliance between Church and stage is a subject wherewith the hypercritical may trade on the eternal credulity of mankind; the alliance between the stage and society is unfortunately a reality, and I have attempted to explain its genesis. The dramatic profession has been, is, and always must be a profession for those to whom social restraints are irksome and who would lead the life their instinct dictates. The ideal mother cannot be the great artist. The ancients knew this well, and did not waste time in striving to unite the cradle and the *chef d'œuvre*. And since, in the eternal wisdom of things, we must find a place for vice as well as for virtue, for the Bohemian as well as the housewife, I believe that little will be gained by emptying the *coulisse* into the drawing-room and the drawing-room into the *coulisse*.

But perhaps the most important part of this theatrical criticism is that which describes the Théâtre Libre, and calls for the establishment of a similar institution in London (now partly realized) as the best means of encouraging new play-writers of original ideas and some literary pretension.

The essays upon art deal with the quarrel between the *Salon Julian* and Meissonier, with which our readers are sufficiently familiar, and with "Art for the Villa," Degas, and the pictures recently acquired at high prices by the National Gallery. The last subject may be dismissed with the remark that Mr. Moore does not approve of the purchases in general. Degas is very handsomely treated. Like Verlaine, he is one of Mr. Moore's fads. The essay is really interesting, and is successful in giving a vivid impression of the artist and his work. There is some side-thrusting at Whistler, too, not too inimical for pleasure in the on-looker. According to Mr. Moore, Degas is so much sharper in repartee and phrasing than Whistler is that the latter is distinguished, when the two meet, for "flashes of silence." There is nothing better among the anecdotes than this passage, which brings the two together with Manet:

"He [Manet] would say, 'You, Degas, you are above the level of the sea, but for my part, if I get into an omnibus and some one doesn't say, "M. Manet, how are you? Where are you going?" I am disappointed, for I know then that I am not famous.' Manet's vanity, which a strange boyishness of disposition rendered attractive and engaging, is clearly one of Degas's happiest memories; but all the meanness of *la vie de parade*, so persistently sought by Mr. Whistler, is bitterly displeasing to him. Speaking to Mr. Whistler, he said: 'My dear friend, you conduct yourself in life just as if you had no talent at all.'"

This mention of Manet reminds us to add that the glimpse of him given in connection with the Vandyke purchased by the National Gallery is the most pleasing and simple passage in the book. Mr. Moore spent two years in his studio, and in speaking of his old master for once he forgets himself. The remaining artistic essay, "Art for the Villa," is suggestive and well worked out. He starts from the opinion that the villa is the feature of this age, as the palace and the cathedral were of the last few centuries; and he then insists that it is folly to adorn the villa with statuary and oil paintings, which belonged to the older architectural ground of art. Let us have etchings, drawings, bronzes, and in general the *bibelot*, in place of the older and grander things, and not try to live with the "Mona Lisa" and the "Ariadne" always before our eyes. Would we wish, he asks, "a perpetual performance of 'Hamlet' or 'Tristan und Isolde'?" Then he goes on to speak of Whistler and the artisan-artist, and the sense of the value of material for its own sake as well as for its ornamental form, and the remainder, as was to be expected, with the same extravagance and all too easy cleverness that impair the seriousness of his whole book, but with a certain amount of the common sense that serves him except when he writes "the story of his soul." This last group of essays gives a stronger impression than the earlier ones that the author's eccentricities may not swallow him up.

Sir Robert Peel. By Justin McCarthy, M.P. Harper & Brothers.

Peel. By J. R. Thursfield. London and New York: Macmillan & Co.

THE first of these volumes is one of the biographies of the Prime Ministers of Queen Victoria edited by Mr. Reid. The life of Sir Robert Peel ought certainly to have been one of the most interesting of the series, and it is therefore to be regretted that Mr. McCarthy has done scant justice to his subject. He has, indeed, shown how important an influence Peel exercised over the minds of his colleagues and over the course of political affairs, but he fails to appreciate the reason of that influence. He speaks slightingly of Peel's scholarship; and though he quotes Byron's remark that when they were boys together at Harrow every one predicted a great future for Peel, he makes no mention of the fact that Peel was the first who ever obtained what is called at Oxford a *double-first*, that is, a first-class in both classics and mathematics. It was this excellent training of a naturally versatile intellect which enabled him to master the most complex questions, and by superior knowledge to impose his views upon men of decided character, like the Duke of Wellington. He was not a man who formed his opinions rapidly. On the contrary, his final judgment on two of the most important measures with which his name is inseparably connected, namely, Catholic Emancipation and the abolition of the Corn Laws, was arrived at after some years of discussion and investigation. But his colleagues, even when they hesitated to follow his lead, were compelled to admit that his knowledge of the question at issue was infinitely better than theirs; and, having once taken his stand, he had the courage to face all the pains and penalties attaching to changes of political opinion in the effort to carry out what he believed to be the true policy.

The resemblance between Peel and Gladstone has often been pointed out; and it is a curious fact that in 1829, soon after Peel had carried Catholic Emancipation, Gladstone, then an undergraduate and a high Tory, moved in the Oxford Union a vote of censure against the Minister. Not many years afterwards, however, he was working out the problems of free trade under this same Minister; and undoubtedly the elder statesman had something to do with moulding the opinions of the younger. Both were excellent classical scholars, and posterity will probably decide that both have excelled in financial and fiscal legislation. Unfortunately, Mr. McCarthy does not give much attention to these matters. He does, indeed, refer to Peel's chairmanship of the Committee on the Resumption of Specie Payments in 1819, when he delivered himself of the sound doctrine that "the true standard of value consists in a definite quantity of gold bullion"; but he does not even mention the Bank Charter Act of 1844, generally known as Peel's Act. In the light of subsequent events, opinions may differ as to the wisdom of that Act, but it was certainly one of the most important measures of the day, and no biography of Peel can be considered adequate which passes it over in silence.

Aside from these graver faults, the reader will observe in this volume some minor defects which seem to indicate haste and carelessness. Dates, for instance, are used with the utmost economy, and the reader is left to judge of the duration of ministries and many other matters by the light of knowledge acquired elsewhere. Even Peel is spoken of as *Sir Robert* twenty years before he succeeded to the baronetcy on the death of his father.

It is unfortunate for Mr. McCarthy that Mr. Thursfield's 'Peel' should have appeared at this time, as a comparison between the two biographies is inevitable, and the verdict must certainly be in favor of the latter. It is superior to Mr. McCarthy's work in every point, and it is specially explicit and satisfactory in regard to the particular matters which he has neglected. Thus, Mr. Thursfield gives an interesting account of Peel's free-trade budgets of 1842 and 1845, which made possible the enormous expansion of English manufactures in the following thirty years; and he very truly says of the great speech in which Peel introduced the Bank Charter Act of 1844, that it remains to this day the most authoritative exposition of the principles of the British currency system. According to Mr. Thursfield, Peel's most important defect was that, while he had a clear insight into the condition of affairs at the moment, he lacked political foresight. He possessed, however, the faculty of taking infinite pains—which, if not genius, is an excellent substitute for it—and his views were favorably modified by the logic of facts, which he took infinite pains to collect and investigate.

Primitive Folk: Studies in Comparative Ethnology. By Élie Reclus. Scribner & Welford. 1891. 8vo, pp. xvi, 339.

IT has been the habit of returning travellers to relate marvellous tales. In earlier times society might well consider itself defrauded should a traveller bring back from foreign lands no story of terrible or extraordinary animals or natural phenomena; no relation of barbarous, filthy, or abnormally singular practices on the part of the inhabitants. To be thrilled by travellers' tales afforded a pleasant and innocent excitement to the blasé townsman and unsophisticated villager alike. It cannot be said that travellers have ever proved unresponsive to these demands. No traveller is known to have existed so poor in experience (or imagination) as not to have provided some aliment for this appetite, some story, if not true, at least *ben trovato*.

Naturally, the ways and manners of savages afforded abundance of unexpected and surprising items for such chronicles. Misinterpreted and misunderstood in almost every instance, the ethics of the barbarian, sufficiently peculiar in themselves, became incoherent and chaotic. Stories told at second hand by credulous or too imaginative travellers often proved more "juicy" than such as were the fruit of direct observation. All these things, tinged with the mental coloring of the narrator and modified to suit the prevalent literary taste,

the public appetite for horrors, or the pious zeal of sectarians, were often preserved for posterity in print. Now in these latter days comes the closet ethnologist or historian of native races. He desires to make a book which shall interest and instruct, and, above all, shall sell. With tireless industry he delves in old books of travel for interesting and instructive tidbits. Naturally, the result is a mosaic of cock-and-bull stories, which are always interesting and seldom true, set in a framework of more or less uninteresting fact.

To illustrate the process, a case may be cited. In a recent work of great erudition and untiring scissor-work, it was deliberately stated that a favorite dish of the inhabitants of the Island of Kodiak was composed of bear's dung. As this seemed somewhat improbable, and as the reviewer happened to know that the only objurgation or analogue of a curse afforded by the language of these people is the imperative "May you eat dung," he set himself to discover the source of this libel upon an unoffending tribe of Innuit. After tracking the story a little way, it appeared that it was deer and not bear that was the original animal referred to; and, to be brief, that the whole resolved itself into the well-known habit of northern tribes of using as a sort of salad the dry, clean buds which the reindeer accumulates in his anterior paunch, to the amount of a peck or so, before they are regurgitated and masticated in chewing the cud. Any one who has ever handled this material knows that there is nothing unclean or offensive about it, any more than in the case of honey. Yet the "bear's dung" reappears in the present volume, and is likely to appear in similar compilations as long as a public demand for such anecdotes is believed to exist.

The author of the book under review is one of that prolific family of which the geographer, Élisée Reclus, is the most distinguished member. If we mistake not, the French original was published some years ago. The translation is fairly good, if it does give us "marine mares" for "sea-horses" in one place. There is a great accumulation of facts in the book, set forth with a good deal of literary dexterity. Among these facts are many errors, some egregious blunders, and countless misconceptions. The chapters are of unequal value; those derived from comparatively few and modern sources, like that on the Todas, are the more accurate, those from more ancient the reverse.

As a whole, it seems to us that the pictures of primitive people which are gathered in this volume are distorted, sensational, and often grossly unjust, while the bias of the author is distinctively and aggressively antichristian. There is also a pruriency in the dwelling on certain aspects of savage life which, in our opinion, renders the book undesirable reading for the young, as well as more or less unacceptable to adult readers of taste. But, even if we waive all literary criticism, it is obvious, in the light of modern research, that a book of this class cannot fail to be more or less misleading in direct proportion to its inclusiveness, and this without calling in question the honesty or faithfulness of the compiler. No one without personal experience of the daily life of savage people, as well as high qualifications in comparative ethnology, is fitted to generalize on the life of even a single tribe, much less to pass judgment on the probable truth of hasty observations, generally made by unscientific travellers, indiscriminately assembled from the literature of a century and a half.

Gypsy Sorcery and Fortune-Telling. Illustrated by Numerous Incantations, Specimens of Medical Magic, Anecdotes, and Tales. By Charles Godfrey Leland. Copiously illustrated by the Author. Charles Scribner's Sons. 1891.

THIS handsome volume professes to have sought for the element of truth in gypsy sorcery and superstition in "a rational and philosophic spirit," and also to present illustrations of the author's remarks "in a manner which will prove attractive to the general reader." The last may be conceded more easily than the first. Mr. Leland's idea of scientific and historical proof is decidedly deficient, and his incoherent and self-contradictory style is enough to bring a more correct idea to grief. As a collector of curious bits of information within the lines of what he has made his specialty, he finds better success. Everything is fish that comes to his net, and one authority is as good as another for him; moreover, he is constantly breaking through his own classifications. Yet his work betrays great industry and wide reading, and must be regarded as a considerable addition to the literature of his subject. The "copious illustrations," it ought to be said, consist almost solely of tail-pieces and initial letters.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Atkinson, Rev. J. C. Forty Years in a Moorland Parish: Reminiscences and Researches in Danby in Cleveland. Macmillan & Co. $3.25.
Beckford, W. The History of the Caliph Vathek, &c. Ward, Lock & Co. 75 cents.
Century Dictionary. Vol. V. Q—Stro. The Century Co.
Holland, H. S., and W. S. Rockstro. Memoir of Madame Jenny Lind-Goldschmidt, 1820–1851. 2 vols. Charles Scribner's Sons. $7.50.
Jacobs, J. George Eliot, Matthew Arnold, Browning, Newman: Essays and Reviews from the *Athenæum*. London: David Nutt.
Johnson, R. B. Essays and Poems of Leigh Hunt. 2 vols. Macmillan & Co. $4.

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MAY 21, 1891.

The Week.

EVER since 1884 we have been inclined to suspect all Republican quotations which in any way helped the cause. That is to say, we have always been inclined to believe that they were either sheer forgeries, or that they came from some other source than the one to which they were ascribed, or that they had been modified in some such way as to alter the sense. We could produce conspicuous illustrations of all these offences. Accordingly, when we found this in the *Tribune* of Monday, coming from Secretary Tracy, we took the precaution to go to the original report:

"The Navy Department has fortified itself with legal authority for the present pursuit, and finds ample defence for the seizure upon the open seas in the decisions of the Supreme Court. A hundred years ago that tribunal decided (Rose vs. Henley) that 'the seizure of a ship upon the high seas after she has committed an act of forfeiture within the territory, is not inconsistent with the sovereign rights of the nation to which it belongs. Whatever the great principle of self-defence, in its reasonable and necessary exercise, will sanction in the individual, in a state of nature, nations may lawfully perform upon the high seas. And again (Hudson vs. Genster): 'The laws of the United States upon the subject appear to have been framed after a model of the English statutes, and the act of 1799 expressly authorizes the seizure of a vessel that has, within the jurisdiction of the United States, committed an act of forfeiture, wherever she may be met with by a revenue cutter, without limiting the distance from the coast.' This principle was again recognized in the Supreme Court in the case of the *Mariana Flora*, where Mr. Justice Story says: 'It is true that it has been held in the courts of this country that American ships offending against our laws, and foreign ships in like manner offending within our jurisdiction, may afterwards be pursued and seized upon the open seas and rightfully brought back into our ports for adjudication.'"

What we found, in the case of Rose vs. Himely (not Henley) was, that the court, through Chief-Justice Marshall, decided *exactly the other way*, and that the dictum here quoted came from the *dissenting opinion of Justice Johnson*. Moreover, the case was not in point for the purpose of the present discussion. The question was whether "a French Admiralty Court which had condemned an American ship" had "competent jurisdiction," and whether the Supreme Court "could examine the jurisdiction of a foreign tribunal." Both the other cases cited are cases of merchant vessels. The *Mariana Flora* was a Portuguese mercantile ship captured and brought in by a United States cruiser for firing on her under a mistaken notion of her character. It was apropos of her that Justice Story made the statement quoted, which nobody has ever questioned, but his qualifying sentence has been left out: "This, however, has never been supposed to draw after it the right of visitation or search. The party in such cases seizes at his peril. If he establishes a forfeiture, he is justified. If he fails, he must make full compensation in damages." This everybody has always known. The *Charleston* might, at her peril, seize a mail steamer on the high seas, but whether she could legally seize the man-of-war of a belligerent is another matter.

President Harrison is back in Washington from a long and successful tour of the country. He seems to have had a good time, and the trip ought to be of service to him in more ways than as affording a change of scene. He has made a great many speeches, and they have been as a rule very creditable, while he has not "slopped over" anywhere. There has been considerable speculation as to the effect of the tour upon Mr. Harrison's personal fortunes. No reason appears for attaching any special importance to it in this respect. He returns the same sort of figure in his party that he started—its nominal head, but without the slightest hold upon its affection or enthusiasm. It still remains as necessary as before for his son to explain through his newspaper that the father is really a great man; and the prospect of being obliged, by force of circumstances, to support him for a second term is no more attractive to Republicans generally than it was a month ago.

Now that China has refused to receive Mr. Blair as our Minister, it comes out that the present Minister, Mr. Denby, has filled the post so well that all who were familiar with the facts had sought to secure his retention. A missionary of the American Board in North China for years, now in this country, says that the American missionaries of all denominations are heartily in favor of Mr. Denby's retention, and had petitioned President Harrison to that effect. It appears that, upon arriving in China, Mr. Denby decided that it was an important part of his duty to look after the missionaries, and that their interests as residents in a foreign country have never before received such careful attention. He has been equally conscientious in regard to his other duties, and this missionary declares that "no new minister could do better than Mr. Denby has done for American interests in China." In view of these facts, two or three Republican newspapers are urging President Harrison to retain Mr. Denby, in spite of the fact that he is a Democrat. The Springfield (Mass.) *Union* thinks that "President Harrison might do worse than to allow him to remain," while the Norwich (Conn.) *Bulletin* admits that "between such a representative and Mr. Blair a good many people would prefer Mr. Denby," and thinks that "perhaps President Harrison will come to the same state of feeling." We must warn the *Union* and the *Bulletin* that they are getting upon dangerous Mugwump ground. The Mugwumps hold that fidelity and efficiency should be the only sure tenure of office, and that a man who has shown himself conspicuously faithful and efficient—whether as Minister to China or as Postmaster of Boston—should be retained. But it will be remembered that when the question of reappointing such a postmaster was pending last March, Mr. Harrison decided against it for this reason:

"The President thought that, considering the attitude of the Democratic party, which was murdering United States marshals and expelling Republican postmasters from their offices in the South, and endeavoring to overthrow constitutional government by revolutionary proceeding both in the House and Senate, and by preventing honest elections wherever they could get the power so to do, it was not wise to appoint to an important office a person who made no expression anywhere of disapprobation of these things, and whose political influence, so far as it was exerted, was in their favor."

We can see no reason why this argument does not apply to Mr. Denby as well as to Gen. Corse. He has had ample time to express himself on these questions, but not one word of disapprobation has he uttered. All the talk about the missionaries in Mr. Denby's case, like that about efficiency in Gen. Corse's case, is really *aliunde*. The only question is, To which party does he belong?

The most creditable feature of Mr. Harrison's Administration has been the President's judicial appointments, which, as a rule, have been excellent. Apparently he intends to maintain the high standard which he has hitherto reached during the remainder of his term. No sooner had he returned to Washington than "pressure" was brought to bear upon him for the immediate appointment of the nine judges who are to constitute the new appellate court which was created at the last session of Congress, but he announced on Monday his determination not to make the appointments until the names of those selected could be sent to the Senate for confirmation. This is the only reasonable and proper course to pursue. Whether or not the letter of the Constitution would permit the President to make such appointments while the Senate is not in session, the spirit of that instrument is clearly opposed to the placing upon the bench, by the President, of a judge who may be forced to surrender his seat a few months later because the Senate refuses its "advice and consent" to his appointment.

A fresh scandal about the Pension Bureau must have imparted a familiar odor to the official atmosphere of Washington as the President sniffed it on his return on Friday. He at least ought not to have been surprised to hear that the son of his Commissioner of Pensions had been forced to resign for selling appointments in the Bureau and appropriating to his own uses petty sums of the Bureau's money. The son has evidently been imitating his father's methods, and doing so with the belief that they were safe ones for him to practise, since the President had kept

his father in office in the face of all evidence that he was using his position for unworthy ends and personal pecuniary profit. If the father did not know what the son was doing, the fact that the son could do what he did without instant detection is a fresh proof of the lax and irresponsible system upon which the Bureau's affairs are conducted.

Delaware falls in line as the twenty-fifth State to pass a ballot-reform law. The measure is an entirely satisfactory one, being a thorough adaptation of the Australian system. It provides for a blanket ballot, prohibits the use of pasters, and forbids the use of any except official ballots, which can be obtained only in the polling-places. The compartment or booth system of voting is to be followed, so that a really secret, exclusively official ballot has been obtained. The Delaware law-makers have not been influenced, as those of New Jersey and Connecticut were, by Gov. Hill's pernicious assaults upon the Australian system, although an effort in that direction was made. Their law is, in fact, as good a ballot law as any other State has secured. There are only three separate-ballot laws, those of New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut; all the other twenty-two States having adopted the blanket ballot.

Ex-Congressman Butterworth does not take a rosy view of the prospects for electing Mr. McKinley Governor of Ohio. "From what I hear," he is credited with saying, "I suppose McKinley will be given the nomination by our people—the Republicans—for Governor. The issue will be the old tariff question. Whether it is wise to make a State campaign on such a national issue, I will not say. It seems that it will be done, however. You must remember that nominating conventions do not make issues—issues create themselves. But this I will say—no high-tariff issue will ever succeed in this country, as the lesson of last fall taught us. I would never be in favor of it, and yet I have always been a strong advocate of the protective idea. The high-tariff idea can never carry, and it would be as calamitous as pestilence if it did." This is the opinion of a man who, though he opposed some of the provisions of the McKinley Bill, voted for it on its final passage. It would be depressing kind of talk to have making itself heard in Ohio during a McKinley anti-cheapness campaign, but there are evidences that, if Mr. McKinley is nominated, Mr. Butterworth will not be the only Ohio Republican who will indulge in such talk.

The McKinley Administrative Law is working precisely as every competent student of its indefensible provisions foresaw it would. The *Dry Goods Economist* says that "denunciation and disapproval continue to pour in from all quarters for the act and its effects," that it seems "impossible to find a champion for the system it has established either among importers, lawyers, or judges," and that the only persons "who advocate its continuance in an unchanged form are a few of the 'Knownothing' merchants, who openly avow their desire to prevent importations and their approval of whatever tends to that result." That was the kind of merchant for whom the law was designed, and whose interests it was supposed to benefit. Concerning the ulterior motives of the originators of the measure, the *Economist* says:

> "As the Supreme Court has recently refused to give priority to this class of cases, an importer who wins before the Board and before the Circuit Court has now the cold comfort of waiting three or four years to see whether the Supreme Court will sustain the decision in his favor. And the matter of most unpleasant significance in all this is, that those who rejoice in the barrenness of results from the contentions of importers, profess to know that the intentions of the law's framers are thus being carried out. In other words, it is seriously maintained by many that McKinley's Committee devised a scheme, under the pretence of reform, to do away with all contests as to rate, and make the Collector's decision absolute and final."

Our readers will not be surprised at this view of the intent of the law. It was inspired by that kind of "genuine Americans" who look upon importing as a criminal business which should be prevented by any means, legal or illegal, and upon importers as a class of anti-Americans who should be driven out of the country or into bankruptcy for their diabolical efforts to sell the American people such foreign products as they are unpatriotic enough to wish to buy.

A St. Louis correspondent of the *Times* has investigated the celebrated "Tin-Plate Works" of that eminent Republican manufacturer, Mr. Niedringhaus, and has discovered that they consist of a shed fifty feet long, fifteen feet wide, and ten feet high. This immense edifice, of rude and hasty construction, is divided into three rooms. The first of these is obviously the Preparatory Room. In it the reporter discovered several small piles of sheet iron, of tin-plate size, upon which a "force," consisting of one young man and a boy, were operating. The boy had handed a plate to the man, and the man was rubbing it with a rag. Whether both man and boy were genuine Americans, the reporter was too dazed to inquire. Passing to the next room, which was obviously an annex to the Preparatory Room, a second "force," consisting of three men and two boys, was discovered, doing nothing in particular except to pass on towards the third room the plates which had been through the rag-rubbing process. Whether this "force" was genuine American or not, the reporter also failed to ascertain. In the third, or "Dipping Room," the reporter came at once upon the very citadel of the works. In a space three feet by five, he was shown the entire plant, consisting of three pots, set in a brick-like furnace, and containing liquid tin boiling away like fury. Two full-grown men composed the "force" in this room, both hard at work, one dipping a plate in one of the pots and the other looking on to see what came of it. The dipper spoke with a strong English accent, and confessed without shame that he was from Swansea, Wales, where he had learned the tin business. He showed his anti-American bias by saying that the work which the "force" in the Preparatory Room was doing was "gals' work in the old country." None of the tin plate thus turned out is for sale, Mr. Niedringhaus simply manufacturing it for distribution at Republican conventions and among Republican newspapers.

The Kentucky Democrats have adopted a platform which is strong and sound on the tariff and the McKinley Bill, but they have weakened the effect of it by a free-coinage declaration which reads as if it had been borrowed from the Farmers' Alliance. Mr. Blaine will be interested to see that they have borrowed, without due credit, his famous denunciation of the McKinley Bill as a measure which "does not open a market for a single bushel of wheat or a single barrel of pork."

A few weeks ago Neal Dow induced the Maine Legislature to amend the Prohibitory Law in such manner as he declared would put an end to the liquor traffic. The new statute went into effect on the 1st of May. The Lewiston *Journal*, a Republican newspaper which believes in prohibition and always tries to make out the best possible case for that policy, in its issue for the 12th of May, says that "a correspondent from Belfast writes in a disheartened strain in regard to the liquor business there. Rum-selling will run riot there this summer, the rumsellers having taken new courage from the results of the late session of the S. J. Court, where all the cases but one were either nol-prossed or found not guilty. Another new rum-shop opened on lower Main Street, Saturday, when court adjourned, and now there are more than twenty places where intoxicating liquors are sold without let or hindrance." Belfast is a place of less than 6,000 inhabitants, and "more than twenty" rum-shops in a town of that size means about the same ratio to population as in New York city.

The history of the modern literary use of the word "mugwump" is enlarged by a recent contribution to the *Vermont Standard* from Mr. Henry S. Dana of Woodstock, Vt. Mr. Dana is deeply versed in neighborhood matters, and has written an elaborate history of Woodstock. He says that the *American Whig* newspaper, published for several years in that town, contained the following, under date of August 24, 1832:

"DYING CALL," OR THE CAT LET OUT OF THE BAG.

☞ Through the politeness of an anti-Masonic friend in a distant town we have been furnished with a copy of the *secret bulletin* of the Clay Masonic party. It has extensively circulated among the Knights of Kadosh and the Most Worshipful Mugwumps of the Cabletow nearly a month ago, and with so much "secrecy and caution" that we have been unable to get sight of a copy until the present moment.

Mr. Dana says: "The credit of starting the word 'Mugwumps' in the public print must be given to our fellow-townsman Henry S. Hutchinson, until some person appears who can establish a prior claim." It may be doubted whether at this distance of time a claim prior to 1832 can well be established by production of a printed record; but ever since the days of the Pilgrim Fathers the word has been familiar in New England communities. Because it was thus familiar, the Vermont editor sixty years ago used it in addressing the plain people of his constituency. He knew that they would understand it. It is to be noticed that the term invariably denotes some excellency or superiority in the persons to whom it is applied.

The Wharton School of Finance and Economy, connected with the University of Pennsylvania, has a course of study preparatory to journalism, concerning which the school's prospectus makes the following statements: "The position of editor or editorial writer on a journal is one of great responsibility and importance, and no such person can be too well prepared for his work. A course of study in political economy and finance, and in American history and politics, is almost indispensable to any editor who wishes to write intelligently upon the countless subjects of public policy upon which the newspaper must take a stand." Why say "*almost* indispensable"? Do the Wharton instructors intend to admit that there can be any intelligent editorial writing upon questions of public policy by men who have not pursued such a course? That the newspaper "sanctums" of the land are crowded with men who are writing every day without the aid of such preparatory study, every reader of newspapers must admit; but no one can call the wonderful "copy" they are producing "intelligent." Possibly the Wharton School authorities put in the "almost" to avoid the danger of seeming to reflect upon the press of the country as a body. The course of study which they outline is the best that we have seen yet in any quarter for the work in hand, and is, in fact, the only kind which can fit a man for useful and competent journalistic writing. It would, of course, unfit him utterly for "breezy, brainy, newsy, crisp" writing, for the peculiarity of that is, that the less preliminary study of all kinds a man has, the greater will be his success in it.

We remarked the other day, prior to the action of the New York Presbytery unfavorable to Prof. Briggs, that it was only a question of time before his views would win acceptance in his denomination. The striking array of young ministers who voted to sustain him is in strong confirmation of our opinion. They were not alone graduates of Union Seminary, and so naturally disposed to defend a professor under whom they had studied; even the Princeton graduates are going the way of the higher criticism, if you can only catch them young enough. Three young ministers of Princeton training now occupy prominent pulpits in the Presbyterian pulpit of this city. That fact was given considerable prominence not long ago as an instance of the way Princeton men were coming to the front, even under the shadow of Union Seminary. But they all support the accused Union Seminary professor, and one of them figures as his avowed defender. For the present the gray heads and the superannuated ministers no longer in the active pastorate have the weight of numbers. A few years will reverse the balance. Only, the pity of it is that, by the time the victory is won, the issue will have become obsolete for the educated world, other questions will be the living ones, and then we shall see these progressive young men metamorphosed into the stern excommunicators of the progressive young men of the next generation.

The long contest over the opening of the Metropolitan Museum on Sunday was brought to an end on Monday by the surrender of a majority of the Trustees to a monster petition, accompanied by a guarantee of the increase of expenditure for one year. Only two objections to the opening have been produced from the beginning of the agitation. One was, that the collection was the result of contributions from individuals most of whom were opposed to the opening on Sunday, and that as their continued pecuniary support was of the last importance, their wishes should be respected. This dwindled, in the course of the discussion, into an acknowledgment that the wishes of these gentlemen might be disregarded if the money could be found to meet the increased expense which the Sunday opening would entail. The other objection was the one known as "the entering wedge," which was set forth in the petition signed by a good many leading clergymen of the city. Their contention was that the opening of the Museum on Sunday would be "a perilous experiment, opening the way to Sunday theatres and operas, beer gardens, music and dance halls, and the features of what is called a Continental Sunday." How it can be considered "a perilous experiment" we do not know, seeing that it has been tried with regard to similar institutions in Boston and Philadelphia for ten years, and has been perfectly successful. Nor do we clearly understand what is meant by "opening the way," seeing that by no possible effort of the imagination can the Museum be looked on as stopping or having stopped the way to a "Continental Sunday."

The truth is, that the old Puritan Sunday for which the signers contend, disappeared from this city long ago. The great bulk of the population have for fully a quarter of a century been passing Sunday either in the Continental fashion or some worse fashion. That is to say, they have either been amusing themselves on Sunday as Frenchmen or Germans generally do, or in ways far more objectionable. To suppose that the closing of the Metropolitan Museum on Sunday has exerted the smallest influence on this tendency, is to be in the highest degree fanciful. We doubt if the denial of access to the Museum on Sunday has sent a single human being in this city to a place of worship, or kept a single human being away from any place of amusement, or modified the views of a single human being on the question which were right—Anglo-Saxon Protestants or Continental Protestants—touching the nature and requirements of Sunday observance. What the closing of the Museum on Sunday really stood for was the scruples of a small and highly respectable body of gentlemen whose authority in matters of art every one respected, but whose authority on questions of ethics, or Biblical or historical criticism, had no weight at all. The Museum on Sunday was, in fact, simply a little island in the midst of a mighty current which was carrying everything else before it. The civilized world may be said, without exaggeration, to have decided against the Jewish view of the Sabbath. Whether this will prove eventually a good or bad thing, no one can tell, but it is final. Our opinion is that the moral interests of all the Western communities will be helped by it, certainly in the great cities, where the temptation on the part of non-church-goers to pass the day in sordid lounging, in the absence of innocent and refined amusements, is so strong.

The financial question has been the black one for Spain for many years, and the latest proposals of the Government are not of a sort to promise a lasting settlement of the difficulty. The truth is, the country has been running behind steadily for more than a decade. The floating debt is at present upwards of $60,000,000, being the amount by which expenditures have exceeded receipts since the slate was sponged clean ten years ago. Every Minister of Finance, during this period, has made out a roseate budget in advance, but the estimates have invariably turned out ludicrously wide of the mark. The Opposition is always charging the Administration with imbecility in the management of the finances, and is always going the same old bad way when it comes to power. Thus great things were expected of the Cánovas Ministry, but nothing is forthcoming but another of the familiar shifts to stave off the evil day. The Bank of Spain is to loan the Government $30,000,000 for thirty years without interest, and in return for this favor is to receive highly valuable considerations. In the first place, its charter, including the exclusive privilege of issuing bank notes, is to be extended seventeen years. It would expire in 1904, but is now to run till 1921. Then, no limit is to be put upon its issue of bills. The bank's capital is at present $30,000,000, and it is not authorized to issue notes beyond the amount of $150,000,000. With its capital thus multiplied by five, its privilege is already immensely valuable, and enables it practically to absorb all the banking business of Spain. The removal of all limits on its circulation, and the doubling the time its charter has to run, would seem to be cheap at the price it it is proposed to pay for them.

THE ITATA CASE.

THE extraordinary carelessness in matter of law and precedent with which the business of the State Department is conducted under Mr. Blaine, as illustrated by the Reiter incident and the Bering Sea discussion, probably accounts for the confusion of the public mind at this moment touching the rights and wrongs of the chase of the *Itata* by a United States man-of-war, now going on. There are only three classes of vessels which our men-of-war can chase and capture on the high seas—*i. e.*, outside of our jurisdiction—viz., slave traders, enemies, and pirates. The *Itata* is confessedly not a slave-trader; she is not an enemy, because we are not at war with any Power. Is she a pirate? Nobody pretends that she is. A pirate is a vessel which carries no national flag and has no commission from a government. The *Itata* carries the flag of the Chilian Congressional party, now carrying on a civil war in that country.

What is our proper attitude towards the parties to a conflict in a foreign country, which, through its persistence and the force displayed on both sides, has risen to the dimensions of a civil war? There is no difficulty in answering this question. Authorities on the subject are plenty as blackberries. Wheaton says, "that a foreign Government may either remain neutral or take part in the conflict [civil war]. If it remains neutral, it is bound to allow impartially to both belligerent parties the free exercise of those rights which war gives to public enemies against each other" (Lawrence's ed., p. 40). Bello says, "When a republic is divided into two parties which mutually treat each other as enemies, the war is called *civil war*, which means war between fellow-citizens. . . . Howsoever much one of the two parties gives to the other the title of rebel or tyrant, the foreign Powers who desire to maintain their neutrality ought to consider both *as two States*, independent as respects one another and other States who recognize no judge of their differences" (Lawrence's note to Wheaton, p. 524). Says Attorney-General Black, in his opinion given under Buchanan in the Peru controversy in 1858, "When the people of a republic are divided into two parties, who take up arms and oppose each other by military force, *this is civil war*. Supposing, however, that the rebellion is partly successful, and the old Government maintains itself in one part of its territory, while it is obliged to surrender another, shall it then give the law where it has no power to enforce obedience, or shall its authority be confined to the territory it occupies? A revolutionary party, like a foreign belligerent Power, is supreme over the country it occupies as far and as long as its arms can maintain it" (Opinion of Attorney-General Black, May 15, 1858, Congress. Doc. Thirty-fifth Congress, first session.) Secretary Cass endorsed this opinion in the same controversy. It accords with that of the Supreme Court in the case of Rose v. Himley, Cranch's Rep., vol. iv., p. 272; also in several prize cases which came before the Supreme Court in the December term in 1862, when the court laid down as one of the rules governing the matter in hand: "War is that state in which a nation prosecutes its right by force, and it is not necessary that both parties should be acknowledged as independent nations or sovereign States, nor that war should be solemnly declared. As civil war *is never publicly proclaimed, eo nomine*, its actual existence is a fact in domestic history which the courts are bound to notice and know." Hall, the latest writer on international law, while acknowledging that belligerents in a civil war cannot demand recognition as a matter of strict legal rights, says they always receive it when the hostilities bring them into contact with a neutral foreign State (p. 36-7).

It is an easy inference from all this that if the *Charleston* should overtake the *Itata* now, she would find her a public commissioned ship, and, if she attacked and destroyed her, would be violating our neutrality by taking part in the hostilities on the side of President Balmaceda. The title of the Chilian Congressionalists to belligerent rights is made doubly strong by the fact that they are or were the most important part of the regular Chilian Government. The pretence that the Congress recently elected in the part of the country held by Balmaceda's troops, and doubtless under his military supervision, takes the place of the ante-bellum Congress, is too absurd for discussion. There can be no election in Chili of a legitimate Congress until peace is restored.

But it is said, the *Itata* violated our neutrality laws, and therefore we have a right to pursue and capture her wherever found, as a fugitive from our justice. Our neutrality laws are domestic legislation, governing, like all other domestic legislation, all persons within our jurisdiction as long as they are within it. Persons who violate them, however, like other criminals, can only be captured within our jurisdiction. If the *Itata* were an American ship, she could be pursued and captured anywhere on the ocean, because we have jurisdiction of American ships on any part of the high seas. But we have no more right to capture foreigners on foreign ships on the high seas, unless they are pirates, slave-traders, or enemies, than we have to pursue forgers or murderers into Canada or Mexico. Since Mr. Blaine began his Bering Sea controversy, the notion has got into many heads that the United States can exercise police powers over the whole ocean under the United States statutes; but this notion, though pleasant and gratifying to the national pride, will not bear legal examination. If there be only one nation in the world which should stand, as it has always stood, for law, in these matters, we are that nation. On this particular point of the responsibility of neutrals (since the *Alabama* case) for the departure from their ports of vessels partially prepared for war, and receiving their armaments at sea, for which we contended before the Geneva tribunal, Hall says:

"The intent of acts, innocent separately, but rendered by this theory culpable when combined, can only by their nature be proved when the persons guilty of them are no longer within neutral jurisdiction. They cannot, therefore, be prevented by the State which is saddled with responsibility for them; and this responsibility must mean either that the neutral State will be held answerable in its own body for injury suffered by the belligerent, in which case it will make amends for acts over which it has had no control, or else that it is bound to exact reparation from the offending belligerent, at the inevitable risk of war.

"If this doctrine were a legal consequence of the accepted principles of international law, it might be a question whether it would not be wise to refuse operation to it on the ground of undue oppressiveness to the neutral. But no such difficulty arises; for, as responsibility is the correlative of power, if a nation is to be responsible for innocent acts which become noxious by combination in a place outside its boundaries, it must be enabled to follow their authors to the place where the character of the acts becomes evident, and to exercise the functions of sovereignty there. But even on the high seas it is not permissible for a non-belligerent State to assume control over persons other than pirates or persons on board its own ships; and within foreign territory it has no power of action whatever" (Hall's Int. Law, p. 610–11).

This means, among other things, that we cannot scour the ocean in quest of foreign offenders against our laws. Our remedy for the offence of the *Itata*, whatever it be, is at present to be sought from the Chilian Congressionalists by formal application. Whether she has committed an offence remains to be determined, for it is good law that American citizens may sell ships fit for war to foreign belligerents even, no matter where they take on their armaments. At all events, the fact and nature of her offence are to be settled by the courts, and not by the captain of the *Charleston* and by the Secretary of the Navy crying, "Sic 'im! Sic 'im!"

THE ALABAMA PRECEDENT.

THE New York *Times* produces, as an authority for the pursuit of the *Itata*, the judgment of the Geneva Tribunal in the *Alabama* case, which, as quoted by the *Times*, was as follows:

"And whereas, with respect to the vessel called the *Alabama*, it clearly results from all the facts . . . that the British Government failed to use due diligence in the performance of its neutral obligations, and especially that it omitted, notwithstanding the warnings and official representations made by the diplomatic agents of the United States during the construction of the said No. '290' [the *Alabama*], to take in due time any effective measures of prevention, and that those orders which it did give at last for the detention of the vessel were issued so late that their execution was not practicable;

"And whereas, *after the escape of that vessel, the measures taken for its pursuit and arrest were so imperfect as to lead to no result*, and therefore cannot be considered sufficient to relieve Great Britain from the responsibility already incurred; . . . .

"Four of the arbitrators, for the reasons above assigned, and the fifth for reasons separately assigned by him, are of opinion that Great Britain has in this case failed, by omission, to fulfil the duties prescribed in the first and third of the rules established by the sixth article of the Treaty of Washington. . . .

"The Tribunal, making use of the authority conferred upon it, . . . awards to the United States a sum of $15,500,000 in gold as an indemnity to be paid by Great Britain."

We could not have desired a better illustration than this of the soundness of our position as to what kind of pursuit is permissible on the high seas to national vessels.

To know what the "pursuit" was which the Tribunal condemned as "imperfect," we must go to the American pleadings to see on what grounds the American counsel sought redress against Great Britain. There is a volume lying before us now, entitled 'The National and Private *Alabama* Claims,' published in 1871 by Charles C. Beaman, a well-known member of the New York bar, containing an elaborate and careful statement of the American claims before arbitration was decided on. In this work, which we commend to the perusal of the editor of the *Times* as containing a very complete history of the neglect by Great Britain of her neutral duties, he will find at p. 226 the following summing up of what Great Britain ought to have done after the escape of the Confederate cruisers from her ports:

"(1.) She could have withdrawn the protection given to them by the Queen's proclamation.
"(2.) She could have seized them in any English port.
"(3.) She could have forbidden their entrance into any English port."

Nothing here about pursuit and capture on the high seas.

Now, let us turn to the American case as presented to the Geneva Tribunal by the American counsel, and see what that says as to the nature of the British shortcomings. The counsel of the United States, applying the "rules" agreed on by the Treaty of Washington to the conduct of the British Government regarding the Confederate cruisers built or equipped in British ports, say ('Papers relating to Treaty of Washington,' vol. iii., p. 186):

"(*a*.) The British Government did not use due diligence to prevent the fitting out, arming, or equipping, within its jurisdiction, of certain vessels which it had reasonable grounds to believe were intended to cruise or carry on war against the United States.
"(*b*.) The British Government did not use like diligence to prevent the departure from its jurisdiction of certain vessels to carry on war against the United States, such vessels having been specially adapted, in whole or in part, within such jurisdiction, to warlike use.
"(*c*.) The British Government did permit or suffer the belligerent rebels of the United States to make use of the ports or waters of Great Britain as the base of military operations against the United States, or for the purpose of renewal or augmentation of military supplies, or arms, or the recruitment of men for naval warfare.
"(*d*.) The British Government did not use due diligence in its own ports and waters, and as to all persons within its jurisdiction, to prevent any violation of the stipulated rules (article vi.).
"(*e*.) Finally, the British Government has failed to fulfil certain duties, recognized by the principles of international law, not inconsistent with the foregoing 'Rules.'"

There is not, in fact, either in the correspondence, or negotiations, or litigation arising out of the *Alabama* claims, the shadow of a suggestion, much less an assertion, that Great Britain was bound or had the right to pursue any of the escaped Confederate cruisers on the high seas.

What, then, did the Tribunal mean by saying "that, after the escape of that vessel [the *Alabama*], the measures taken for its pursuit and arrest were so imperfect as to lead to no result"? It meant that after the escape of the *Alabama* from Liverpool, July 29, she ran into Moelfre Bay and there, in *British waters*, remained unmolested, taking crew and equipment on board from Tuesday night, July 29, to the morning of August 1. It meant that no orders were sent to the collectors to seize her in any British ports till the evening of July 31st. It meant that she ran into the British port Port Royal, Jamaica, where she provisioned and coaled without hindrance, as well as into various other British ports, and finally, a year later—August, 1863—actually lay in British waters, Saldanha Bay, at the Cape of Good Hope, for several days, sallying out therefrom to make captures in full sight of the inhabitants and of a British man-of-war, and returning afterwards to her anchorage. In short, England was condemned for not capturing her when she came back within British jurisdiction. The pretension on which the cruise of the *Charleston* is based was never set up or heard of in the controversy.

A writer in the *Sun*, dating his letter from Washington, points out very sensibly that the *Alabama* furnished a much worse case of the violation of neutrality laws than the *Itata*, inasmuch as she was a British ship, built in England for warlike purposes, and intended to be used as a man-of-war by a foreign belligerent. She, therefore, put the neutral obligation to stop her, as against England, in the strongest shape it could assume. It could not have been made stronger except by her open and complete equipment as a man-of-war in the port of Liverpool. There is no proof that the *Itata* was intended to be used as a fighting ship in any way whatever. We see by the Washington correspondence of both the *Times* and *Tribune* that Secretary Tracy was in the State Department on Sunday studying the law of the "chase" on which he has sent the *Charleston*, and that he has become "strengthened in his conviction," the *Times* says, that he has the legal right to "seize the *Itata* anywhere on the high seas." It seems a great pity that the Secretary of the Navy, as well as Mr. Blaine, could not study the law of their various enterprises before plunging into them. The time to examine neutral rights and duties thoroughly, and on Sunday if necessary, is before and not after having sent cruisers to sea with orders to commit acts of hostility. It is the more necessary to say this because Secretary Tracy has already contributed some striking novelties to international law—notably the rule that a naval commander is not only bound to protect fugitive foreign criminals, on board American ships, from the local police in ports of their own country, but to cruise outside, when he hears they are coming, and escort them to "the haven where they would be"; and that an officer who does not do this is not fit to command an armed ship. We are sure this was evolved from his inner consciousness, and was not the result of an examination of the books.

We observe that he has told the *Tribune's* Washington correspondent that "the confusion" in the minds of his critics seems to arise "in failing to distinguish between the right to pursue and seize an offending ship and the obligation to pursue." We do not know where this distinction exists except in his own head. The right fixes the measure of the obligation. Whatever we can do in reason we are bound to do. The British Government was not expected to put a battalion of infantry on board the *Alabama* to prevent her escape, and, if it had been bound to pursue her, would not have been bound to send a fleet after her, or anything more than a ship likely to catch her and overpower her if she resisted. It was bound to do whatever was *sufficient* to prevent her sailing, and whatever was necessary to insure her capture if she returned to British waters, but no more. It may be of some use to recapitulate, both for the Secretary and for the various journalistic pundits who are now hunting up precedents for him, that the *Alabama* case, as regards us, swallowed up all other cases; that neutral rights and duties underwent a more thorough examination before the Geneva Tribunal than they have ever before received; that the Tribunal itself was an illustrious one, and the litigants two great nations, and that the American claims were presented by the pick of our bar, and in their very strongest form; that the right or obligation of Great Britain to pursue and capture on the high seas belligerent vessels guilty of violating her neutrality laws, was not asserted by us; that the finding of the Tribunal, as it stands, took no notice of such right or obligation, and is even now considered unduly severe on neutrals. It would have been intolerable if it had included Secretary Tracy's notion, because every court and moralist would have held that power to put a stop to a wrong always carries with it the duty of exercising the power.

THE FRENCH BIRTH-RATE.

A RECENT number of *La Réforme Sociale* contains a paper on the growth of the French population read before the Société d'Économie Sociale by Prof. Charles Richet, and dealing with what many French publicists consider an alarming national symptom that is to say, the slow growth of the population in France as compared with other countries, notably with England and Germany, and the rapidly decreasing birth-rate. Prof. Richet shows in one table that while France has gained during the last sixty years only six millions of population, England has, during the same period, gained fifteen millions, and Germany twenty-three millions; in another table he shows that the number of births for each 10,000 of population has fallen in France from 261 in 1873 to 237 in 1887, while in England the decline during the same period has been from 378 to 316, and in Germany from 410 to 386. He views these facts with alarm, and suggests some remedies in the way of legislation.

It is not without interest to follow his reasoning in order to see on what slender grounds a man of science can persuade himself to hold opinions on an important sub-

ject. He admits that for a laboring man—that is to say, for the mass of the population—a large family is not desirable; that, both morally and materially, a small number of children will be better nurtured and brought up in a poor household than will a greater number; but he adds that while it may be better for each individual family to be small, it is necessary for the welfare of the country at large that there should be large families. In other words, by adding together the misery of several millions of households, he thinks it possible to build up the happiness of the commonwealth. No less interesting are his reasons for asserting that national happiness is dependent on a large population. A country which has a small population will, he says, ultimately be swallowed up by its more populous neighbors; it will lose its independence; and, what he finds most deplorable of all, its language will not be diffused over the world. It is not that he fears that French will disappear, or will cease to be spoken by the French; one might find it possible to sympathize with such a grievance, even though feeling it to be somewhat sentimental. But when he says, "If we remain stationary, foreigners will no longer be forced to learn French, and French will only be spoken by the French; and that will be only a small matter considering how few Frenchmen will exist in 100 or 200 years," one can only exclaim, "Tant de bruit pour une omelette!" In order that, one or two hundred years from now, Englishmen and Germans shall feel obliged to study French conjugations and declensions, the French workingman of to-day is to give up his ease and raise a large family! Surely this is Chauvinism run mad.

No less antiquated and pre-Malthusian than Prof. Richet's point of view are the remedies he proposes in the way of favoring, by legislation, the fathers of large families, and in the way of burdens to be laid on those who contumaciously even refrain from marrying. All of these remedies and many more have been tried in ancient and modern times, and much more drastically than the spirit of our time would tolerate. The Romans had their bachelors' tax (*æs uxorium*) and their "lex Julia et Papia Poppæa," which brought pressure to bear by limiting the right of inheritance of the unmarried and the childless. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries there was well-nigh universal legislation of this kind, the most thoroughgoing specimens being a Spanish edict of 1623 and one of Louis XIV. in 1666, which not only granted exemption from taxation, but positive subsidies in cash, as an inducement to early marriages. Those were the golden days of McKinleyism, which our degenerate age can never hope to equal. While there is good reason, on general grounds, to doubt the efficacy of legislation in modifying aggregate human conduct permanently and on a large scale, there are special physiological reasons operating in the case in hand which are likely to make all such interference particularly futile. Some nations seem to be naturally and organically more prolific than others. Frenchmen who are dismayed at the superior fecundity of the Germans may derive some comfort from the reflection that, 1,100 years ago, the author of the Lombard History said that Germania had better be called "Germinania." A diminished birth-rate is sometimes the cause and sometimes the effect of a high degree of national well-being. In his recent Utopian romance of 'Freiland,' Theodore Hertzka remarks that well-fed animals are as a rule not prolific; that, as regards the human race, the poor have more children than the rich; that even the ancient Romans had observed this fact, as witness the etymology of the word "proletarian"; that in Europe, Russia, economically considered, the poorest country, has the highest birth-rate, while France, which has the lowest, is the country in which for a century there has been the most equal division of wealth. The greater birth-rate of England he attributes to the unequal distribution of its wealth. Of similar import is a still more recent outgiving of Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, to the effect that the birth-rate is declining all over the world, and most so where democracy is on the increase and the individual has emancipated himself from the old beliefs and ideas, and has become imbued with the equality of conditions—that is to say, has come to regard the acquirement of wealth and distinction as the principal object of life.

If thirty-nine millions of Frenchmen can manage to lead a comfortable and equable existence, why should it worry them that Germany has fifty-two millions? If emigration offers any indication of welfare, the French are far better off than the Germans, for while a million and a quarter have left Germany during the past ten years, less than a hundred thousand have gone out of France. Heine's saying that when a German is oppressed beyond endurance by his Government he emigrates, while a Frenchman in a like case makes the Government emigrate, is perhaps no longer applicable, the conditions having changed somewhat in the last seventy-five years. In view of the present prevalence of Socialistic cant and of the remarkable recrudescence of paternal theories of government, it may seem old-fashioned to say so, but we are very much of the opinion that the most likely way for any nation to be happy is for all the individuals in it to be happy; and that the most likely way for an individual to be happy is to have his own way in life, as far as is compatible with the right of every other man to have his way. This rule is as applicable to the matter of marrying and raising children as to any other concern of life, and every ordinarily intelligent man will be better able to judge of what it behooves him to do in that regard than any college professor or member of a legislature or newspaper editor can do for him. Neither need any citizen feel bound to postpone his own present happiness to any consideration of what may become of his country a hundred or two hundred years hence. He can neither foresee nor avert the future; and if he could, it would be futile to do so. As long as a nation is fit to exist it will continue to exist; if it is not fit, the sooner it makes room for one that is, the better. If the French or any other people are doomed to extinction, it must be for deep-seated organic reasons, which no legislation or rhetoric can reach.

AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.

BOSTON, May 16, 1891.

THE American Oriental Society held its spring meeting in Boston and Cambridge during the past two days. This is the last of the half-yearly meetings which have been held since the year 1848, the Society having decided to hold one meeting a year of longer duration during the Easter week. The General Court of Massachusetts has just passed a bill authorizing the Society "to hold its meetings in any State or Territory of the United States and in the District of Columbia; provided, however, that the said Society shall meet within this Commonwealth at least once in three years." The Society is thus enabled to accommodate itself to the rapid growth of the study of Oriental languages in all our great universities, and to meet in rotation at the different centres of Oriental learning. It was also resolved to abolish the classical section of the Society, the American Philological Association doing all the work in this line of research.

The following officers were elected for the ensuing year: President, Rev. Dr. William Hayes Ward of the *Independent;* Vice-Presidents, President Daniel C. Gilman of Johns Hopkins University, Prof. J. Henry Thayer of Harvard University, Prof. Isaac H. Hall, Metropolitan Museum of Art; Recording Secretary, Prof. David G. Lyon, Harvard University; Corresponding Secretary, Prof. Charles R. Lanman, Harvard University; Directors, Prof. Paul Haupt, Johns Hopkins University; Prof. R. J. H. Gottheil, Columbia College; Prof. M. Bloomfield, Johns Hopkins University; Prof. John Phelps Taylor, Andover Theological Seminary; Prof. Edward W. Hopkins, Bryn Mawr College; Prof. A. L. Frothingham, Princeton College; and Mr. Talcott Williams of the Philadelphia *Press.*

Prof. David G. Lyon, the Curator, escorted the members through the new Semitic Museum of Harvard University, which has lately been established through the generosity of Mr. Jacob H. Schiff of New York. The Museum consists chiefly of casts of the principal Assyrian and Babylonian monuments in the British Museum and the Louvre. There are, however, quite a number of originals—Babylonian contract tablets and seals, Arabic, Hebrew, and Syriac manuscripts, and some Arabic coins. The announcement was made, through Provost Pepper, that the important collection of Babylonian and Assyrian antiquities in the museum of the University of Pennsylvania would be open for the use of scholars from July 1, 1891.

Nearly forty papers were presented, and it was very gratifying to note that a number of them came from the younger members of the Society, as it evidences the growing interest shown in these lines of study. Six papers were presented by men from the graduate department of Yale University, four of them being students of Dr. Robert F. Harper. Mr. Lester Bradner (Yale) discussed the "Order of the Sentence in the Assyrian Historical Inscriptions," Mr. Carl J. Elofson (Yale) "The Position of the Adjective in Assyrian," and Mr. Charles F. Kent "Annection in Assyrian." Mr. James H. Breasted (Yale), in a paper on the "Order of Words in the Hebrew Portions

of Daniel," showed by the decay of syntax the probable late date of the Book of Daniel. By the comparison of the syntax in this book with that in three others, he arranges their position in time as follows: Ezekiel, Malachi, Ecclesiastes, and Daniel—a conclusion which is verified by other considerations. Prof. Nestle of Tübingen sent a note on verse 31 of Psalm 68. Dr. Robert F. Harper (Yale) discussed "Some Syntactical Points in the Esar-haddon Inscriptions," and Prof. William R. Harper (Yale), "Some of the Imperfects in the Deutero-Isaiah." Mr. George N. Newman (Yale), in a paper on "Contraction in Arabic," laid down the rule that "all change occasioned by the presence of weak letters is brought about directly by the vowels; and the nature of the resulting change is subject directly to the nature of the vowels present."

Mr. James R. Jewett (Brown) presented a collection of "Arabic Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases," collected, translated, and annotated. Mr. George A. Reissner (Harvard), in a paper entitled "Comparison of Assyrian, Hebrew, and Phœnician Proper Names," showed how the same general forms are found in the proper names of these languages, and upon what general principles these names are built up. Prof.-elect George A. Barton (Bryn Mawr) discussed Esar-haddon's account of the restoration of Ishtar's Temple at Erech. President Charles W. Benton presented the Arabic text and translation of the preface of the 'Book of the Meeting of the Two Seas,' by Nasif el Yaziji.

Prof. Isaac H. Hall (Metropolitan Museum) gave a "Tentative Bibliography of the Syriac Publications in the Neighborhood of Oroomiah." Prof. Hall also presented photographs of a bronze statuette recently acquired by the Metropolitan Museum of Art. It was found at Pietralgina, in Benevento, Italy. It represents Hercules after a Greco-Phœnician concept. He is in the attitude of attack, and has on the lion's skin and carries the bow. It has been proved to be not five years away from the year 330 B. C. by means of coins belonging to the Phœnician dynasty of Citium, and by Phœnician inscriptions in the Metropolitan and British Museums. Prof. R. J. H. Gottheil (Columbia) read a paper on "An Unknown Syriac Grammarian," and a note on the Alhambra vase in the possession of Mr. Charles A. Dana, which turns out to have been made within the last twenty-five years and not to be a product of remote antiquity.

Dr. Herbert C. Tolman (Yale) discussed the "Syntax of the Old Persian Inscriptions"; Prof. A. V. W. Jackson (Columbia) spoke on the native place of Zoroaster. His origin is disputed, one tradition placing it in Media, the other in Bactria. The 'Bundahish' says that on the river Darya was the home of Zaradusht. Two passages in the 'Avesta' embody the same tradition. We have, probably, to think of the river Darya in Atropatene. He was probably cast out of his own country, so that his activity was in the East; hence the double tradition. Prof. W. D. Whitney sent a paper "On the Perfect and Imperfect in the Brahmanas." The two tenses seem to be mainly equivalent in signification. They are freely mingled, though the general preference for the imperfect is greatly marked. The increased use of the perfect is, at times, a sign of a later date. Prof. Edward W. Hopkins (Bryn Mawr) spoke of the "Development of the Vedic Yama from an Earthly King of the Blessed to a Lord of Hell." This process was the result of the Indra cult. Indra became the chief god, and Yama was put down; then, all that was left for him was to be lord over the bad.

Mr. Lysander Dickerman spoke of the tablet discovered by Mr. Wilbur near Phylæ which alludes to the seven years of famine in Egypt. It seems to belong to the Ptolemaic era, and the material to be taken from the Septuagint. Dr. Samuel A. Binion described the Abbott collection of Egyptian antiquities now in the New York Historical Society's rooms, and Dr. F. Wendel the Egyptian antiquities in the Peabody Museum at Cambridge. Professor Charles R. Lanman (Harvard) called attention to "Jars with Distinctive Marks of Sex." Such jars are mentioned in the Hindu burial service. Schliemann has found them during his excavations, and they have turned up in China, Japan, and Ecuador. Some of the South American specimens were shown and explained by Professor Putnam, the Curator of the Peabody Museum.

The Society adjourned to meet at Easter, 1892. R. J. H. G.

TABLE-MOUNTAIN ARCHÆOLOGY.

OBERLIN, May 9, 1891.

BY an interesting coincidence, at the meeting of the Geological Society of America, at Washington, last winter, Mr. George F. Becker, the United States Geologist in charge of the survey of the gold-bearing gravels of the Pacific Coast, and myself were both prepared to present new and most important evidence sustaining the conclusions of Prof. J. D. Whitney concerning the genuineness of the reported relics of man from under the lava of Table Mountain, near Sonora, California. The report of Mr. Becker, in a bulletin of the Geological Society, has recently been published accompanied with photogravures of the objects to which it relates. And, as I write, there has just been placed on the table before me the stone mortar itself to which my report related, but which I had not seen until its arrival today from California. The efforts to throw doubt upon Prof. Whitney's reported discoveries have been so persistent and widespread that it is important to get the additional evidence before the world as clearly and promptly as possible. To do this effectually it will be necessary to go into some minor details respecting it.

The Calaveras skull was found under the lava of a spur of Table Mountain, near Angel's, in Calaveras County, California, some ten or twelve miles from Sonora, in Tuolomne County. But, in the vicinity of Sonora, Whitney reported the discovery, under the same lava deposit, of the fragment of another skull and some stone mortars such as had been used by man for grinding coarse food. The best authenticated of these have since been destroyed by fire. The objections urged against the genuineness of these relics were based largely upon *a-priori* considerations. First, it was said that both the skull and the utensils indicated a more advanced stage of progress than the race could have attained at that remote period. The skull was by no means indicative of a near approach to the supposed apelike condition of early man. The mortars were all smooth, and so had a superficial resemblance to the neolithic implements described by European archæologists, and by them assigned to a much more recent age than is accorded to the remains of man that are found in the ancient river drift of the glacial period. Secondly, as Prof. Whitney did not make any of these discoveries in person, it was alleged that the evidence was insufficient, and much was said and is still said concerning the tendency of miners to play practical jokes upon scientific men by palming off upon them relics that are not genuine.

The evidence which came before Mr. Becker and myself last summer is of special cumulative weight in sustaining Professor Whitney's conclusions, and in disproving these sweeping statements respecting the mendacity of the miners. The principal object which Mr. Becker presented to the Geological Society consisted of a mortar, about ten inches in diameter, composed of andesite, a species of eruptive rock abundant in the region. The mortar in my possession is six inches and a half in diameter, with a bowl of about half of that width and depth. This also is composed of a fine-grained eruptive rock, but its exact character I have not yet determined. The most significant thing about it, however, is that its smooth outside surface was probably produced by natural and not by artificial means. In short, it is a pebble from the ancient stream worn into an irregular spheroid shape by a natural process. Evidently the maker found it in its present shape, with the exception of the hollow of the bowl. That he has produced, and of course it is smooth. We question very much, therefore, whether any argument can be derived from these mortars concerning the stage of advancement of the people using them. There is no basis for calling them "neolithic."

But whatever inferences may finally be drawn from the character of these utensils, their very existence under Table Mountain is a matter of the highest archæological interest, and with as little repetition of what has been given elsewhere as is possible, we will state the additional evidence confirming their genuineness. It is not necessary to go over again the evidence presented so fully by Prof. Whitney in his 'Auriferous Gravels.' It is sufficient to say concerning this that it is so circumstantial and direct that, if false, it is explainable only on the theory of wholesale and gratuitous mendacity where no object, not even notoriety, was expected to be gained. The same can be said with special emphasis of the new evidence. Mr. Neale, the mining engineer who last August took his affidavit as to the mortar and other utensils now in the hands of Mr. Becker, made the discoveries in 1877; but, as they were not objects of special interest to him, he gave them to Dr. Bromley, a physician of extensive practice in Sonora, and it was from the latter that Mr. Becker received his first information concerning their existence and history. Mr. Neale is still a resident of Sonora, and is a man of property and high reputation. His affidavit, made at the request of Mr. Becker, is that the mortar in question was found by him in person where there was not the slightest trace of any disturbance of the gravel, or of any natural fissure in it by which access could have been obtained, and that it was between two and three hundred feet beyond the perpendicular edge of the lava cap.

Mr. Becker well remarks that while it would have been more satisfactory to himself individually if he had dug these objects out with his own hands, he cannot discover any reason why Mr. Neale's statement is not exactly as good evidence to the rest of the world as his own would have been.

"He was as competent as I," says Mr. Becker, "to detect any fissure from the surface or any ancient workings, which the miner recognizes instantly and dreads profoundly. . . . So far as the detection of a fraud is concerned, a good miner regularly employed in superintending the workings would be much more competent than the average geological visitor. The superintendent sees day by day every foot of ground exposed, and it is his

business to become thoroughly acquainted with its character, while he is familiar with every device for 'salting' a claim. The geological visitor finds a mine timbered and smoked. He cannot fully acquaint himself with the ground, and he is usually unfamiliar with tricks. It is therefore an argument in favor of the authenticity of implements that they have been found by miners."

The evidence in the case of the mortar which has just come into my own possession is equally direct, and even more circumstantial, especially in its bearing upon the absence of any motive to deceive. Mr. C. McTarnahan made the discovery in the Empire Tunnel, owned in part by his father, which penetrated the gravel under Table Mountain 200 feet in from its west side, about a mile and a half from Sonora, and three or four miles from the locality of Mr. Neale's discovery. Mr. McTarnahan is the assistant surveyor for Tuolumne County, and so is familiar with all the shafts and tunnels under the mountain, and is able to locate exactly the position in which this mortar was found. It was found by him in person and taken out with his own hands. As he was not in search of relics, but of gold, he paid little attention to it further than to bring it to the mouth of the tuunel and lay it aside in a place of safety. Here it remained for two years, until Mrs. M. J. Darwin of Santa Rosa, the lady who has now so generously placed it in my possession, chanced to spend a few days in the family of Mr. McTarnahan's father, when it was given to her by a member of the family without any account of its remarkable history. It is doubtful if its history ever would have been known except by some such chance interview with the discoverer of it as mine was last autumn.

The disposition made of these utensils by the mining engineers discovering them shows how unconscious the miners generally are of the significance of such objects, and effectually rules out the theory of fraud. Some additional circumstances related to me by Mr. Scribner, one of the principal witnesses respecting the Calaveras skull, also bear with equal weight against the theory that there was in that case a "put-up job" either upon Prof. Whitney or upon any one associated with him. In relating the story to me Mr. Scribner, who is still a prominent business man at Angel's, gave some additional facts, whose bearing will be readily seen. As stated by Prof. Whitney, Mr. Mattison, the discoverer of the Calaveras skull, gave it to Mr. Scribner, who was then the express agent of the place, and Mr. Scribner gave it to Dr. Jones, an intimate friend practising medicine at Murphy's, a few miles away. The new point of evidence is that, as Mr. Scribner did not give a detailed account of the discovery to Dr. Jones, the latter laid the skull aside, and gave little further thought to the subject until several months afterwards, when Mr. Mattison came to him for professional services, and it was then from Mr. Mattison, and not from Mr. Scribner, that he obtained the facts which have made the discovery so important in the eyes of the world.

It would of course be unfair to ascribe greater importance to this more recent evidence than is to be granted to the earlier evidence presented by Prof. Whitney. But where, as in cases of this sort, evidence is cumulative, the later additions, though in themselves less important, may have the greatest convincing power. A leading objection to accepting Whitney's conclusions has been that similar discoveries had not been made in later years, but this can no longer be said. When we consider the extent to which mining operations under Table Mountain have ceased, the discoveries since 1870 have been all that could be expected, and the present indications are that Prof. Whitney's statement of facts will hereafter be accepted without question, and that the Calaveras skull will no longer suffer neglect from archæologists on account either of theological prejudice or of the gibes of the humorous poet of the Sierra.

G. Frederick Wright.

THE ROYAL ACADEMY.

London, May 1, 1891.

The most notable change in the London art world this year is the closing of the Grosvenor Gallery. A couple of years ago this would have been an event of small importance. The work which had given character to its shows in early days, already had been carried off by Messrs. Hallé and Carr to their New Gallery in Regent Street, and nothing strikingly good or eccentric had been found to take its place. But last year, by throwing the doors of the Grosvenor open to the younger cleverer artists, especially those of Glasgow, Sir Coutts Lindsay succeeded in holding the most interesting and promising exhibition of the season. It seemed as if, at last, the men who break away from academical traditions and see and say things for themselves, were to have a fair chance to appeal to the public. But Sir Coutts apparently thought his Club more profitable than his Gallery, and the painters who had found a temporary refuge in the latter are again at large. Neither the New Gallery, faithful to the primitive Neo-Gothic school, nor the Royal Academy, true to its conventional standard, has shown the least inclination to encourage them or hang their pictures. The result is that this year there is but little relief to the mediocrity and affectation which prevail in the large London galleries.

The Royal Academy is neither better nor worse than usual. Its most deplorable feature is really the utter commonplaceness of its work, both good and bad. From the dull incompetencies of such Academicians as Faed and Sant, Hodgson and Horsley, who of course are on the line, one would turn with pleasure to still more glaring failures if only in them there was the faintest suggestion of individuality. The excellence of men who have learned their trade but do not know what to do with their knowledge is scarcely less depressing. One wanders from gallery to gallery without coming to anything which attracts the eye or holds the attention. Among two thousand exhibits there are necessarily many fairly good things, but their merits, except in a few cases, do not assert themselves. The curious lack of vitality and distinction in modern English art, as exemplified in the Royal Academy, is its most discouraging characteristic. It is no exaggeration to say that the one picture which stands out from the rest, startling in its vigor and animation and cleverness, is Mr. Sargent's "La Carmencita." To turn to it from the lifeless canvases which surround it, is like reading a song by Swinburne after a course of average magazine verse, a page by Pater after columns of *New Journalese*. The portrait overflows with actuality. Even those who may not like it must admit that the brilliant yellow satin gown holds inside it a living human body, and is not a mere stuffed bag like the suit of clothes Prof. Herkomer calls Sir Sydney Waterlow immediately opposite. The work has its faults. The arms are somewhat wooden; that Mr. Sargent can paint much better hands he proves in a delightful portrait of a lady in a red-shot silk dress, hanging in one of the near rooms. But its faults might be still greater, and it would yet hold its own, not only in the Royal Academy, but in any gallery of the world, as the painting of an artist of style and distinction.

The Academicians can hardly be said to have distinguished themselves this year. One knows well enough beforehand exactly what to expect from each of the small minority whose names have been heard of outside Burlington House—large classical subjects from the President, marbles and draperies from Mr. Alma-Tadema, golden-lined drawing-rooms from Mr. Orchardson, Christmas-Annual supplements from Sir John Millais; and so one might go on through the short list. Nor is there any reason why each painter should not have his own little game to play, his own special field to work. Who objects because Titian never tired of filling his canvas with lovely color, because Velasquez repeated again and again his portrait of Philip, because Corot always saw the same beautiful tree in nature? But too often the game of the Academician seems to have been long since played out and to have degenerated into a mere mechanical trick. He seems to be true to certain accepted conventions simply because time has shown him that they go down with the public and sell. The inevitable ballet-girl of Degas may never lose her vitality, but the Greek and Roman ladies of Sir Frederick Leighton and Mr. Alma-Tadema are at times nothing more than academical pot-boilers.

It is the last, however, who makes the best showing in the present exhibition. He has not, during the last few years, exhibited a stronger, sounder piece of painting than his "Earthly Paradise: 'All the heaven of heavens in one little child'"—the picture of a Roman mother leaning over her baby who lies, naked and kicking, on a couch in a Roman interior. The light is more subdued than is usual with Mr. Tadema, and the marbles much less aggressive; they belong naturally to the composition, and are not introduced on purpose to show the cleverness of the painter's technique. The color is rich, the woman wearing draperies of deep violet-blue, with which the cushions on the couch and all the accessories harmonize. But the triumph of the picture is the painting of the child; the rendering of the delicate pink and white flesh tints is delicious, and the modelling firm and refined. It is a pity Mr. Tadema was not content with this one contribution, for contrasting most unfavorably with it is his portrait of Mr. Balfour, as hard as cast iron and about as interesting. Already I have heard it suggested that if its reproduction in black and white, entitled "The Conqueror of Ireland," could be distributed among the Tories, the cause of Home Rule would be gained. Indeed, all that can be said for it is that it may be a trifle better than a portrait of Mr. Freeman-Mitford by the President.

Sir Frederick Leighton, not only in this, but in his two other examples, is far from being at his best. A sense of humor would have kept him from painting his Andromeda with a huge tin dragon sitting on her shoulders as if to shield her from the arrows of Perseus. There may have been a difficult problem to work out in the foreshortening of the figure, but the result is hardly satisfactory, while the composition as a whole has none of the beauty of color or the dignity of treatment which alone can give interest to the modern versions of classical mythology. His "Return of Persephone" is somewhat happier in conception and execution, but it is rather too scattered

in composition and wanting in interest. Mr. Waterhouse is another Academician who turns to Lempriere for subjects which he usually treats with a certain amount of skill and dexterity. This year his choice has fallen upon Ulysses bound to the mast passing through Sicilian waters, while the Sirens, with the bodies of birds and the faces of women, hover about his vessel. It is solidly painted, and the color is good, but as a whole it is sadly unconvincing; one feels that the hospitals and dissecting-rooms of the Salon, brutal as they may be, are far better themes for the painter of to-day.

Good work can always be looked for from Mr. Henry Moore, and his wide stretch of sea, golden in the light of sunset, under a wonderfully luminous sky, must be counted among the few distinguished contributions to the show. It is a pleasure to find that the new Associate, Mr. David Murray, has not followed the example of too many of his predecessors, and made academical honors an excuse for bad work. He is represented, on this his first official appearance, by two excellent landscapes, full of atmosphere and with a fine large feeling of distance. Mr. Orchardson's drawing-room is now called "An Enigma," and, charming and decorative as it is, there is really nothing to be said about it that has not been said many times before; it is but a slight variation of his usual color scheme and the story it is supposed to tell. The same is true of his portraits; there are three at the Academy, and they are not without character, but it is impossible to believe that all his sitters live habitually in the same yellow light and wear the same golden-hued garments.

The other Academicians hardly call for comment. Sir John Millais, except in his landscape work, it is kinder to pass by, as posterity will, in silence. Mr. Herkomer, Mr. Luke Fildes, and Mr. Dicksee have plunged deep into sentiment, but with indifferent artistic success, though their pictures will probably be the most talked about of the season. Even when people are "On Strike," Mr. Herkomer should remember that they still call for at least some little drawing and modelling; Mr. Fildes, rather late in the day, tries and fails to show his "Doctor" in a room illumined by lamp and daylight; while Mr. Dicksee, in his "Crisis," is left far behind in the artistic race by the realistic painters of death-bed scenes that hang annually in the Salon.

It is an outsider who has contributed the only academical picture of note. Mr. Solomon J. Solomon is one of the very few Englishmen who year after year send the large compositions and studies of the nude that are so rare in Burlington House, so common in the Palais de l'Industrie. This time the "Judgment of Paris" has given him his theme, and a very charming result he has obtained. He has placed his three goddesses in a flower-strewn meadow, under the branches of a blossoming apple-tree, on a bright sunny spring day. Juno and Minerva, in soft clinging draperies, sit on either side; Venus stands in the middle, one hand still holding an end of the green robes which have just fallen to her feet. Never has Mr. Solomon shown himself at once so strong and so refined in his treatment of the nude. The drawing in his Venus is scholarly, her pose graceful, and her relations to her surroundings well suggested; she is really in the open air, and not simply a model posing in the studio. The color, too, has great charm; and the sunlight, the masses of pale pink blossoms, the flowers in the fresh turf, are all in accord with the subject of the picture. After Mr. Sargent, Mr. Solomon towers head and shoulders above the other exhibitors.

One of the chief disappointments of the Academy is the failure of the Newlyn School to fulfil the promise given by their early work. The men and women of this school, while they always retained enough of the British love of telling a story in paint to secure the approval of the Hanging Committee, usually told it with a technical excellence that insured the interest and respect of artists. But of late they have taken to producing nothing more nor less than painted photographs, and to using a palette on which black is the one predominating color. This year one is too painfully conscious of the camera in Mr. Stanhope Forbes's "Salvation Army," Mr. Bramley's "For of Such is the Kingdom of Heaven," Mr. Bourdillon's "From the Spanish Main," Mr. Chevallier Taylor's "Departure of the Fishing Boats," to mention a few of the most conspicuous examples. Careful and honest as the work is, it is singularly wanting in life and animation and those very qualities for which photography has made us turn more than ever to art. Mr. Edward Simmons, a young American who lives in Cornwall, and Mrs. Forbes, have not as yet fallen wholly into the photographic trap, while Mr. Adrian Stokes gives us Nature herself in his "Through Morning Mist," though, it is to be regretted, it is Nature in one of her least interesting moods.

No foreigners of note, except Americans, are represented. Israels did send a picture, but a hole was punched through it—no one seems to know how—before press day, and it was removed. A little portrait by Jan Van Beers is clever but not important. Among the Americans, Mr. Frank D. Millet is to the fore with "The Widow," another of his eighteenth-century interiors, full of delightfully rendered detail, treated with his usual refinement; but is there not a danger that in the end everything will be sacrificed by Mr. Millet to this detail? We have seen the same table, the same silver and glass again and again; they are always pleasant to look at, but they seem gradually to be absorbing all other interests in his canvases. Fortunately, Mr. George Hitchcock's "Maternité" already has been exhibited in London in the Goupil Gallery; it has been shamefully skied by the Hanging Committee—a piece of injustice that is all the more unpardonable when one sees below it on the line a comparatively commonplace landscape by Sir John Millais. Mr. Walter Shirlaw and Mr. Walter Gay both have contributed canvases—the latter an interior, the former two landscapes—which, though small in size, rank among the most striking examples of technical merit. And Mr. McLure Hamilton has a clever portrait of Mr. Gladstone, painted evidently from one of the pastel studies he showed in last year's Grosvenor Gallery. To refer to Mr. Stott's "Bathing-Place," first seen in Paris, if I am not mistaken; a Moorish court by Mr. Arthur Melville, a Glasgow man; an Annunciation by Mrs. Marianne Stokes, is to complete the list of paintings that call for even a passing notice here.

The water-color room is sadly dreary; there is not a clever or striking drawing to relieve its dead level of commonplaceness. Nor are matters much better in the architectural room; the architectural draughtsman in England evidently thinks that the more uninteresting his work is to the public, the greater must be its excellence. There is one exception, Mr. Charles E. Mallows, who has modelled his style on that of the better-known American illustrators, and made his drawings not only of more interest to the layman, but of more value to the architect. In the black-and-white collection there are a few good etchings by Mr. Charles J. Watson, who has never produced a more delightful plate than his "St. Jacques Lisieux," with its delicate drawing of architecture and fine feeling for line, Mr. Frank Short, and Mr. William Hole. The latter, however, might be better represented than by his plate after Constable's "Jumping Horse," a painting not in the least adapted to reproduction by etching. Fine, too, is the monotype of a Shepherd by Prof. Herkomer, vigorous in drawing, except in the hands, and with wonderful quality and richness in the blacks. It is worth far more artistically than all his large pictures put together.

The general average of the sculpture always seems higher than that of the painting. It is a branch of art with but small attraction for the amateur or the mere dabbler; it presents too many difficulties to be adopted as a pastime. The consequence is that the work contributed by sculptors always has a greater air of sincerity and genuineness. In many of the small busts and statuettes there is an effort to suggest character which one welcomes, though it may not be strikingly successful. The works of decided importance, however, are few in number. Mr. Alfred Gilbert's chief contribution is a graceful little winged Victory in silver, standing on tiptoe, the palm in one hand, the trumpet in the other, refined in modelling, vigorous in expression. He has also a marble bust of a young girl, very simple in treatment, but full of character in the strongly marked features. A decorative panel in high relief, by Mr. Hamo Thornycroft, may look well as the frieze for the exterior of the Institute of Chartered Accountants in the city of London, but, on the wall where it now hangs, the figures of the four women representing Science seem coarse and heavy. More pleasing is a charming little silvered bust of a child by Mr. Onslow Ford, very Donatello-like in feeling; and far more graceful is "Caprice," probably the most refined study of the nude in the gallery, by Mr. George Frampton, a young sculptor of no little promise. But it would be tedious here to give a catalogue of names and statues. I must, however, at least mention Mr. Harry Bates's bronze group of "Hounds in Leash," admirable in its expression of action and movement, and Mr. Henry A. Pegram's "Sibylla Fatidica," which is not without dramatic power.

The Royal Academy, year by year, shows more and more strongly the folly and absurdity of forty men monopolizing for all their lives what is known as art in England. Of the forty the names of less than a dozen have ever been heard by Americans, while probably not more than twenty are known even to their fellow-artists. How they got into the Academy, and what they do there, must always remain a mystery.

N. N.

Correspondence.

CHOICE OF PRESIDENTIAL ELECTORS BY DISTRICT.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: As there has been some discussion in regard to the district system since the Legislature of Michigan passed the bill providing for such a system in the choice of Presidential electors, it may be of interest to review the history of the choosing of electors.

It is true that the general-ticket system has been used in all the States, with but three exceptions, since 1832. South Carolina chose her

electors by Legislature down to 1868, when she adopted the general ticket; in Florida, 1868, and in Colorado, 1876, the electors were chosen by their Legislatures. At the first Presidential election, 1788, Massachusetts and Virginia chose electors by district, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and New Hampshire on a general ticket, Delaware, New Jersey, Georgia, Connecticut, and South Carolina by the Legislature. New York failed to choose electors, and North Carolina and Rhode Island had not yet ratified the Constitution. Following is a summary of the manner of choosing Presidential electors. It is compiled from *Niles' Register*, Stanwood on 'Presidential Elections,' O'Neil on 'The American Electoral System,' and from various contemporaneous papers. The order of the States is in accordance with their admission into the Union:

	Legislature.	District.	Gen'l ticket.
Delaware..	1788–1828	....	1832–1888
Pennsylv'a.	1800	1816	1788–1796 1804–1812 1824–1888
N. Jersey...	1788–1804 1812	....	1808 1816–1888
Georgia....	1788–1800 1816–1824	....	1804 1828–1888
Connecticut	1788–1820	....	1824–1888
Massachu'ts	1800, 1808 1816	1788–1796 1812, '20-24	1804 1828–1888
Maryland..	....	1796–1832	1788–1792 1836–1888
S. Carolina.	1788–1864	....	1868–1888
N. Hamp...	1800	....	1788–1796 1804–1888
Virginia....	....	1788–1796 1812–1816	1800–1804 1824–1888
New York..	1792–1824	1828	1832–1888
N. Carolina.	1812	1792–1808	1816–1888
Rhode Isl'd.	1792–1796	....	1800–1888
Vermont...	1792–1800 1816	1804	1824–1888
Kentucky..	1792–1796	1804–1824	1828–1888
Tennessee..	1796–1804	1824–1828	1832–1888
Ohio.....	....	....	1804–1888
Louisiana..	1824	....	1828–1888
Indiana....	....	....	1824–1888
Mississippi..	....	....	1824–1888
Illinois.....	....	1824	1828–1888
Alabama...	....	....	1824–1888
Maine.....	....	1824–1828	1832–1888
Missouri....	....	....	1824–1888

All the remaining States have used the general-ticket system except in the two instances above mentioned, namely, Florida in 1868, and Colorado in 1876, when the Legislatures of these two States made the appointments. No votes were cast in 1864 in Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia, and in 1868 in Mississippi, Texas, and Virginia.

Owing to the difficulty of finding information which is not conflicting, this list is not complete, but it shows very clearly that the district system is no novelty.

Yours respectfully,

JOHN DICKERMAN.

ADELBERT COLLEGE, May 13, 1891.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The recent act of the Michigan Legislature in changing the method of choosing Presidential electors deserves to attract even more attention than it has. My vision may be made more keen by the fact that I belong to the party whose ox is gored by the legislation in question; but, after making all due allowance on this score, it still seems to me that the course of the Democratic majority in the Michigan Legislature is likely to have far-reaching consequences adverse to the cause of good government and honest politics.

Much may be said on both sides as to whether or not, as a general rule, it would be better to select all the electors by districts rather than by general ticket. Until some more effectual way of restraining gerrymandering can be discovered, I think the general ticket will in practice prove the fairer method. A plurality of 1,100 gave New York's thirty-six votes to Mr. Cleveland in 1884, and a plurality of 2,500 carried Indiana for Gen. Harrison in 1888. The practical result was, that these States were counted as if their people had been unanimous instead of being, as they were, divided with almost precise equality between the opposing candidates. Yet, unjust as this seems, it was not as bad as it would have been had the minority in Indiana elected eleven of the fifteen electors, as, under the Michigan plan, they would have done.

Moreover, there is no limitation on the gerrymandering. The Legislature of a State may provide, as the Legislature of Maryland once did, that some districts shall elect only one elector, and others two, three, or four or even more. A Republican Legislature of New York might form one district out of the seven or eight strongest Democratic Assembly districts of New York city, and provide that it should elect two or three electors, and another district out of the rest of the State and empower it to choose the remaining thirty-three or thirty-four. Such a step is not likely to be taken now, but a few years ago such a proceeding as that of the Michigan Legislature would not have seemed probable. When the practice of attempting to get ahead of the other party by so legislating as to secure an advantage in the choice of Presidential electors once gets started, there is no telling how it will end.

But all discussion as to whether the district or the general ticket is the best is idle if it does not take into consideration the certain fact, that nothing short of an amendment to the Federal Constitution can secure the general adoption of the district system. A State Legislature which knows that its party will in all probability have a plurality in the State at the next Presidential election, or which knows that it must have all the electoral votes of the State to give it a chance to win, will always insist on the general-ticket system. The other plan will only be enacted when, as was the case in Michigan, a party which has not usually been in control of the State happens to get a majority in the Legislature. And just because, if the example of Michigan shall be followed by other legislatures in similar situations, it will become more than ever difficult to elect a legislature of different political faith from that of the locally controlling party, the effect of the Michigan legislation must be bad.

It is hard enough to get honest Republicans or honest Democrats to vote against their Quays and their Gormans. It will be still harder to get them to do so if they feel that they may thus be in 1894, for example, electing a legislature which will so change the method of choosing electors that in 1896 Republican Pennsylvania or Democratic Maryland, without any change in the sentiments of the people, may give a majority of the electoral votes to a candidate for whom only a minority of the people of the State will vote. No argument can be conceived more likely to make the reluctant voter follow the machine direction to vote the ticket straight.

Very respectfully, JOHN C. ROSE.

BALTIMORE, May 16, 1891.

STATE ISSUES IN WISCONSIN.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Frequent allusions in the *Nation* to political affairs in Wisconsin are greatly misleading as to the political situation in this State. In your issue of May 7, in commenting upon the political outlook in various States, and speaking of the late campaign in Wisconsin, you say: "The issue on which the contest turned in 1890 was a purely State one, arising out of a controversy over the teaching of English in the schools." I desire to present a brief historical summary in proof of the statement that there was absolutely no controversy over the teaching of English in the public schools.

Section 41 of the laws of 1854 provides that "in every district school there shall be taught, in the English language, orthography, reading, etc." In 1869 this law was amended by including additional branches, and providing as follows: "All instruction shall be in the English language except that the district board . . . may, in their discretion, cause any foreign language to be taught by a competent teacher to such pupils as desire it, not to exceed one hour each day." In 1866 the Legislature, in prescribing the qualifications of teachers, provided that "no person shall receive any certificate who . . . does not write and speak the English language with facility and correctness." In 1879 the Legislature passed a compulsory-attendance law, which was made more stringent by subsequent amendments.

In 1889 Gov. Hoard, in his message to the Legislature, recommended that all private and parochial schools be put under the jurisdiction of the county and city superintendents. The Legislature, without formally repealing the law of 1879, passed what has come to be known as the Bennett Law, which practically placed these schools under the control of the local school boards. Sec. 2 of this law required all instruction, however given, to be done to the satisfaction of the local school officers. Sec. 5 of this law declares that "no school shall be regarded as a school under this act unless there shall be taught therein, as part of the elementary education of children, reading, writing, arithmetic, and United States history in the English language." The School Code was revised by the State Superintendent in the year 1890. In annotating this law, he comments upon these provisions as follows: "No school, public or private, and no instruction in the family, or by private tutors, should be recognized as sufficient which does not include instruction in these subjects in this form." It would be difficult to state in more explicit terms the right of the State to assume absolute control of private and parochial schools, or of instruction in the family, than is given in this legal interpretation by Republicans of their own legislation.

The Republican State Convention declared in its platform that "It recognizes as valuable auxiliaries in the work of popular education the private and parochial schools, supported without aid from public funds, and disclaims absolutely any purpose whatever to interfere with such schools, either as to their terms, government, or branches to be taught therein." How it could compel the teaching of four branches in the English language and not interfere with the branches to be taught, was not explained.

In his speech at Milwaukee at the beginning of the campaign, Senator Spooner said: "That the Bennett Law is a perfect law I believe none of its friends insist; that it is not susceptible of constructions which, if enforced, would lead to harm and injustice, I do not find it necessary to-night to controvert, and I do not know that the friends, so called, of that law are disposed to controvert it."

At the opening of the late session of the Legislature, which had a Democratic majority in both branches, a bill was introduced for the unconditional repeal of the Bennett Law. Upon the passage of this bill, only 14 out of the 33 Republicans in the Assembly voted against it, one other being paired. Of the 14 Republicans in the Senate, 10 voted against it. In other words, the Bennett Law was repealed by a vote of 83 to 14 in the lower house, and of 20 to 10 in the upper house. A few days later, a new compulsory law was presented by the Democratic majority to take the place of all previous legislation upon this subject. The Republican members of the two houses held a joint caucus and voted unanimously to support the Democratic bill, although several of their number had already introduced compulsory-attendance bills.

In the conduct of the campaign the Democratic State Central Committee waged a vigorous warfare against the ultra-protectionism of the Republican party. They secured the help of Roger Q. Mills, Wm. MacAdoo, Wm. M. Springer, and John M. Black, and did their utmost to secure the services of Senator Carlisle, Frank Hurd, David A. Wells, and many other distinguished tariff-reform advocates. Reckless extravagance of the Republicans in State expenditures and the private appropriation of interest upon public funds by their State Treasurers also had great weight in determining the result. It is not denied that recent school legislation was an important factor, but the political revolution in Wisconsin was but little, if any, greater than in many other States. The assertion that the issue turned upon the question of teaching English in the schools seems, therefore, a gross misstatement of the facts. The only question affecting the schools was that of the right of the State to control instruction in private schools. I deem it but justice to your readers that this false impression should be corrected.

I enclose copies of the Bennett Law and the new compulsory law. O. E. Wells.

Madison, May 14, 1891.

THE ATTEMPT ON THE TZESAREVITCH.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: The dailies of this date contain news of the attempt made near Kioto to assassinate the Tzesarevitch. The news is probably startling to the people of this country, but is not at all surprising to those cognizant of recent affairs in Japan. Ever since it was known that the Tzesarevitch contemplated visiting Japan, the matter has been a topic of discussion in the vernacular press. Most of the Japanese journals hailed the visit with delight, and were inclined to think that it would be productive of greater amity and closer relations between the two countries, and of much benefit to Japan in various ways. But in a few of the newspapers disreputable attempts were made to arouse ill-feeling and suspicion; in fact, it was actually charged that the Tzesarevitch was to visit Japan as a spy.

It must also be borne in mind that the Japanese have always been jealous, even afraid, of Russia. The latter, ever since her ships, about 100 years ago, began to encroach on the northern island, Yezo, of the Japanese Empire, has been an object of considerable suspicion. By dint of more or less finesse in negotiation, Russia obtained from Japan the island of Saghalien in exchange for the bleak Kurile Islands. This fear of Russian encroachments, by the way, has been one obstacle in the path of treaty revision. I was informed by a well-educated Japanese that one reason why Japan hesitated about giving foreigners the right to own property in the Empire, was because she feared that Russians would buy up the island of Yezo and large tracts in other portions of the land!

The Japanese have also looked with an eye of suspicion on the progress of the Greek Church in Japan. Inasmuch as that body is a state institution, controlled and patronized by the Russian Government, it has been considered a dangerous element in Japan. The magnificent Greek cathedral, towering on Suruga Dai above the city of Tokio, and thus higher even than the imperial palace, is an eye-sore to the Japanese. The deep and widespread influence of Bishop Nicolai and the Greek Church is dreaded as the source of a future political influence.

Whether these opinions are well founded or not, they have been used by demagogues and fanatics to stir up a feeling of distrust of Russia, and were employed recently to arouse suspicion concerning the object of the visit of the Tzesarevitch. These suspicions were not, of course, shared by the Japanese Government, or by intelligent citizens. When the writer left Japan, less than a month ago, elaborate preparations were then making to receive the Tzesarevitch with the respect due to him and the courtesy due from so polite a nation as Japan.

Although the despatches dub the assassin "a Buddhist fanatic, as seems most probable, or a Nihilist disguised as a Japanese," it is quite probable that he was a Shinto fanatic. Very likely he was one of the *Soshi*, a class of young ruffians who, conceited beyond their education, deem themselves called upon to avenge every "insult" to the dignity of the nation. They have a false idea of the *Yamatodamashii* (Japanese spirit) and of true patriotism, and are a disgrace to Japan. It was such an one who killed Viscount Mori for an alleged "insult" to the Shinto shrines of Ise. It was such an one who attempted, but unsuccessfully, to assassinate Count Okume for presuming to negotiate treaties beneath the "dignity" of the Japanese people. It is not surprising, then, that similar fanaticism attempted the life of the Tzesarevitch; but it is unfortunate that it still exists in so progressive a country as Japan. Ernest W. Clement.

May 13, 1891.

THE FRÉMONT LEGEND.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: The recent discussions of the seizure of California in 1846, carried on in the *Century Magazine*, in the *Atlantic*, in the *Overland Monthly*, and elsewhere, would naturally seem to have exhausted the possible sources of information, or at all events the patience of the public; and I should not add another word to the lengthy controversy were it not that, quite unexpectedly, I have just found in a document, whose full text was never before in my hands, an additional piece of original evidence bearing upon the assertion made in the final statement of the late Gen. Frémont, as published in the *Century* for April, 1891. By the courtesy of the editor of the *Century*, who procured this document at Washington, I am enabled to use the same here, since he has made me a gift of it.

In the mentioned paper, entitled the "Conquest of California," Gen. Frémont, just before his death, put upon record his final version of the events of the "Bear Flag Affair." This version, as it stands, differs materially from earlier accounts given by Gen. Frémont, but such comparisons are beside the present purpose. Most noteworthy, however, in the paper of Gen. Frémont, as posthumously edited, is the addition of an expression of opinion, by the late Mr. George Bancroft, to the effect that the actions of Frémont in California, in the spring of 1846, were, although of course not precisely contemplated by the distant Cabinet at Washington, still authorized by the tenor of the famous instructions conveyed to the young engineer by Lieut. Gillespie when the two met at Klamath Lake, May 9, 1846. "If," says George Brancroft, in a letter to Frémont—"if I had been in your place, I should have considered myself bound to do what I saw I could to promote the purpose of the President." This purpose, as the secret agent of the Government, Lieut. Gillespie undoubtedly told Frémont, was "to obtain possession of California." Now such an expression of Bancroft's opinion as the foregoing is, carrying as it does both the great authority of his name as historian and the added weight of the fact that he was then the Secretary of the Navy, must seem, of course, to a reader who does not understand the facts of the case, highly conclusive in Gen. Frémont's favor. And therefore it is that my new document, with a few words of introduction, may still be serviceable to the cause of historic truth.

The historical facts, as I have several times before this had occasion to show, are that every agent of the United States who had anything to do with California received, in advance of the declaration of war against Mexico, orders to do everything to conciliate the Californians; that these orders were communicated to Frémont by Gillespie; that the United States Government, by the personal order of the President, was engaged in April and May, 1846, in an intrigue, carried on by Consul Larkin, with the Californians for a peaceful surrender of their territory in disregard of the central Mexican authority; that the orders of Bancroft to Commodore Sloat, in command of our squadron on the Pacific Coast, were in strict accord with this design, which Secretary Bancroft himself unquestionably shared and coöperated in; and that this design was thwarted by Frémont, who, after he had heard Gillespie's instructions, proceeded almost forthwith to arouse the American settlers in the Sacramento Valley by false reports of dangers from Californian hostility; thereupon attacked the Californians in an irregular warfare before knowing of the outbreak of hostilities in the East; wrought considerable mischief; and thenceforth laid claim to the glory of the "conquest of California." The Cabinet at home, Bancroft included, were, however, deceived by an artful tale, sent home in letters to Senator Benton by his son-in-law, and not rendered any more historical by the Senator in the retelling. All this is a matter of substantial proof. What the reader will, however, here desire to know is, how George Bancroft, forty years later, could still so misinterpret the facts as to express so cordial an approval of Frémont's actually disobedient and mischievous conduct as is contained in Bancroft's letters to the latter in 1886.

The answer, of course, is that Bancroft never

had occasion to scrutinize as historian what occurred in distant California, and undoubtedly took his facts in large part from Gen. Frémont's own statement. How true this is, becomes evident at once when one considers two of the statements made by Bancroft in the private letters to Frémont which are quoted in the article referred to. One of these statements runs thus, speaking of what Gillespie communicated to Frémont at the meeting at Klamath Lake: "It was officially made known to you that your country was at war; and it was so made known expressly to guide your conduct." This statement cannot have been made by Bancroft after any careful review of the record, for it is one that a mere comparison of dates shows to be absurd. Gillespie received his instructions at the end of October, 1845, and left soon after for California. War broke out at about the very moment of his interview with Frémont at Klamath Lake, and this fact was unknown in California, even at Monterey, until the arrival there of Capt. Mervine, late in June, 1846, in the ship *Cyane*. North of San Francisco Bay the news of war came to hand much later. The despatches brought by Gillespie to Larkin and Sloat show that in the autumn of 1845 nobody at Washington knew or could know when the contemplated war with Mexico would break out. Fortune might have prevented it altogether, and both Commodore Sloat's and Consul Larkin's instructions were worded accordingly. It is, therefore, impossible that Bancroft can have used the words above quoted with any historical deliberation, or after any careful review of the past.

The other just-mentioned passage of Bancroft's private letter of approval, written to Frémont in 1886, runs: "The truth is, no officer of the Government had anything to do with California but the Secretary of the Navy so long as I was in the Cabinet." Alas, strange fate that should thus beset our greatest historian on one of the very few occasions when he ever wrote about his own public career! Nothing could better illustrate the danger of trusting to memory after many years. The same number of the *Century* that contains the article from which this passage is quoted, also contains the full text of the despatch from Secretary Buchanan to Consul Larkin which Gillespie brought, and which, speaking in the President's name, and with frequent mention of the President's express and official desires, embodies the actual plan of the Administration for the acquisition of California!

Two absolutely demonstrable errors in so short a space as that of the brief passages quoted from Bancroft's private letters to Frémont, show very clearly that the late historian was not speaking *ex cathedra* when he wrote these words of friendly approval. The well-known legend of the Frémont "conquest" he had heard; he certainly never had examined its sources. For the rest, all the other statements that he makes, in the same place, as to his own and the Cabinet's views in those days concerning California, the importance of getting it, the need of promptness and discretion, and the rest, are indeed, accurate enough. They have long been well-known matters. Properly understood, they form part of the case against Frémont.

This case then reduces itself to the following: Gillespie, as we now know, brought orders which he delivered to Sloat at Mazatlan. These orders related to the action of the Commodore to be taken in case he heard of the outbreak of war between the two countries. Gillespie also brought a despatch from Buchanan to Consul Larkin. This despatch is now printed in full in the *Century* for April. Gillespie brought no other official orders addressed to any one in California. He acquainted Frémont at Klamath Lake with the contents of these instructions, but brought no official order directed to Frémont personally. Frémont, who formerly denied to me absolutely that he was ever acquainted with Larkin's orders, and who insisted upon this denial in a statement deliberately made to me, as historical student, for publication in my own book on California history, has for the first time admitted, in his final paper in the *Century*, that he *did* know of the Larkin despatch, and received it from Gillespie. But he adds that this despatch "was in conflict with our own instructions," so that he and Gillespie, not being under Buchanan's official authority, "dropped this idea [*i. e.*, the plan of "conciliating the Californians"] from our minds," although, as the Larkin despatch itself shows, this "idea" was the President's own. Now these, "our own instructions," can only be the instructions of Secretary Bancroft, to whose official department Frémont himself belonged as little as he did to Buchanan's, but whose instructions to Sloat and Gillespie he shall have regarded as more warlike than were Buchanan's to Larkin.

Is this final version of the Frémont romance more authentic than any earlier version? Let the answer be the text of Bancroft's actual letter to Sloat, dated October 17, 1845, a letter never before printed. The date, as will be seen by comparison, is the same as that of Buchanan's despatch to Larkin. The plan embodied is also the same. The copy here given is officially certified as correct by the Department at Washington, and contains all of the despatch that relates to California—the omitted orders relating to matters connected with the exploration of the Columbia River, and to other matters wholly immaterial for the present inquiry. The original copy was sent, it will be seen, by Commodore Stockton, around the Horn. Gillespie, as secret agent, crossed Mexico with the despatches not written, but carried in his memory, so that they might be safe in case of his detention, and so that he might be able in case of successful passage through Mexico to get the official undertakings in California sooner under way:

U. S. NAVY DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, Oct. 14, 1845.

Com. John D. Sloat, Comm'g U. S. Squadron Pacific:

COMMODORE: This communication will be delivered to you by Commodore Stockton, who takes the *Congress* to the Pacific to reinforce your squadron.

In the judgment of this Department it is expedient that, as soon as practicable after the receipt of it, you should transfer your broad pennant to the *Congress*. Commodore Stockton you will then transfer to the command of the *Savannah*, subject to your orders. You may retain Commander DuPont in duties appropriate to his rank on board the *Congress*, or you may confer the command of the *Congress* under you on Captain Mervine and transfer Commander DuPont to the *Cyane*.

In the event of actual hostilities between the Mexican Government and our own, you will so dispose of your whole force as to carry out most effectually the objects specified in the instructions forwarded to you from the Department in view of such a contingency. Should peace continue, you will still retain your squadron off the coast of Mexico and Oregon.

You will communicate frequently with our Consul at Monterey, and will ascertain as exactly as you can the nature of the designs of the English and French in that region, the temper of the inhabitants, their disposition towards the United States, and their relations towards the central governments of Mexico. You will do everything that is proper to conciliate towards our country the most friendly regard of the people of California.

The length of time requisite to transmit to you despatches from this Department renders it necessary that you should judge for yourself, on the best information that you can obtain, whether it will be safe to detach an exploring party from your squadron.

Should hostilities be not likely to occur, you will detach a part of your squadron to display the flag of the United States in the Columbia. To that end you may select a sloop and a smaller vessel if convenient, and attach to them, for the time being, such professors and other officers as will give the best results to the enterprise. You will, in your instructions to them, warn them of the dangers that attend the entrance to the Columbia River, that they may be on their guard against the swell of the ocean and the bar at the mouth of the harbor, and may run no risk with a vessel of the United States. When the ships are within the Columbia River, some of the officers should seize the occasion to visit the valley of the Wallamet. They should make particular inquiries as to the disposition of the people who reside in those regions, . . . the extent, character, and tendency of emigration from the United States and from other quarters, and generally they should collect such information as will acquaint the Department fully with the condition and prospects of that territory. After this has been done a party may proceed by land to Puget's Sound, or some safe harbor you may designate in the Straits Juan de Fuca, and the vessel detached for the exploring party may meet them there. . . .

The object of this order is to perfect the knowledge of the country of Oregon and to cheer our citizens in that region by the presence of the American flag; and, if peace continues, you will consider this the most important duty assigned to your squadron. If, contrary to present expectation, a state of war should exist, you will endeavor to persuade the crews of the *Savannah*, the *Warren*, and the *Levant* to prolong the terms of their enlistment in order that they may remain in coöperation with the rest of your force. But if affairs remain in their present attitude, you may direct Commodore Stockton to take charge of those three vessels and to bring them to the United States in season for the discharge of their crews within the period of their enlistment. Commodore Stockton, on taking the command of the returning squadron, may hoist his broad pennant. You may direct him on their return, if he can do so without material delay, to touch on his way at places on the Mexican Coast where there may be opportunity of gathering useful information or conciliating kindly dispositions.

. . . . . .

You will take care that the laws of the United States for the government of the navy and general orders in pursuance of them are strictly and sincerely respected and obeyed.

Very respectfully, GEORGE BANCROFT.

These, then, the orders of Bancroft to Sloat, sent in October, 1845, by the secret messenger, were "our instructions" which, according to Frémont's final statement, were in conflict with the letter of Buchanan to Larkin, and which authorized the means that Frémont thereupon took "to carry out the intentions of the President." These means consisted in that irregular attack upon the peaceful Californians whose mischievous consequences are now well known, an attack which was itself a distinct hindrance to the acquisition of California, endangering all our interests in that Territory. The attack was, indeed, opposed to Consul Larkin's plans. It was "authorized" by a despatch which told Sloat to "communicate frequently" with Consul Larkin and to "conciliate" the Californians.

It is also to be noticed that these same instructions seem to have authorized Capt. Frémont to write to Commander Montgomery of the *Portsmouth*, then in San Francisco Bay, at the moment when the young explorer was about to engage in the irregular hostilities of the "Bear Flag affair." There was, of course, good reason why Frémont had still to conceal his hand, in order that he might later have a chance to attribute his action to the necessities of self-defence. What he wrote to Montgomery, therefore, ran at one point thus (see *Century* for March, 1891): "The nature of my instructions, and the peaceful nature of our operations, do not contemplate any active hostility on my part, even in the event of war between the two countries." If one compares these words with the final account of Gen. Frémont concerning the "conquest," one sees afresh with what manner of romance one has to deal.

I regret, then, very much that our great historian's name has been made use of, so soon after his death, for so unhistorical a purpose

as that of the posthumously published Frémont narrative. Nobody respects Bancroft's memory more than does the present writer. His actual part in the seizure of California has long been known through other of his despatches, all of a similar tenor. He repeatedly instructed Sloat to seize the defenceless California ports at the outbreak of war, but to keep the inhabitants neutral if he could, to conciliate, and not to assail them, to show irresistible force, but to show every kindness as well. This policy Frémont, who was, indeed, not under Brancroft's immediate orders, lawlessly thwarted for his own glory, whereof he got a good deal. I should myself never think of attacking the Frémont legend so often, were it not so unsubstantially immortal. I shall rejoice, indeed, if ever the pale ghost ceases to walk in broad daylight. The twilight regions of our historical consciousness in this country will probably never be rid of it.

JOSIAH ROYCE.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS., May 10, 1891.

Notes.

D. C. HEATH & Co., Boston, are about to issue a 'Comparative View of the Executive and Legislative Departments of the Governments of the United States, France, England, and Germany,' by John Wenzel, Assistant Librarian of the College of Liberal Arts, Boston University. The arrangement is by parallel columns.

Lee & Shepard announce a second series of the 'Speeches and Lectures of Wendell Phillips,' uniform with the first series; a reissue of 'The Life and Works of Horace Mann,' in five volumes; and 'Gestures and Attitudes, based on the Delsarte Philosophy of Expression,' by Edward B. Warman, with illustrations.

T. Y. Crowell & Co. announce 'Famous English Statesmen,' by Mrs. Sarah K. Bolton; 'A Score of Famous Composers,' by Nathan Haskell Dole; 'Elements of Socialism,' by Prof. R. T. Ely; and vols. iv. and v. of Sybel's 'Founding of the German Empire by William I.'

Houghton, Mifflin & Co. will shortly publish the authorized Life of Robert Browning by Mrs. Sutherland Orr, in two volumes; 'Lewis Cass,' by Prof. A. C. McLaughlin, in the "American Statesmen" series; and 'Ryle's Open Gate,' a story by Mrs. Susan T. Moore.

A translation of Dr. Richard Falckenberg's 'History of Philosophy, from Nikolaus von Kues to the Present Day,' is about to appear with the imprint of Henry Holt & Co.

Macmillan & Co. have in press 'Renascence,' a volume of verse with illustrations by Walter Crane.

Worthington Co. will publish directly 'The Rector of St. Luke's,' from the German of Marie Barnard, by Elsie L. Lathrop.

'My Official Wife' is the title of a novel by Col. Richard Henry Savage, to be brought out by the Howe Publishing Company.

A study of Proudhon, 'Ein Beitrag zur sozialen Reform,' by Dr. A. Mülberger, is in the press of G. J. Göschen, Stuttgart, together with a work in which Dr. Cauer of Tübingen maintains that Aristotle cannot have been the author of the 'Constitution of Athens.'

Just four years ago we were reviewing, in the original French, Boutmy's 'Développement de la Constitution et de la Société Politique en Angleterre,' a work remarkable for its freshness not less than for its evidence of knowledge, grasp, and research. Under the simpler title, 'The English Constitution,' this has now been translated by Isabel M. Eaden, and published, with a commendatory note of introduction by Sir Frederick Pollock, by Macmillan & Co. It makes a compact, handsome volume of 212 pages.

Little, Brown & Co., Boston, have issued, from the original plates, a second edition of the 'Life and Letters of Wilder Dwight, Lieutenant-Colonel Second Massachusetts Infantry Volunteers,' which first appeared in 1867. Ever since the first impression was exhausted, we are told, and we can well believe, there has been a yearly demand for the work, which could not be met. This demand was largely personal, we suppose, but the perennial interest in our civil war might also account for it, and this tribute of affection is as good an exhibition of the highest type of Northern soldier, associated with the highest type of Northern regiment, as could anywhere be found. Col. Dwight was a member of the class of 1853 of Harvard College—a class not a little distinguished for its varied and conspicuous talents, but having also a marked connection with the College subsequent to graduation. Many of his fellow-officers were Harvard men, and, as they figure in his letters, help to make this emphatically a "Harvard Memorial Biography." Dwight left the law to enter the army and lay down his life finally at Antietam. One is made acquainted with a singularly lovable and high-minded personality, and in his letters gets many graphic glimpses of the progress and conduct of the war. The story cannot be read without emotion.

A revival of equal age with the foregoing is the new edition of the 'Journal of Maurice de Guérin' (Dodd, Mead & Co.), but in this case we have also a new translation, by Jessie P. Frothingham. We have compared it with Mr. Fisher's version (1867), now out of print, and find it more literal and on the whole more felicitous. Sainte-Beuve's memoir is prefixed, and the French edition followed is the twentieth. The book would be a pretty one but for the untasteful binding.

A slight examination of the articles in 'Appletons' Dictionary of New York and its Vicinity,' of which the current issue is the thirteenth, makes good the claim to annual revision upon the title-page. But a readier test is the comparison of folios, which shows that the work is not printed from patched plates, but is kept in type for perfect fluidity in modifying and remaking. This is the only practicable course in the case of a work which has to undergo so many even if slight changes. The Dictionary needs no fresh praise. One of the new entries, "Labor Organizations," is a valuable summary account of the fortunes of the Central Labor Union.

'A Lady's Letters from Central Africa,' by Jane F. Moir (Macmillan & Co.), is a very entertaining account of a recent journey from the Shiré Highlands to Ujiji on Lake Tanganyika, by the manager of the African Lakes Company and his wife. At this latter place the travellers were the guests of the leading Arab slave-trader, and an animated description is given of the merry, but curious and impertinent, women of his household. Some distance to the south of this is Karema, a station of Cardinal Lavigerie's "White Fathers." Here, under the care of five men, are several hundred boys and girls who have been bought from the natives or the Arabs when from three to five years old. Each child is taught to work, rarely to read, and "each hoes its little bit of garden, and they are brought up strictly as Roman Catholics," knowing no other religion or superstition. When old enough, the boys and girls live in separate villages near the convent, while the married couples live in still another village a little farther off. This system seems to be far better suited to the natives than that of the Protestant missionaries, "who, so far, have little hold on the people, though they work bravely." Two of these latter "said to us, 'Don't be surprised if some time you find the whole shores of Tanganyika Roman Catholic.'" An attractive picture is drawn of the beautiful country at the northern end of Lake Nyassa, where lovely villages nestle amid endless banana groves. "It is like walking through one vast palm-house or winter-garden, and the beautifully made cow-houses and huts are like ornamental summer houses." "The people, of whom there are thousands, are, almost without exception, very handsome. Especially at Makyusa's the men are magnificent, the larger proportion of them being over six feet high and splendidly made." From these letters, which were not written for publication, it is very evident that the Scotch Lakes Company is doing an admirable work in developing the resources of the country through which it trades, as well as in checking the slave-trade. The work may usefully be read in connection with Prof. Drummond's 'Tropical Africa.'

A shower of new medical books, popular as well as technical, is a constant consequence of an epidemic. One of these, dropping from the grippe of last year, is 'Influenza and Common Colds,' by W. T. Fernie, M.D. (London: Percival & Co.). The therapeutics of the author, "bound by the tenets of no particular school," are those of regular medicine very highly flavored, or diluted, by homœopathy. In view of the recurrence of the pandemic, there is a natural tendency to such reading; but, except in minor disabilities and in the most arbitrary way, it seems that the *cure* of disease is a questionable branch of secular knowledge, whereas avoidance may always suitably be taught. The experienced practitioner might take one or two hints from this little work, but it is doubtful whether the average layman would profit much by it, except as to the early control of colds in the head.

J. W. Bouton sends us the Illustrated Catalogue of the Salon of the Champs-Élysées, which opened on May Day. Secession has done nothing to diminish the bulk of the exhibition, but its quality cannot of course be safely inferred from these pictorial memoranda. We remark a pen-sketch by V. Parlaghy, after his portrait of Dr. Windthorst, which looks to be carefully enough done to have value as a likeness in itself. E. Renouf has made the Brooklyn Bridge his theme. The inevitable Jeanne d'Arc of this exhibition is found in the statuary department, and shows the Maid vowing herself to the salvation of France.

In the *Scottish Geographical Magazine* for May is the first of an important series of papers on "Britannic Confederation." This is by Sir John Colomb, M. P., and is devoted to a general survey of existing conditions. His main point is, that, under the present system, the colonies, which are practically independent except in their foreign relations, contribute absolutely nothing to the defence of the Empire. Formerly this was of little consequence, but, with the recent extraordinary growth of their commerce, it has become a question of the first importance as to whether this burden should not be divided. The present sea-trade of the United Kingdom is estimated at $744,000,000, that of the colonies at $460,000,000. But more than half of this, $273,000,000, is carried on with foreign countries, and in it the United Kingdom has no in-

terest whatever. This independent sea-borne trade "is increasing every year at such a rate as to be fast overtaking the sea-borne commerce of the United Kingdom itself." Attention is also called to the fact that "the provision made for imperial defence is very far indeed from keeping pace with imperial property requiring defence." A brief consideration is given to the disadvantages both to the mother country and to the colonies of absolute independence. The one would suffer from the insecurity of its food supplies and the raw materials for its factories; the colonies would be obliged to maintain each an army and a navy and to create a diplomatic service.

Dr. Pepper, Provost of the University of Pennsylvania, has notified the American Oriental Society that the University and the Babylonian Exploration Committee have resolved to open to students the inedited tablets, numbering 700 at present, which have been purchased by the Committee outside of Turkey and are now deposited in the museum of the University. In the meanwhile, Dr. John P. Peters, director of the explorations at Niffer, is negotiating at Constantinople with the Ottoman Imperial Museum respecting the products of these explorations.

The Marine Biological Laboratory at Wood's Holl, Massachusetts, will open its fourth season on July 8, limiting admissions to thirty persons, preferably teachers and others already qualified. There will be courses in zoology, botany, and microscopical technique. Applications should be addressed to Miss A. D. Phillips, Secretary, No. 23 Marlborough Street, Boston.

Mr. F. Gutekunst, Philadelphia, sends us an imperial panel portrait of ex-President Andrew D. White of Cornell, which, as a fine likeness and photograph, is worthy to rank with the Lowell and Curtis which we have already noticed in the same "gallery."

—In the *Economic Review* for April, Mr. C. J. Longman considers our new Copyright Act from an English point of view. He points out that authors whose works have failed to attract pirates hitherto will not be benefited by the act, since, if there had been a market for their works, the pirates would have found it out. But possibly there will be more inducement to legitimate publishers now that they are protected against the piratical propensities of their rivals. He further shows that new books by popular authors will have to compete with the piratical editions of their earlier works, and must therefore be issued at low prices. The protective features of the act are, of course, unfavorable to English printers and paper-makers, inasmuch as if a book is to be copyrighted in both England and America, it must be manufactured here, and the English export of copyrighted books will be stopped. But this, Mr. Longman says, has never been a large business, owing to the pirates, and he is of opinion that not "more than 5 per cent. of the books published in the United Kingdom after July, 1891, will be copyrighted in America." Upon the whole, he concludes, some English bookmakers, in the material sense, will suffer, while some authors will be benefited.

—In this connection we may notice 'The Question of Copyright,' prepared by Mr. Geo. Haven Putnam, and published by his firm in the "Questions of the Day" series. It is a perfect arsenal of facts and arguments, carefully elaborated and very effectively presented. Those who have received the impression that the matter of copyright has been settled by our recent act, are informed by Mr. Putnam that we have as yet only arrived at the point reached by France in 1810, and by Great Britain and the States of Germany in 1837. We are still behind most of the countries of Europe, the states of Tunis and Liberia, and the republic of Hayti. The book contains a summary of the more important of the copyright laws and international conventions now in force, and an abstract of certain measures likely to be enacted in England, and is lightened by a number of spirited essays by Mr. Brander Matthews and other writers, among whom Mr. Putnam is included. Altogether, it constitutes an extremely valuable history of the development of a very intricate right of property, and it is as interesting as it is valuable.

—No one genuinely interested in art can afford to ignore the question involved in the case of Prof. Herkomer's 'Idyl,' published in London and New York by Messrs. Novello & Co., which lately has been attracting so much attention in England, and, in fact, in the artistic world everywhere. When the book first appeared, Mr. Joseph Pennell, in the columns of the *National Observer*, asked Prof. Herkomer if all the plates in the book were etchings, as the publishers announced, and as the Professor himself, by his signature in each copy and on every so-called proof, guaranteed them to be. Those who have followed the recent development in the arts of illustration and reproduction need not be reminded to what a degree of perfection photo-engraving has been brought; that special method known as photogravure, when practised by a clever man, producing results which at the first glance can scarcely be distinguished from etchings, even by the most accomplished experts. Some little confusion has already followed. One or two unscrupulous publishers have advertised and sold photogravures as etchings, and critics and the public have calmly accepted the deception. Now, when the 'Idyl' was published there was good reason to believe that all the sixteen illustrations were not the etched plates they were claimed to be, and this despite Prof. Herkomer's signature. If a man holding his high position, a member of the Royal Academy and Slade Professor at Oxford, was allowed, unchallenged, to perpetrate such a fraud—it can be called nothing else—then there could be no doubt that the art of etching was doomed. Mr. Hamerton, Dr. Seymour Haden, Mr. Walter Sickert were three of many to record their strong disapproval of Prof. Herkomer's conduct and to demand an explanation. Several of the daily papers joined in their demand, and it was suggested that the Society of Painter Etchers, the Royal Academy, and the University of Oxford should take action in the matter. For six weeks Prof. Herkomer was silent. Then, in a letter to the *Times*, he admitted that nine of the sixteen plates were photogravures — that is, in plain language, that he had swindled every purchaser of the book who supposed that he was buying etchings and that Prof. Herkomer's signature was worth the paper it was written on.

—"All May Day demonstrations in London," writes a correspondent, "were postponed until Sunday, May 3, and then nothing could have been more orderly than the processions which were virtually all morning making their way to the Park, or the meetings which massed the people together in one uninterrupted line from Marble Arch to Hyde Park Corner. But any one who has watched the labor movement in London of late years must have been struck with two facts which distinguished this demonstration—one of the largest ever held—from any which have recently preceded it. The first was its genuineness. When the visitor from the West End to the St. Jude picture show or the People's Palace organ recital on Sunday wonders at the number of linen shirts and top hats in the crowd, he is assured that every workman always keeps a decent suit of clothes to wear on his one holiday in the week. But there were few white shirts or top hats among the demonstrators for an eight-hours' day. Here was the genuine workman — the docker, the porter, the sweated tailor, the stevedore, the factory hand—the man who supports himself and his family on eighteen shillings or a pound a week, and is thankful if he has a flannel shirt and a colored handkerchief to tie around his neck. Here, too, was the coster in his corduroys and buttons. Of course well-known politicians, faddists, and Socialists were on the platforms, but never have the working-classes turned out in greater numbers to claim what they believe to be their rights. The other feature of the afternoon was the very visible increase in the interest of the West End itself in the deputations from the East. Two or three years ago it was the exception to see a well-dressed person in the Park on such an occasion. But on the 3d there was a good-sized crowd of lookers-on whose social or industrial rank was as evident from their clothes as that of the assembled laborers and workmen. That something must come of this increased active interest on the one hand and growing curiosity on the other, would seem likely in any other country than England. But there, where demonstrations serve as safety-valves to the discontent of the masses, it is probable that the eight-hours' meeting will have as small consequences as the daily gatherings in Trafalgar Square of four years ago. However, it speaks well for all concerned that, despite the ill-feeling those gatherings inspired, the enormous crowds of the 3d met and disbanded their forces without the least disturbance or trouble, while the police were kept well in the background."

—The second volume of the 'Handwörterbuch der Staatswissenschaften' is brought to a conclusion in part xii., which contains 200 pages and comprises the whole of the letters C and D, while A occupied 1,046 pages and B 800. The apparent falling off in the space occupied is partly due to the fact that many large articles, such as Capital, Credit, etc., will appear under K, instead of C. The number of articles printed in this part is about 100, nearly equally divided between the two letters. As a natural consequence, none of the articles reach the great length of some printed in former instalments. The longest is one of 37 pages on National Domains or Public Lands; the next in point of length is one of 17 pages, by Prof. George Cohn of Heidelberg, on Checks, which, however, will strike American readers as unnecessarily long by reason of a somewhat pedantic discussion as to what constitutes or does not constitute a check. In general it may be said that, since Political Economy has fallen into the hands of professors, there is a tendency to invest with a great deal of complication matters which are intrinsically simple and capable of being explained in simple language. An article of 14 pages, by Prof. George Adler of the University of Freiburg gives an account of the Paris Commune of 1870–'71, with a bibliography covering a page and a half. Another article of the same length is that by Prof. Lexis of Göttingen (one of the editors of the Dictionary) on Bimetallism, in which the subject is treated in a moderate tone and with a degree of impartiality that almost smacks of Bunsbyism, but finally the conclusion is reached that Bimetallism

would probably lead to an exclusive silver standard. With the exception of an article of 11 pages on Discounts and Discounting, all of the other articles are short, none exceeding four pages. There is an unusually large number of biographical notices, the longest being one of three pages on Henry C. Carey, also by Prof. Lexis, and also measuring out substantial justice in very measured language. Other writers, more briefly noticed, are John Calvin, Carlyle, Thomas Chalmers, Cernuschi, Chevalier, Sir Josiah Child, Richard Cobden, Comte, Cossa, Dühring, etc. The bibliography is brought down very closely to date, the new French Dictionary of Political Economy, of which the first volume was completed in 1891, being cited as authority for biographies of French economists.

—The "telluric dry-gas lines" near D, mentioned in Prof. Piazzi Smyth's maps of 'The Visible Solar Spectrum in 1884,' are determined in a monograph on 'The Solar Spectrum at Medium and Low Altitudes,' from observations made at Lord Crawford's Observatory, Dun Echt, during 1887-89, by Dr. Ludwig Becker, and published in vol. xxxvi of the Transactions of the Royal Society, Edinburgh. The memoir contains a catalogue of more than 3,600 lines of the solar spectrum, including nearly a thousand telluric lines. The observations on which they are based exceed 26,000 in number, on forty-seven sunsets and thirty-two sunrises, and form a valued contribution to the literature of this complex study, from the point of view of both meteorologist and astronomer. Dr. Becker's instrument was in its optical part the great spectroscope of the Dun Echt Observatory, the necessary dispersion being obtained by a large Rowland grating, ruled on speculum metal with 14,438 lines to the inch, and presented to the Earl of Crawford by the Johns Hopkins University. This powerful apparatus Dr. Becker supplemented by an ingenious mechanism of his own devising, whereby the differential motion of the grating is suitably magnified, and at the same time recorded with rapidity and certainty on a continuous fillet of paper. As the observations have all to be made within a few minutes of sunrise or sunset, the means of instant and permanent record is an absolute essential. So successful was this novel mechanism that each line of the solar spectrum required on the average but nine seconds for determining its position. Dr. Becker's effective apparatus for doing this should have been figured as well as minutely described. Under the direction and at the charge of Lord Crawford, the whole was established on the top of the Barmekin, a commanding eminence a short way from the Dun Echt Observatory, rising 850 feet above sea level and distant fourteen miles from the coast. During the summers of 1887, 1888, and much of 1889, Dr. Becker spent all the nights on the hill. A great many of the telluric lines could be designated immediately, while others presented much difficulty. In a region where many telluric lines occur, there is, of course, a tendency to ascribe lines to atmospheric absorption which in other places would pass as solar. Much of the work had thus to be repeated several times for the avoidance of mistakes. With few exceptions all the telluric lines finally picked out were found to be arranged in three bands, the first of nearly 700 lines, and the other two of about 100 each. At the conclusion of his paper, Dr. Becker's brief comparison of his own work with the splendid charts of the late M. Thollon, made with a train of bisulphide-of-carbon prisms, and recently published from the Nice Observatory, proves the superiority of the Rowland grating beyond question.

JOHN DICKINSON'S CASE.—II.

The Life and Times of John Dickinson. 1732-1808. Prepared at the request of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania by Charles J. Stillé, LL.D. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. 1891.

In spite of Thomas Jefferson's prediction, it seems to Dr. Stillé that something like a mildew has fallen on the brightness of Dickinson's fame in these latter days of the Republic. The biographer ascribes this result in part to the traditional indifference shown by Philadelphia to the reputation of her great men; in part to the dim eclipse which threw Dickinson's personality into shadow after his recoil from the Declaration of Independence, but most of all to the damaging impression made on historians by a series of articles published in Philadelphia under the signature of "Valerius" at the date of Dickinson's return to Pennsylvania in 1782, and consequent on his assumption of office as President of the State. In these letters of "Valerius," supposed to have been written by Gen. John Armstrong, afterwards Minister to France and Madison's Secretary of War, it was charged, with every variety of insult and opprobrium, that Dickinson had opposed the Declaration of Independence on general grounds of antipathy to popular liberty, because he was a monarchist at heart and an aristocrat by nature; that his persistent hostility to the new State Constitution of Pennsylvania was inspired by his subserviency to the Proprietary family and to the Tory interest; that he had deserted his military command in the open field in 1776, and in the presence of the enemy; that in the trying crisis of that hour he showed himself a physical coward as well as a moral traitor; and, finally, that he proved his traitorous intent by endeavoring, after his political defection, to destroy the credit and currency of the Continental money.

To all these charges and insinuations Dickinson made at the time a formal and elaborate reply, which Dr. Stillé reproduces in an appendix to his volume. The defence seems to have been ample in the judgment of Dickinson's contemporaries, at least so far as concerns the patriotism and integrity of the writer; and hence we find it difficult to concur with Dr. Stillé in the opinion that it is the venom of "Valerius" which has poisoned the fountains of history to the detriment of Dickinson's fame. The poison bottled up in these vials of wrath has long since evaporated and left no trace behind. Neither the railing accusation of "Valerius" nor Dickinson's reply has created the standing historical problem in this case. The problem results rather from the strange vicissitude witnessed in a high political career which exposed its subject to easy attack while he was living, and which imposed on him and on all who came after him the hard necessity of a difficult defence. How inert the operose invective of "Valerius" has become we may read even in Dr. Stillé's pages, for he has not thought it worth his while to give to "Valerius's" letters a careful study. He tells us that Dickinson made no reply to this torrent of denunciation "until the bitterness of his adversary had exhausted itself, so far as it could exhaust itself in the newspapers." In fact, "Valerius" continued to vent his spleen on Dickinson long after the latter had published his formal reply. In letters running from the 6th of November, 1782, to November 19, 1783, and perhaps later, he kept the sluices of his billingsgate perpetually in flow. In one of his closing letters he promised to give "a description which would reveal who he was," but he never kept his word.

We must look deeper, then, than in the mud and slime of the polemical politics of a former period for a solution of the enigma supposed to be hidden in the life, character, and career of John Dickinson. The *crux* of the riddle is found in the mystery that one who had waded so far and so bravely in the stormy waters of the Revolution should have returned so strangely on his steps, or should have stood still, at a time when returning or standing still was as little the part of personal prudence as of political foresight. He lived to confess the grievous fault he committed in shrinking from the Declaration of Independence, and the confession has served to vindicate the purity, the candor, the moral courage of his conduct; but it has not served to atone for the fault itself in the assize of impartial history. Whatever exceptions may be taken to some of the epithets with which Bancroft has characterized the action of Dickinson in certain emergencies, it seems to us that the general judgment of the historian of America must be pronounced no more than just. Dickinson, with all his beautiful virtues and scholarly qualities (may we not even say *because* of his beautiful virtues and scholarly qualities?) "was too delicately organized to take part in the rough work" of the Revolution. His refined culture and his opulent learning conspired with his delicacy, his modesty, his "timorousness" to make him over-confident of the power of rhetoric to untie a Gordian knot which only the sword could cut. It is not alone in the pages of later history that we find animadversion on his "nice refining and on the want of mastery over his erudition." His refinements often seemed intolerable to the most friendly of his contemporaries, and no one can read, for example, the paper which he prepared for the Provincial Meeting of Deputies assembled from the several counties of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia on the 15th of July, 1774, without seeing how just was the censure pronounced on his political pedantry. His polemical writings at this time are loaded down with a plethora of learned quotation until they may be said to resemble the cloak of Helen—*pallam signis auroque rigentem*, as Virgil has it. Each of the "Farmer's Letters" was carefully rounded off with an apt citation from the Latin tongue, as if even the signal of political conflict could best be sounded through the silver trumpet of the classics.

If we were set to discover the *mot* of the Dickinson enigma, we should hunt for it in the psychological study of a nature presumed to have been wanting in perfect symmetry and strength because of an unequal balance between its perceptive and its executive powers. Just in proportion as Dickinson's perceptive power was keen and wide, his executive power was liable to be stricken with paralysis by the lions he saw in his path without having the courage to take them by the throat. So it came to pass that he who reasoned in his cabinet "like an oracle of God," might be suddenly transformed on the field of action into another Aethelred the Unready. This psychological trait is no rare phenomenon in history, but finds expression alike in coarse natures and in fine spirits when they are called to face some dreadful moment in the Valley of Decision without having a force of will superior to their powers of perception. Men the most un

like in their moral character and in their social surroundings may resemble each other in this idiosyncrasy. Kinglake, the historian, has left us a striking picture of Napoleon III. on the eve of the Crimean War with which to illustrate the psychological weakness in question. Such would seem to be the portrait he draws of a man disposed to linger over-long in the early stages of a plot; who had the boldness which comes from reflection without that which comes from temperament; who nursed the idea of great enterprises without foreknowing what his sensations would be in the hour of trial; who was liable, therefore, at any moment to be scared by the very danger which he had long been courting, and who, with a procrastinating frame of mind, was always looking about when the hour of action came for some new resting-place in which to shelter his indecision.

It is no reflection on the patriotism of Dickinson that he had the defects of his qualities, and that, under the sway of his constitutional conservatism, he was unable to keep pace with the swinging gait of fervid spirits like Samuel and John Adams. He was conscious of his own limitations, even in the hour when he complained most bitterly of being deserted by his "unkind countrymen." A sense of joy at his release from an intolerable burden of public duty mingles itself even with these fruitless repinings of a wounded spirit. In letters written at the time, and especially in a passage which Dr. Stillé omits (perhaps from motives of delicacy), he tells Charles Thomson that no bridegroom ever entered the bridal chamber with more joy than that which he felt at the moment when he "cast off his popularity" and went into voluntary exile. He was glad to escape from the agony of civil feud, as Falkland was glad to die at Newbury, "ingeminating 'Peace! Peace!'" because he saw there was no peace for him this side of the grave.

"My books and my fields," wrote Dickinson in 1776, "are intercourse and employment for which my constitution is better formed than for the toils of war." His whole career is in keeping with this bit of self-analysis. Early in his public life he acknowledged that he had a disposition to look on the dark side of political changes, and confessed a willingness to submit with complacency to the "censure of being too apprehensive" where possible injury might befall his countrymen. Doubtless he never overcame this constitutional timidity, but it is pleasing to know that in the last great appeal which he made to his fellow-citizens—in the papers written to advocate the ratification of the Constitution—he pointed a pregnant moral against the credence too easily given to "prophets of evil." At the close of those letters he held up to derision the dire predictions adventured by the Earl of Belhaven when decrying the union of Scotland with England. Dickinson had seen the fallacy of such evil auguries in his own painful experience, when, inspired by a want of faith in the logic of events, he set his face against the Declaration of Independence for fear of the evils that were to come on the earth.

We can but admire the biographical enthusiasm with which Dr. Stillé carries his hero on his shoulders through all the fires of the Revolutionary ordeal, but we could sometimes wish that the author had been a little more strict in point of statement, reference, and date. After describing, for instance, the Proprietary Assembly in 1776 as a "bewildered," "puzzled," and "panic-stricken" body, which perished from pure inanition at the first touch of popular violence, it seems hardly consistent to speak of its "masterly inactivity," when its whole inactivity was really the mark and sign of a helpless impotence. It is stated that Joseph Fox, Speaker of the Pennsylvania Assembly, was a "colleague" of Dickinson in the Stamp-Act Congress. Fox was appointed a delegate but did not attend. The date of the Stamp-Act Congress, "the Morning Star of the Revolution," is fixed (p. 72) at the "5th of October, 1764," instead of the "7th of October, 1765." The cross-reference of Appendix vii (p. 421) is confounded with the cross-reference of Appendix iv, and should be p. 232 instead of p. 161. But most confusing of all is the reference made on p. 73 of this biography to Appendix i. as containing Dickinson's "original draft" of the resolutions submitted by him to the Stamp-Act Congress. On turning to the Appendix we find that the author has inadvertently substituted for that draft the copy of an entirely different series prepared *in pari materiâ* for the Provincial Assembly of Pennsylvania. Readers who wish to get access to the true *pièce justificative* may easily find it in the edition of Dickinson's writings published in 1801; but it is not pleasant in a work of history to be put on a false scent.

JAMESON'S STORY OF THE REAR COLUMN.

The Story of the Rear Column of the Emin Pasha Relief Expedition. By the late James S. Jameson, naturalist to the expedition. Edited by Mrs. James S. Jameson. Illustrated by C. Whymper from the author's original sketches. Authorized edition. United States Book Company. 8vo, pp. xxxii, 455.

THERE is much that is interesting in this book, regarded simply as a naturalist's account of his life upon the Congo, and no one can read it without a feeling of regret at the author's untimely death, as a distinct loss to science. Mr. Jameson began his short career as a collector, especially of birds and insects, at the age of twenty-one in Borneo, where he made at least one important discovery. This adventurous trip was followed during the next few years by extensive journeys in South Africa, the Rocky Mountains, and Algeria, so that when he joined Mr. Stanley's expedition he was exceptionally well fitted to make collections of the Congo fauna. Although his official duties interfered seriously with his favorite pursuit, he eagerly availed himself of every opportunity, with very considerable success, as is shown by the lists, given in the appendix, of birds and insects sent by him to England.

His diary and letters show that he was an excellent observer and able to give a vivid impression of the scenery of the great river and the various incidents of the march and camp life. The last entry in his diary, made five days before his death, while running the gauntlet of hostile natives at night, is a fair specimen of his descriptive powers:

"Shot out of an open reach—fine clear night—into a dark, narrow channel, not more than forty yards wide. All at once it became lit up with dozens of fires on both sides, throwing a bright light back into the forest and across the water. We glided on without a sound from us but the zip-zip of the paddles, drums beating, horns blowing, shouts and cries on every side, the white loin-cloths of our men showing plainly who they were. Down this lane of fires and noise we went for nearly half a mile, when suddenly it opened out into a grand open reach of the river on our right, the fires, drums, etc., going on for more than a mile away down on our left."

He seems to have had little inclination to note facts concerning the bird and insect life about him, and passages like the following, descriptive of the nest-building of the black weaver-bird, are accordingly rare:

"They tear a long thin slip off a palm leaf, hold it tight to the side of the nest with one foot, take hold of the loose end in the beak, push it through a small hole in the side, pull it out through another, and make it fast, using the unemployed foot as well as the beak the whole time, regularly weaving the strip of leaf in and out in a wonderful manner."

Still fewer are Mr. Jameson's observations on the distinctive habits and customs of the people with whom he spent seventeen months. Among these is a native's account of the manner in which they make poison for their arrows, which were "long thin slips of hardwood, not much thicker than a match." The ingredients are obtained partly from a tree and mixed "with snake poison, as well as with portions of the body of a child which had been dead a long time, heating it all up together in a pot." An interesting account is given of Tippu-Tib, who, while at first apparently doing everything in his power short of actual violence to wreck the rear-guard, was personally very kind to its officers. This noted freebooter has three nicknames, Tippu-Tib from the sound of his guns; "Mkangwa Nzala, 'afraid of hunger,' in reference to an old saying of his that he does not mind a road where there is plenty of fighting, for there there is food, but a road without fighting means hunger; and lastly, Mtipoora, 'footsteps' or 'footmarks.' When natives come to a village which he has attacked, they look at the footmarks, and say, 'Tippu-Tib has been here, it is a bad place, we will leave it!' This latter name, Mtipoora, is the one by which he is generally spoken of all over the country." From his conversations with Mr. Jameson this Arab appears to have far-reaching plans for greatly extending the territory over which he rules. He questioned him "very closely about all the parts of Africa where gold is found," possibly with reference to an expedition of a thousand men which he was then fitting out for a "gold country" south of Lake Bangweolo.

The main object of the book, however, is to tell the story of the rear column, and this it does, so far as Mr. Jameson is concerned, very simply and fully. How far it succeeds in rebutting Mr. Stanley's charge that "the rear column was wrecked by the irresolution, the neglect of promises, and the indifference to written orders of the officers he left in command of it," will probably ever remain an open question. But the diary leaves the reader in no doubt as to the spirit which Mr. Jameson brought to his duties. At the very outset he records his keen disappointment that Mr. Stanley's imperative haste to bring relief to Emin Pasha would absolutely prevent his collecting while on the march, his one object for joining the expedition. "Though I must say I was rather mad at first, I am now making the best of a bad business," is his comment, but with little success, for at the end of five months he writes to his brother, "As regards myself, the whole trip has been a vast sell." Unfriendly relations with his leader were under these circumstances inevitable, and it does not surprise us to find several incidents recorded in which Mr. Stanley is represented in the blackest colors as grossly unfair and ungentlemanly. When we find, however, that the missionaries of the Congo are accused of theft, treachery, and, by implication, of immorality, the absolute truth of Mr. Jameson's statements may justly be doubted.

It is evident, also, that he had no true interest in the men under his care. He notes in his journal their sufferings and death, with

now and then a kindly expression of regret that he is unable to help them; but we fail to recall a single instance of any attempt on his part to find out and relieve the cause of the great mortality among them. He is wholly absorbed, while in camp, with collecting, sketching, preparing his specimens, and cleaning his guns. His principal official duties seem to have been going the round of the sentries at night and flogging, or causing to be flogged, those whom he found asleep at their posts.

Mr. Stanley, in his letter of instructions to the officers of the rear column, gives some recommendations as to establishing, by gifts, etc., amicable relations with the natives who have been driven away by the expedition from some of their villages and manioc fields. He has not been gone a fortnight when Mr. Jameson suggests the capture of women in order to force the natives to bring in meat, not for the expedition, but for Maj. Barttelot and himself. This is the way in which he begins an account of the manner in which he carried out his barbarous suggestion: "July 10th—I had a most delightful day, for instead of digging the ditch I was out all day. I had determined to begin collecting to-day in the natural-history line, and succeeded in a much larger way than I intended, by collecting two native women, one baby, and a boy." Ten goats, twenty chickens, and some honey are demanded as a ransom. These the natives do not bring, because, as it turns out, they have but a single kid in their village. But Maj. Barttelot tells them, four days after the capture, that if they did not bring a boy whom they had taken prisoner in retaliation, five goats and twenty fowls, "the women would cease to exist." This threat, Mr. Jameson informs us, the poor creatures fully believed would be carried out. It may be said, in this connection, that the diary also gives an instance of Maj. Barttelot's manner of punishing offences. A Sudanese soldier stole some meat on December 2, receives 150 strokes, "which cut him up very much," is put in chains "doing walking punishment [carrying a load in camp] every day" until February 4, when he escapes. A few days after, he is recaptured and is shot, which, considering "from what a miserable existence he tried to escape," was, after all, a merciful act.

Mr. Jameson shows his heartlessness towards the natives in other ways, also. He, most inexcusably, shoots some of them while they are defending themselves against his companions, a band of Arab slave-hunters who have looted and destroyed their villages. It is difficult, indeed, to detect any difference between the way in which the two officers regarded the negroes and that of the Arabs themselves. "Three of Barttelot's slaves [women] escaped from the Sudanese soldiers in charge of them," is a terribly significant entry in the diary. The cannibal feast of which he is the witness is the most flagrant proof, however; his own account seeming to us to be cold-blooded, and to show only the faintest conception of the enormity of his folly, to call it by no harsher name. It is scarcely necessary to add that this treatment, instead of establishing amicable relations with the natives, alienated them so that the villages in the neighborhood of the camp were abandoned. This greatly increased the difficulty of getting proper food for the men, the want of which was the principal cause of their wretched condition.

Indifference to the welfare of his men, and inhuman conduct towards the natives, are the gravest charges which can be brought against the unfortunate Mr. Jameson. But his diary also shows that in many respects he did his duty, as he understood it, faithfully, and, in the latter days, zealously. He stuck manfully to his post through the weary months of inactive waiting, though under great temptations to relinquish it. In his bitter disappointment at the beginning regarding the expedition as a "vast sell," he ends by being willing to sacrifice his whole fortune to insure its success. His faults were those of a somewhat immature young man (he was but thirty-two when he died), which he would probably have outgrown under a more favorable influence than that of Maj. Barttelot. He was placed in a position for which he was unfitted and given a task too great for his powers. It is greatly to be regretted that Mr. Stanley was not generous and self-forgetful enough to have joined with his censure of Mr. Jameson the praise which in some respects he seems to have well deserved.

The volume is profusely illustrated, mostly from sketches by the author. There is also an appendix containing, among other things, a short account of his work as a naturalist by Mr. R. Bowdler Sharpe, and descriptive lists of his collections.

Noto: An Unexplored Corner of Japan. By Percival Lowell. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1891.

On the west coast of Hondo, the main island of Japan, facing Corea, and projecting northward above the thirty-seventh parallel of latitude, is the mountainous peninsula and province of Noto. Formerly an appanage of the powerful Baron of Kaga, richest of all the daimios, it has been, since the old provinces were practically blotted from the map by the new prefectures, a part of the Ishikawa *ken*. In the days of the Jesuit missionary operations in the seventeenth century, Noto was far from being "an unexplored corner," for it was again and again traversed by the Portuguese priests ministering to their little congregations of Christian believers scattered here and there. In the history of the Roman Catholic Church in Japan, Noto figures frequently upon the page as a hopeful portion of the field of faith.

It was not, however, a search into archæology that prompted Mr. Lowell to mount his jin-riki-sha, and, with his boy Yejiro and a supply of tinned provisions, to make such a flying exploration as the limited time fixed in his passport would allow. For much the same reason that Coleridge selected the Susquehanna River as the site of his proposed colony—for its euphony and mystery—did Mr. Lowell select Noto. "Nobody seemed to know much about my inamorata." "I liked its vowel color; I liked its consonant form, the liquid *n* and the decisive *t*." The letters "suggested both womanliness and will." The more he looked the more he longed.

This delightful initial page or two about nothing is the keynote of the book. The strain is prolonged, the linked sweetness is drawn out, to the two hundred and sixty-first and final page. It makes little difference to the author or reader where he went, or whether Noto was objective reality or a promontory in dreamland. On every page we have an exhibition of intellectual acrobatics. The quips and leaps, the ups and downs, frolic and play of mental gymnastics remind us of Hokusai's inimitable sketch of Japanese boys exhausting the resources of calisthenic fun on a bamboo. The Chinese characters which the Japanese have for centuries employed to express the aboriginal Aino name Noto, mean a drama of ascents. This was Mr. Lowell's journey, and in his literary presentation there is dramatic power, with the narration of not a little comedy. It is a book to be read for intellectual pleasure rather than for information. Partly by railway, partly by jin-riki-sha, he crossed the great plain, the mountain ranges, the dangerous passes, the Etchiu delta, by sea inland and beyond land, and saw what there was to be beheld in Noto, which by his own confession was little beyond, if not indeed somewhat less, than could be seen in other parts of Japan. This, however, will not disappoint the reader who seeks amusement rather than statistics. Mr. Lowell loses no opportunity for fun, or for comical reference to his classics and mathematics. His sprightly gayety of mind makes his chat about charcoal, bedquilts, rice-straw sandals, ferryboats, or what not, as interesting as if he were solving the problems of feudalism, or telling amazing rather than quite ordinary stories of personal adventure. He writes of the pilgrims, the family worship, the hotel life, and, in general, of the country and people in an unconventional style that will please the general reader. To those who from a traveller seek fresh stimulus or knowledge the wonder will be, with so much dessert, where is the dinner?

Charles Darwin, his Life and Work. By Charles Frederick Holder. [Leaders in Science.] G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1891. 8vo, pp. xvi., 279. Illustrated.

This biography has been written with a view to interest young as well as adult readers. The author has not attempted an analysis of Darwin's work from a professional standpoint, but has aimed to present as simply as possible the story of his life, with a plain statement of what constitutes that complex of scientific opinion which has been called Darwinism. The Life as a whole is derived from the standard sources, the 'Life and Letters of Darwin,' by his son, and the 'Voyage of the *Beagle*.' To these are added an enumeration of the scientific honors, medals, memberships, etc., which came to the great naturalist; some account of his ancestry and family, a chapter or two on "Darwinism," a reprint of the proceedings of the Darwin memorial meeting held by the Biological Society of Washington shortly after his death, a bibliography of Darwiniana, and an index. There are also numerous, mostly very good, illustrations.

The book is not remarkable, either on the literary or the scientific side, but meets very fairly the need for a cheap, popular life of Darwin, which should be available for readers in general and especially for the young. As a guide in science or a serious study of the subject, it is, of course, without pretensions. There are occasional unimportant slips in matters of natural history which we do not feel inclined to insist upon, but there is one statement to which serious exception must be taken. The author says: "He [Darwin] was in theory an agnostic, in practice an orthodox Christian of the broadest type" (p. 148). Darwin was a noble example of ethical perfection, but that he was a Christian, much less an orthodox Christian, in any legitimate sense of the term, cannot be truthfully asserted.

George Eliot, Matthew Arnold, Browning, Newman Essays and Reviews from the *Athenæum*. By Joseph Jacobs. London: David Nutt; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1891.

This small volume contains the literary estimates of the four authors named on the title-page, which appeared in the *Athenæum* on the

occasion of their death; and together with them are six reviews of books by or about these authors. The estimates, it need hardly be said, are sufficient for the purpose they served; and if they are rather from a philosophic than a literary mind, and show more of German than of other culture, this is frankly declared by the author when he styles his criticism psychological and not æsthetic. The best of them is upon George Eliot, and embodies an admirably brief judgment; but we were more interested in the few remarks in the introduction upon the causes of the decline of her reputation since her death than in the analysis of her genius and influence. Mr. Jacobs looks upon her work as dominated by her ideas of Darwinism, or what used to be called such. He quotes his remark, made in 1879, upon the risk her works ran "by subordinating the eternal truths of art to what may be the temporary opinions of science," and adds that he was a true prophet. Darwinism, he thinks, "has come, and has conquered, and, as a vital influence in the spiritual life, has gone"; and "George Eliot, the literary voice of Darwinism," has fallen into some discredit with the theory that did not solve so many problems as it was expected to. There may be some truth in this, but it is surely a very narrow view, both of the permanence of the moral effects of the evolutionary conception of life, and also of the causes operant in that sort of decline in reputation which is implied in a change of popular reading. In this particular (and in other parts of these articles) the scientific habit of thought shows itself not best adapted to reach those conclusions, at once catholic and exact, which belong to literature in criticism; and, in general, the further Mr. Jacobs gets from the literary points of his subject, and the nearer he comes to the questions of "tendency," of social meaning, of analysis of mental faculty on the side of thought rather than expression, the better he writes. "Psychological" criticism betrays itself in the diction of a sentence like this, which occurs in the paper on Browning: "He attempted not only to give the emotive iridescence of the poetic afflatus, but also at the same time to suggest the accompanying inrush of clustering thoughts." The hand of a man of letters could not write like that, nor would good taste permit such an expression, we think, as this which closes the papers upon George Eliot: "The novelist's art has never been made so sacramental as by George Eliot."

The two extremes of defect in this volume, which calls for no special notice, are illustrated by these quotations—the excess of the scientific spirit and a certain lack of fineness in literary sensibility. These defects, however, do not prevent the notices from being valuable—they are, indeed, alike sound and reasonable within necessary narrow limits; but we cannot add that the reviews tagged on them were really worth reprinting, for the best points in them had already been used for the main article. So small a volume does not bear much repetition of thought and expression.

Introduction to Phonetics. By Laura Soames. London: Swan Sonnenschein.

We have here a book well calculated to make an important science more popular than it has been hitherto. While following, in general, the best authorities, Miss Soames has adapted her style and the arrangement of her material to the intelligence of the average reader; and the numerous word-lists scattered through the volume ought to be as helpful to the beginner as they are interesting to the more advanced student. Considering how little is really known, as yet, about the nature of speech-sounds, we think that the author is quite right in adopting the simplest possible classification, rejecting all obscure and uncertain distinctions. We have some doubts as to the propriety of calling French *o* in *homme* a "back vowel," but in so defining it the author merely follows Passy. In the nomenclature of consonants it would surely have been better to discard the terms "hard" and "soft"; the designation of English *r* as a "trill" looks like cruel sarcasm. Pitch is treated in a somewhat less modern fashion than the other branches of the subject, the authority cited being Trautmann, whose theories seem rather antiquated in the light of Lloyd's recent discoveries.

Nearly half of the book is devoted to the discussion of English; French and German sounds are then briefly described in accordance with the views of Passy and Vietor; the last eighty pages contain exercises and reading lessons. The English pronunciation adopted is nearly that of Sweet's 'Elementarbuch.' Words like *ask* have the "broad" *ah; o* in *bore, court*, etc., is always *aw; loss, soft*, etc., usually have *aw*, but the accented vowel of *halter, palfry, salt, want* is *ŏ; daunt, haunt* are *dawnt, hawnt*, but elsewhere *au* has, in such words, the value *ah;* "*r* is never heard unless a vowel follows it." *Wednesday* is given with the first *d* silent; Sweet's pronunciation is *Wednzdy*. We are grieved to learn that English children of the "middle and lower classes" accent the first syllable of *papa* and *mamma*. The form *ĭdyl*, which is quoted as a mispronunciation common "in the speech of educated people," explains a puzzling rhyme in Gilbert's libretto to "Patience." As was to be expected, many words appear in shapes that are but little known in our country; such are *princess* and *wayside* with the accent on the last syllable, and *plait* pronounced *plat*. The list of "faults characteristic of teachers, that is to say, pedantic efforts to pronounce as we spell," is a most welcome contribution, and might easily have been extended to ten times its present length.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Adams, W. I. L. The Photographic Instructor. New ed. The Scovill & Adams Co. $1.
Allen, J. L. Flute and Violin, and Other Kentucky Tales and Romances. Harper & Bros.
Appletons' Dictionary of New York and its Vicinity. 13th year. D. Appleton & Co.
Bacon, T. S. It Is Written. Wilbur B. Ketcham.
Baker, J. John Westacott: A Novel. New ed. London: Sampson Low & Co.
Barr, Amelia E. She Loved a Sailor. Dodd, Mead & Co. $1.25.
Bates, A. A Book o' Nine Tales. Boston: Roberts Bros. $1.
Baxley, T. R. Songs of the Spirit. Buffalo: Charles Wells Moulton.
Bell, Mrs. H. Chamber Comedies. Longmans, Green & Co. $2.
Biography of Dio Lewis, A.M., M.D. Fowler & Wells.
Bonney, Rev. T. G. Old Truths in Modern Lights. London: Percival & Co.; New York: James Pott & Co.
Boutmy, E. The English Constitution. Macmillan & Co. $1.75.
Bréhat, A. de. Bras d'Acier; or, On the Goldpath in '49. Cassell Publishing Co. 50 cents.
Briggs, Prof. C. A. The Authority of Holy Scripture. 2d ed. Charles Scribner's Sons. 50 cents.
Brooks, W. The Oyster. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press.
Crosby, Margaret. A Violin Obligato, and Other Stories. Boston: Roberts Bros. $1.
Combe, T. A Question of Love. Boston: Roberts Bros. $1.
Conkling's Handy Manual of Useful Information. Chicago: Laird & Lee. 25 cents.
Cyclopædia of Temperance and Prohibition. Funk & Wagnalls. $3.50.
Directory of Second-Hand Booksellers and List of Public Libraries. Rochdale, Eng.: James Clegg.
Eight Days. United States Book Co. 50 cents.
Fairchild, Dr. M. Augusta. Women and Health. Quincy, Ill. $2.50.
Fiske, A. K. Beyond the Bourne. Fords, Howard & Hulbert.
Fiske, J. The American Revolution. 2 vols. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $4.
Flower, W. H., and R. Lydecker. Introduction to the Study of Mammals, Living and Extinct. Macmillan & Co. $6.
Furniss, Grace L. A Box of Monkeys. Harper & Bros.
Goncourt, E. and J. de. Germinie Lacerteux. Belford Co. 50 cents.
Goncourt, E. and J. de. Mademoiselle Renée Mauperin. Belford Co. 50 cents.
Grant, J. B. Our Common Birds and How to Know Them. Charles Scribner's Sons. $1.50.
Green, T. M. The Spanish Conspiracy: A Review of Early Spanish Movements in the Southwest. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co. $2.
Grey, M. In the Heart of the Storm. D. Appleton & Co. Also, United States Book Co. 50 cents.
Gunsaulus, F. W. Monk and Knight. 2 vols. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. $2.50.
Halliburton, Dr. W. D. A Text-Book of Chemical Physiology and Pathology. Longmans, Green & Co. $9.75.
Hancock, Anson N. The Genius of Galilee. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Co.
Hans Andersen's Stories. In two Parts. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 30 cents.
Harland, Marion. At Last. G. W. Dillingham.
Harrison, Mrs. B. The Anglomaniacs. Cassell Publishing Co.
Harris, J. C. Balaam and his Master, and Other Sketches and Stories. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $1.25.
Hobson, J. A. Problems of Poverty. Methuen & Co.
Howells, W. D. Criticism and Fiction. Harper & Bros.
Howe, F. H. In Spite of Himself. Belford Co. 50 cents.
Huntington, Rev. W. R. The Peace of the Church. Charles Scribner's Sons. $1.25.
Hutchinson, H. G. Famous Golf Links. Longmans, Green & Co. $2.
Idle Time Tales, by F. Coppée, Balzac, etc. Chicago: Rand, McNally & Co.
King, Capt. C. By Land and Sea. Philadelphia: L. R. Hamersley & Co.
Jacobs, J. George Eliot, Matthew Arnold, Browning, Newman: Essays and Reviews. Charles Scribner's Sons. $1.25.
Jennings, L. J. The Philadelphians: A Novel. Harper & Bros. 50 cents.
Jerome, J. Diary of a Pilgrimage. Henry Holt & Co. $1.25.
Jokai, M. There is no Devil: A Romance. Cassell Publishing Co. $1.
Jones, Prof. D. E. Elementary Lessons in Heat, Light and Sound. Macmillan & Co. 70 cents.
Journal of Maurice de Guérin. Dodd, Mead & Co.
Keep, R. The Essential Uses of the Moods in Greek and Latin. Boston: Ginn & Co. 30 cents.
La Favre, Carrica. Mother's Help and Child's Friend. Brentano's.
Langton, R. The Childhood and Youth of Charles Dickens. Charles Scribner's Sons. $1.75.
Lapsus Calami: Poems. Cambridge, Eng.: Macmillan & Bowes.
Lee, F. W. A Shred of Lace. St. Paul, Minn.: The Price-McGill Publishing Co. 50 cents.
Letourneau, C. The Evolution of Marriage and of the Family. Charles Scribner's Sons. $1.25.
Life and Letters of Wilder Dwight. 2d ed. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. $1.
Love's Looking-Glass: A Volume of Poems. London: Percival & Co.
Macfarlane, A. Principles of the Algebra of Logic. Edinburgh: David Douglas.
Marryat, Florence. The Risen Dead. United States Book Co. 50 cents.
Marshall, J. A Short History of Greek Philosophy. London: Percival & Co.; New York: Macmillan & Co. $1.10.
Maupassant, Guy de. Mont-Oriol. Belford Co.
Meyer, Prof. E. von. History of Chemistry. Macmillan & Co. $4.50.
Miller, G. J. Chihuahua. Chicago: Kehm, Fietsch & Wilson Co. $1.
Nathusius, Marie. Elizabeth. Philadelphia: Porter & Coates. $1.50.
Oakes, C. The Canadian Senator. United States Book Co. 25 cents.
Parsons, J. R. Prussian Schools through American Eyes. Syracuse: C. W. Bardeen. $1.
Perry, Rev. W. S. The General Ecclesiastical Constitution of the American Church. Thomas Whittaker. $1.50.
Phelps, Elizabeth S. Fourteen to One. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $1.25.
Redgrave, G. R. David Cox and Peter De Wint. Charles Scribner's Sons. $1.25.
Ritchie, Rev. A. What Catholics Believe and Do. New York: Guild of St. Ignatius. 30 cents.
Rooper, T. G. Apperception. Syracuse: C. W. Bardeen. 50 cents.
Saintsbury, G. Essays on French Novelists. Charles Scribner's Sons. $2.
Saintsbury, G. Essays in English Literature, 1780–1860. Charles Scribner's Sons. $2.
Sales, Pierre. A Fair American. Chicago: Rand, McNally & Co.
Salisbury, H. B. Miss Worden's Hero. G. W. Dillingham. 50 cents.
Schönberg, J. Widowed Wife and Wedded Maid. Belford Co. 75 cents.
Scott, Sir W. Lady of the Lake. Macmillan & Co. 40 cents.
Sladen, D. Younger American Poets, 1830–1890. Cassell Publishing Co. $2.
Smith, F. H. Colonel Carter of Cartersville. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $1.25.
Sparmann, Helen M. An Attempt at an Analysis of Music. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co.
Stockton, F. R. The Rudder Grangers Abroad, and Other Stories. Charles Scribner's Sons. $1.25.
Strachan, J. Herodotus. Book VI. Macmillan & Co. $1.
Strong, Prof. H. A., W. S. Logeman, and Prof. B. I. Wheeler. Introduction to the Study of Language. Longmans, Green & Co. $3.50.
Swete, Rev. H. B. The Old Testament in Greek. Vol. II. Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan. $2.25.
Swinton, R. B. Chess for Beginners. Boston: Little, Brown & Co.
Thanet, Octave. Otto the Knight, and Other Trans-Mississippi Stories. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $1.25.
The Friend of Death. Cassell Publishing Co. 50 cents.
The Laird o' Cockpen. United States Book Co. 50 cents.
The Little Things in Every-day Life. Thomas Whittaker. 25 cents.
The Reader's Guide in Economic, Social and Political Science. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 50 cents.
Theuriet, André. Queen of the Woods. Chicago: Laird, Lee & Co.

The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, MAY 28, 1891.

The Week.

It is not likely that the managers of either of the great political parties will give much serious thought henceforth to the "People's Party," which was formally organized in Cincinnati on Thursday of last week. Probably the strongest impression which the gathering has made upon professional political observers has been one of surprise that the various new party movements in the West and South were able to make no better showing in a national convention. The roll-call of the Convention by States showed that only 32 of the 44 States were represented, and that of the 1,418 delegates present, nearly a third, 411, were from Kansas, and nearly a fourth, 317, were from Ohio. The combined representatives from Kansas, Illinois, Wisconsin, Nebraska, Ohio, Indiana, Iowa, and Minnesota, numbered 1,147, leaving only 271 for all the remainder of the country, so that it was really a convention of the dissatisfied and discontented elements of the population of eight Western States, all except one of which, Indiana, have hitherto been considered safely Republican in Presidential elections. Only ten Southern States were represented at all, and of their 113 delegates, 59 were from Kentucky, 26 from Texas, and 13 from West Virginia, making 98 from three States, and leaving only 15 to be divided among the remaining seven. If either party can find any cause for uneasiness here it is the Republican, but there is much less to disturb Republican calculations than many observers have supposed. No new leaders were brought to the front in the convention, but the two moving spirits were Ignatius Donnelly of Minnesota and Gen. Weaver of Iowa, both conspicuous in the Greenback and other cheap-money campaigns of the past, and both as thoroughly discredited "leaders" as could be found in the whole country. Weaver, it will be remembered by students of political almanacs, was the Greenback candidate for the Presidency in 1880, polling in the whole country 307,740 votes. He did not seriously menace the fortunes of either party in that campaign, and there is little reason to regard him as more of a "power" now, with his old ally, Donnelly, and his new ally, Peffer of Kansas, than he was then.

The declaration of principles put forward by the Convention is no more original and captivating than its leading spirits. It is the old Greenback platform, with modifications and variations to suit the latest developments of the cheap-money mania. It calls for "plenty of money in the pockets of the people," with no limitation either as to amount or quality. It endorses the absurd sub-treasury scheme in the advocacy of which even such strong defenders of the "people's interests" as "Jerry" Simpson are beginning to falter. There is no more popular magnetism in this familiar demand for more money for everybody, and in this cry for "death to the money power," now than there was when Gen. Weaver ran for the Presidency with them as "battle-cries" in 1880, or when Gen. Butler, assisted by the New York *Sun*, ran with them in 1884, and polled only a little more than half as many votes as Weaver had received. Every issue which represented a definite following was left out of the platform. There is no mention of the tariff in it, and no allusion to the prohibition question, two subjects upon which convictions of some kind would have appealed to large bodies of voters.

There was an interesting discussion of the immigration problem at last week's session of the Conference of Charities and Correction in Indianapolis. It was introduced by a report of the Committee on the subject prepared by S. C. Wrightington of the Massachusetts Board of Lunacy and Charity. This report took ground in favor of severe restrictions upon immigration in future, and laid stress upon the falling off in the character of foreigners who have come to this country of late years, physically, intellectually, and morally, as compared with earlier periods in our history. This opinion, however, was stoutly contested by Mr. Cadwalader Biddle of Philadelphia, who is connected with the Pennsylvania Board of Charities. He declared that the immigrants arriving at Philadelphia now are of a better class than those who came a few years ago, and maintained that the cost of the paupers and other defective classes coming from abroad is not so great as has been estimated, as charitable institutions must be built and sustained for the native population. Mr. A. O. Wright of Wisconsin said that his State had the largest foreign population of any in the Union—two-thirds of those over twenty-one years of age being of foreign birth. That population is German, Scandinavian, Irish, etc., but they furnish no more crime, pauperism, and insanity than do the natives. They are good citizens and are a valuable population. Some of the counties are wholly settled by these people, and although they are opposed to prohibition, he, as a temperance man, was forced to admit that drunkenness is no greater in such counties than in those where prohibition is favored by a majority. A Colorado delegate enlarged upon the evils of the contract-labor system, and declared that it was not consistent for the Union League Club, whose members, as members of corporations, had caused such laborers to be brought to this country by tens of thousands, now to deplore the evils of unrestricted immigration. Herbert A. Forrest of Michigan, himself a native of a foreign country, told of a colony from Europe which occupies an entire township in Michigan. The township is one of the richest in the State, he said; there is never a dollar of delinquent tax against it; it has not a pauper or a drunkard; yet none of the people use the English language, and they could not have got consular certificates because they were fleeing from a tyrannous government which would not have let them come to America.

There was no approach to agreement as to the proper methods of restriction among those who believed that something ought to be done. Several speakers advocated some form of supervision by our consuls in foreign countries. But Mr. Everett of Washington, who was connected with the American Legation at Berlin for seven years, pointed out many difficulties in the way of such supervision, and did not think the plan feasible. Father Bessonies of Indianapolis took the same view. The people, he said, flock into the towns where they are to embark, by thousands, from distant places, and the consuls could not know or find out their character or fitness for emigration. He thought that if there were Government agents at the ports of entry in this country to direct the immigrants where to go and how to reach places where they are needed, much pauperism and crime would be averted. The discussion only served to show the wide divergencies of opinion as to the seriousness of the evil among those who have studied the subject, and the utter lack of agreement as to how to overcome the evil among those who are most impressed with its seriousness.

The President of the American Screw Company has made in the Providence *Telegram* a remarkable statement concerning the effect of the drawback provisions of the McKinley tariff law. This company, which ranks as the first of its kind in this country, has been forced by the onerous conditions of the drawback provisions to establish a branch manufactory at Leeds, England, and proposes to establish another branch in Germany, in order to supply the foreign demand for its goods. "We shall," says the President, "introduce the American system of work into our Leeds factory, with Americans for the heads of the various departments, but with English factory hands." This is the way in which the McKinley tariff helps American labor, and protects it from the "ruinous competition of the pauper labor of Europe." This decision of the American Screw Company furnishes a practical demonstration of the truth of the statements which Mr. David A. Wells made in the *Evening Post* of April 20 concerning the worthlessness of the drawback provisions, and shows that President Harrison and Mr. McKinley, in asserting to the contrary, evidently did not know what they were talking about.

It will be remembered that McKinley and his associates declared, when protest was made against more than doubling the tax on foreign tin, that the proposed new tax would not go into effect before July 1, 1891, and predicted that before that date American tin plate would be selling more cheaply than foreign, and that in the meantime there would be no advance in the price of foreign tin. July 1 is nearly here, and if there is any American tin plate in the market to be bought in quantity at any price, nobody has been able to find it. In the meantime the price of foreign tin has gone up so that the amount of the increased tax has to be paid to the foreign manufacturers, and the American workingman's tin dinner-pail costs him proportionately more than it did before the McKinley Bill became a law. The Buffalo manufacturer, like the American Screw Company, is, as we learn from the Buffalo *Courier*, forced, in order to do any export business, to build a factory in Canada, to be manned by Canadian labor, in order to compete with Canadian producers of dinner-pails on their own ground. In this way, the American manufacturer will be able to sell dinner-pails to Canadian workingmen at a lower price than he can sell them to American workingmen, and the latter will also be deprived of the wages which will be paid for the Canadian output. It will be observed that the Buffalo manufacturer, like the American Screw Company, finds the drawback provisions of the McKinley law of no use whatever.

The attempt to suppress the manufacture of oleomargarine by putting a tax upon it has proved an utter failure. The sales of stamps by the Internal-Revenue Bureau during the four years since the law was passed shows that the industry has grown, despite this attempt on the part of the Government to suppress it. The sales in 1886 aggregated $407,670; in 1887, $642,710; in 1888, $686,674; and in 1889, $624,499; while thus far, in the ten months of the fiscal year 1891, the aggregate of stamps sold is $694,944, or more than for the twelve months of any previous year. The fluctuations in the manufacture of oleomargarine are found to follow almost exactly those in the butter market. Thus, during the winter of 1889–90 butter was plentiful and cheap, and as a result the trade in oleomargarine declined heavily, while during the last few months butter has been scarce and high, and the sales of oleomargarine stamps have been very large—$137,513 during April, as against only $23,290 in July last.

There has seldom been a grosser abuse of the taxing power than in the act imposing a penalty upon the manufacture of this substitute for butter. Everybody concedes that the Government has a right, and, indeed, is bound, to see that such a substitute is not prejudicial to the public health; but the act in question imposed the tax without any reference to the quality of the product. There is no doubt that pure oleomargarine is healthful, and the Government has no more business to put a tax upon a pure substitute for butter than it would have to put such a tax upon butter itself. The act in question was simply a piece of "class legislation," such as the farmers are constantly denouncing, in the interest of those farmers who raise more butter than their families use, and who wanted to force people, many of whom were poor, to pay a higher price for it than they could charge without the interference of the Government. It was as unreasonable and unjust as many of the outbreaks against the introduction of labor-saving machinery, which have always wrought temporary harm to some element in the population at the same time that they brought permanent advantage to the whole community in the long run.

The Republican members of the Pennsylvania Senate have refused to allow a ballot-reform bill to be passed through that body at the present session by adhering to the preposterous measure which they had reported from committee. It is not a ballot-reform bill in any sense of the term, and is a direct contradiction of the bill which passed the lower house some weeks ago. The action of the Senate Republicans is in compliance with orders from Quay and the local Republican bosses, and so patient and long-suffering a Republican organ as the Philadelphia *Press* admits that, in taking the course they have, these Senators are seeking the defeat of all ballot-reform legislation. The *Press* says of them: "They don't even want the bill which they are passing themselves, and, as nobody else wants it, it had much better be defeated outright than passed in its present shape. It is a mockery of ballot reform and an insult to the intelligence of the people. Republican Senators who are supporting this abortion are doing their utmost to dishonor the Republican party." The idea of "dishonoring" a party which submits to Quay's leadership in all things must strike the Senators as a delightful joke.

While there has been a solid basis for the Southern prosperity which has of late years challenged the attention of the nation, unscrupulous speculators have made fortunes for themselves, and cheated thousands of people out of larger and smaller sums, by working up fictitious "booms" in one place and another. The collapse of some of these booms has been so complete as to be laughable to outsiders. Application was made the other day for the appointment of a receiver to take charge of the property of the Cardiff Coal and Iron Company in Cardiff, Tenn. A year ago this company published flaming advertisements of a forthcoming sale of lots in what it was declared would soon be one of the great manufacturing centres of the South, and over $900,000 worth of lots was sold. Purchasers were assured that the company had $1,000,000 in its treasury to spend in public improvements during the first year. The year has expired, and the town now consists of a $50,000 bank, a saloon, and a country store. The Judge granted the application, on the ground that the company was insolvent, was fraudulently disposing of property, and was granting fraudulent preferences.

No one who has followed the course of events in the Pension Bureau at Washington since it came under the control of the Harrison Administration can doubt that a portentous scandal has been in preparation there from the moment of "Corp." Tanner's entry into the Commissionership. Gen. Raum took hold of the work at the place where Tanner was forced to drop it, and he is greatly misunderstood if he has not exceeded Tanner in many ways as a sower of seed for a future crop of scandals. The conduct of his son was so bad that it is said that the Attorney-General has ordered the District Attorney to investigate it, but it will be surprising if the public is allowed to see much that the District Attorney discovers. Sooner or later there will have to be an investigation which will investigate to find out, and when it begins to work, the President will be convinced, perhaps, of the folly of trying to prevent scandal in a public office by removing one bad official as soon as he is found out, and putting another bad one in his place.

We expected that our exposure of the garbling done by somebody in Washington, in citing the case of Rose vs. Himely, in the *Tribune* the other day, would call forth something in the nature of excuse or defence, and we foresaw exactly what the defence would be, namely, that the decision in Rose vs. Himely was reversed in the case of Hudson vs. Guestier. But this is no defence at all. It fails to tell us how the decision of the court in the case of Hudson vs. Guestier justifies the production of an extract from a dissenting opinion in Rose vs. Himely as the decision of the court in the latter case. We knew that the decision was reversed in the case of Hudson vs. Guestier, but the young gentleman who gets up Secretary Tracy's authorities for him apparently did not, or he would have cited it in the first instance, instead of exposing himself to the charge of garbling by citing Rose vs. Himely. The only opinion it was permissible to him to quote from the case of Rose vs. Himely as the opinion of the court, was the opinion of Chief-Justice Marshall. The only other point in the defence worth notice is the quotation from Hall, justifying "pursuit into the open seas" of a vessel which has committed an infraction of municipal laws. Hall qualifies this in this way:

> "It might be added that this can only be done when the pursuit is begun while the vessel is still within the territorial waters, or has only just escaped from them. The reason for the permission seems to be that pursuit under these circumstances is a continuation of an act of jurisdiction which has been begun, or which, but for the accident of immediate escape, would have been begun, within the territory itself, and that it is necessary to permit it in order to enable the territorial jurisdiction to be efficiently exercised." (P. 214.)

But "the little Puffendorf" who gets up the

authorities for Secretary Tracy fails to see that this authority does him no good, because our pursuit of the *Itata* did not begin within the territorial waters. It began three days later, and was therefore open to the objections which Hall states on the same page. But if he will not garble or misstate again, we will forgive him this time. Error in opinion is venial, but wilful misquotation is a serious offence.

The attempt of some of the Standing Committees of the Episcopal dioceses to prevent the election of Phillips Brooks to the bishopric of Massachusetts, taken in connection with the attack on Dr. Briggs, seems to indicate that the unwillingness to give high places to eminent men, which has so long been a marked feature of our national politics, is making its way into the ecclesiastical forum also. In England, for a long time, the test of "availability" in candidates for bishoprics to be filled by the Crown has been very much the same as our test of availability for the Presidency. That is, the candidate, in order to have a good chance of nomination, had to be a man who had uttered no decided opinions, had given no offence to parties or sections of parties in theology, and was in all things, including eloquence and piety, remarkable only for avoiding extremes. This, of course, means that it was, as a rule, the obscure and "safe" men who got the bishoprics. But of late years there has been a strong disposition in England to abandon this policy and give the ecclesiastical prizes to men, like the late Archbishop Magee, famous for their eloquence, or their scholarship, or their courage and force of character. It would be very interesting if the American Church were to begin to show fear of talent and eloquence just as the English Church was getting over it, and to shudder and turn pale at the sight of heterodoxy just as the mother Church was beginning to handle it fearlessly and with enlightened curiosity. The chief end of a bishop, as of a church, is, after all, to convince men that the Christian religion furnishes a good rule of life, and in all ages it has been the able rather than the sound men who have been successful in this undertaking. Just now the Church's great difficulty is to get people to listen to the pulpit at all, so that there would be something almost comic in its absurdity in the rejection, as a candidate for a great place, of its most powerful and effective preacher, because some little men in various dioceses are not sure that they agree with him on various little points on which there never has been any general agreement at all.

What we said a few weeks ago was a fair inference as to the reason for existence of the reciprocity treaty with Brazil—namely, that it was a gift by the Provisional Government of that country in return for recognition by the United States—is now asserted to be a fact in a French newspaper published in Rio, the *Brésil Républicain*. The statement is that the treaty was made a condition *sine quâ non* by the Washington Administration at the time of recognizing Fonseca, and that this accounts for his putting it through in defiance of public opinion. However this may be, it is clear that the treaty does not gain in popularity in Brazil as the weeks pass by. Especially does the announcement of our proposed treaty with Spain and with other South American Republics make the Brazilians feel doubly foolish in having given away so much for nothing. If sugar from Cuba and Porto Rico, and hides and coffee from all South America, are to be given as favorable treatment as the corresponding products of Brazil, the agreement is too palpably one-sided. But Fonseca proposes to be a law unto himself in this matter and everything else. His recent reorganization of his Cabinet has had the curious result of turning out almost all the Republicans and putting inveterate monarchists in their places. His new Premier is Baron Lucena, who officially insists upon his title, in spite of the prohibition of titles of nobility in the new Constitution. He is said to be at present the dominating personality in Brazilian politics, and to be the man really behind Fonseca in the reactionary policy recently inaugurated. Governors of States have been arbitrarily removed, pending the election of State Legislatures, and other high-handed measures resorted to in order to get officials subservient to the Administration. No one supposes that a monarchist restoration is contemplated, but only that support is sought for the personal rule of the President.

The financial question seems likely now to be the pivot upon which the civil war in Chili would turn, and it would appear that the insurgents are in possession of the longest purses. Balmaceda's agent in London is reported to have met with no success in his effort to place a loan for so small a sum as $1,500,000. The President's message to Congress, April 20, was telegraphed in full to Europe, it is said at the author's private expense, in order that the flattering account he gave of the progress of the war might have its effect in bolstering up his failing credit with European bankers. In this it was a decided failure, since along with it went an official despatch from the heads of the Provisional Government at Iquique, setting forth the highly questionable legality of any such loan, and calling upon the representatives of the insurgents abroad to give public warning that no such loan would ever be recognized by the Congressional party in case of their final success. On the other hand, the insurrectionary leaders, either by good luck or foresight, early gained control over the great nitrate-producing provinces, and the large revenue thus put within their power has been generously added to by advances from wealthy Chilians. It is this situation of affairs that makes the "Nitrate King" of London believe in their ultimate triumph, and his opinion is certainly given color, just now, by the apparent cessation of serious fighting, and the settling down of the two parties to a contest of financial endurance.

The unexpected devotion of the Belgrade students to ex-Queen Natalie has turned a prearranged comedy into a deplorable tragedy. The expulsion of Natalie was virtually decreed by the Skupshtina several weeks ago, and the determination to carry it into effect was communicated to her by M. Patchitch, the Servian Premier, in a letter in which he "humbly begged her Majesty to be pleased to inform him of her decision." To this Natalie replied, after conferring with M. Garashanin and others of her advisers, that she did not consider the decision of the National Assembly as an order to leave the country, but merely as an expression of a wish; and that she was firmly resolved to remain in Servia, considering that her removal could not possibly be useful either to the interests of the kingdom or to those of the throne. "Should it, however," she added, "be my destiny to have to yield to force, I shall at least have proved to my only child, and perhaps later on to history, that I have left my son not of my own free will." It thus became clear that she had resolved to turn a deaf ear to the counsels of Count Hunyadi, a Hungarian nobleman related to the Obrenovitch family, who had gone to Belgrade to pursuade her to leave Servia of her own accord, without compelling the Regents to resort to force.

The enthusiasm with which Natalie was received at Semlin in Hungary, where she first sought refuge after leaving Servia, though not unnatural in view of her beauty and personal respectability, lends a further touch to the *bouffe* proceedings which have characterized her expulsion. For Natalie has all along been known as a pliant tool of Russia, and as such her doings were particularly obnoxious to the Government of Austria-Hungary. The statesmen of Vienna and Budapest are likely to take a more prosaic view of her martyrdom, and will adopt measures to prevent the Serbs of Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Croatia from becoming embroiled in the troubles of the kingdom of Servia. Whether Russia will now show her hands more plainly in the game to be played between the families of Obrenovitch and Kara-Georgevitch remains to be seen. Personally, there is little to choose between the two dynasties and their representatives, young Alexander of Servia and Peter Kara-Georgevitch. It is easy to imagine what the political and moral training of a boy must be who rules over a country which has ignominiously expelled both his father and his mother, after fraudulent divorce proceedings. Meanwhile, the wretched Milan, who promised to refrain from meddling in Servian politics on the payment of a million francs, appears on the scene in the character of a sage, shakes his wise head over the "unskilful management" of the expulsion, but inclines to the opinion that "there is no danger of a revolution in Servia." As for himself, he has "entirely abandoned politics."

MR. CARLISLE'S EASY LESSON.

THE *Sun* of Friday morning contained a very interesting and suggestive report of an interview between a delegation from the Cincinnati Convention and Senator Carlisle, whom they went to visit at his home in Kentucky. One of the first questions they asked him was, what he thought of their scheme of Government ownership of the railroads and telegraphs. This gave him a chance to inquire about the details, and he used it to great advantage. He asked how the Government was to get possession of them; was it to confiscate them? They acknowledged that this would be unfair, as they are now private property. He then showed that if the Government did not confiscate, it must buy, and that if it paid a fair price to the owners of the property, it would have to raise for the purpose $14,000,000,000, a sum over four times greater than the debt incurred in the prosecution of the late war, and would have to raise it by taxation.

"Are you ready," he said, "to tax yourselves to raise this money? Then, after you have got the property, are you ready to tax yourselves to operate it, for the Government never yet succeeded in doing business at a profit? Consider another effect: such a plan would add perhaps 1,200,000 men and women to the roll of Government employees. How would you ever succeed in turning out of power an administration with such resources at its command? The more corrupt it was, the more difficult it would be to displace it."

This proved a powerful aid to reflection, and brought about a thoughtful silence among the delegates on this branch of their subject. They then took up the well-known topic of the concentration of "the money power in too few hands." He met them on this point by asking how they were going to remedy this evil—by a revolution or by an act of legislature? "Do you propose to say by your legislature that when a man has earned $100 or $1,000 or $10,000 he shall not earn any more?" This again reduced them to silence. In fact, the whole incident more than justifies the suggestions we have often made in these columns as to the good effect of the Socratic method on the current economic delusions if applied to individuals in a private room. It is very difficult to reach the minds of those who are dominated by them through a newspaper article or a speech. Neither of these applies any real pressure to their minds. They let the argument slip by as something perhaps a little puzzling for the moment, but to which they will find an answer presently; but when face to face with an honest questioner who does not rouse their antagonism, and removed from the confusing influences of a great assemblage, they are compelled to dive at once into the recesses of their knowledge-box for an answer, or, in other words, to think the thing out.

Two great changes in the American popular feeling on economic topics Mr. Carlisle's questions forcibly bring home to us. One is the rapid inoculation of the masses, particularly in the West, with the European Continental idea of the Government as an earthly providence—a power separate from the people, and possessing resources of its own available for all sorts of philanthropic schemes. The growth of this idea in this country has been kept down until now, as regards the State and the towns, by the small scale on which they do their work and by the closeness of the taxpayer to the treasury. Every town meeting in New England, for instance, has been to every voter in the town an impressive reminder that the Government and the people are one, and that any man who puts his hand into the public treasury literally puts it into his own pocket. But as the Federal Government has grown in magnitude and power, the distance between it and the voter has increased; it has assumed more and more the appearance of a great being that can regulate industry, abolish poverty, and enrich the poor, and manufacture money by mere act or resolution without drawing on anybody for the expenses. The inclination of the native imagination to take this view has of course been greatly stimulated and aided by the foreign immigrants, who come over with it already in their heads. We know of no way of keeping it down or banishing it so efficacious as direct taxation, as it exists in towns, but this does not seem practicable. If the cost of such measures as the Pension Bill, and, indeed, of all bills not providing for the ordinary expenses of the Government, had to be provided by the direct application of the tax-gatherer, it would be the best kind of popular education. Next to it comes the cornering of craze leaders for private examination, and this can be practised to a greater or less extent.

If, too, the very simple arithmetical process of an imaginary division of the riches of the rich among the whole population were oftener performed, it could not but have a very illuminating effect. We think it would be found, could we get a peep into the brains of those who are most concerned about the concentration of "the money power in too few hands," that what fascinates each of them, in the prospect of a division of the funds of the Vanderbilts and Goulds and Rockefellers, is the notion that he will himself get a slice of the wealth that would make a permanent change in his condition. Were he shown more frequently the exceeding smallness of the dividend which the poor would receive through the distribution of the accumulated wealth of the world, there is hardly a doubt that he would give more of his attention to honest industry and less to political agitation. In no socialistic or semi-socialistic scheme is there any provision made for the accumulation of capital—that is, the saving from this year's products for future use. In our present social organization, this is the special function of the class known as capitalists. They save for the whole community, so that when it wants to do something besides growing food, it can find resources ready for the purpose. They are highly paid, we admit, but they are not more highly paid than is necessary to secure their services, for their peculiar talent is very scarce.

Another and hardly less important service which they render is finding out, by the experiment known as speculative investments, what the wants of the community really are, and into what sort of enterprises the public savings had therefore best be put. Hundreds are sacrificed in this work for the one who succeeds, but the fewer the number of those who succeed, the larger their remuneration has to be. To suppose that civilization could be carried on without this class, or that the class could be maintained if robbed every now and then by the Government, or if denied all enjoyment of its money in the shape of luxury and leisure and power, is one of the most absurd of the Socialist chimeras. Of Socialist expectations, too, none is queerer than that rich men should be extraordinarily virtuous, and ashamed of their success, and eager to share with everybody who can prove his poverty. They need restraint by law, just as the poor do, and as all power does in civilized commonwealths. But we may rely upon it that, as somebody said of the Jews, every nation has the kind of rich men it deserves. The poor in a democracy make the rich whatever they are.

SOME BLESSINGS OF INTOLERANCE.

RECENT events in the Presbyterian and Episcopal churches have given occasion to many to bewail threatened departures from that toleration which, historians tell us, it was the great work of the eighteenth century to have broadly and securely established. We are in danger of a "recrudescence of intolerance," we are told. Now, we shall not be accused of favoring the return of the Inquisition, but there are two sides to most questions; toleration has not all the advantages on its side, and intolerance is not without blessings even to those who are its victims. A hint at some of these may reveal some relieving aspects of the pending ecclesiastical controversies.

Certainly toleration tends to diminish men's ardor in the pursuit of the truth. If one opinion is as respectable as another, and all are uncertain, it seems as if the game were not worth the candle. Mr. Maurice, it is true, used to number among his paradoxical views the idea that the only reason and true ground of toleration is a thorough certainty that you are right, and altogether right, and that those who differ from you are wrong, and nothing but wrong. On those terms, he said, you may tolerate opponents; on those terms, and those alone, the Established Church may look upon Dissent with equanimity. But for the rest of the world it is pretty clear that the uncertainty, not the certainty, of truth is the excuse for tolerating different views of it. Parties and sects go on with their strenuous argumentation, of course; but, after all, it comes down to about this, in the end: "These are our views; we hold them with conviction, but if you don't, it's no great matter; we shall still look upon you as a man and a brother; go your way in peace, or, rather, come around to dinner, won't you?" Now, this patronizing toleration must take the edge off the zest which men once seem to have felt in the search for the truth. It discourages thinkers by making them feel that the world will not take them seriously any more. If they do discover

new truth, there is no way of forcing it, or even forcing attention to it, upon an unwilling or careless mind.

The truth is, intolerance furnishes a prime condition of propagating truth, and so an incentive to struggle to attain it, by offering an innovator a vigorous opposition, and making it possible to give the supreme testimony of suffering for conviction's sake. A New England clergyman has been heard to say, in sober earnest and with no little passion in his voice: "I wish I could get an audience to preach to that hated the Gospel. I sometimes long for hearers who would yell out their dissent and defiance; it would be such a relief after my sleekly supercilious congregation, who listen to me with such complete indifference and superior unconcern." Take the case of the assailed professor in Union Seminary. His views are already gaining a resonance which years of tolerated teaching could never have given them. If he is fortunate enough to be put out of his chair on their account, he will leap into an influence greater than that of all the teachers of his department in all the seminaries. If his opponents are wise, they will get him quietly back at his work again, and assure the world that his views are not worth troubling about. That would be the surest way to do what one of them professes to be aiming at, namely, to "squelch" him.

In the case of abstract truth especially, toleration has torn it from its consequences, and so made it more than ever intangible. Without intolerance there is no way of bringing it home to the mind as by a blow on the head. Doctor Servetus never indulged the suspicion, we may be sure, that he was burnt for a theological abstraction. The high mysteries of abstract thought were clothed with such consequences in his age that they could be grasped by the senses almost. To take one view meant comfort and applause; the other involved risk both to goods and life. That made controversy serious and gave truth a handle. Servetus's advanced ideas about the circulation of the blood were no more real to him than his theological views. For the latter, as for the former, he had the evidence of his senses; the severed artery sent out its jets, and the renounced creed burst into flames around the heretic.

Intolerance, too, would never have permitted the immense growth of foolish opinion in the world which has been fostered by our days of toleration. It would have been death to the increasing numbers of charlatans. Intolerance meant the beneficent law of struggle for existence; monstrosities went to the wall, freaks got no foothold; the brains once out, the man died. But now we cherish all sorts of absurd variations of thought, instead of mercifully killing them out of hand. There is nothing like a good persecution to show what convictions are worthy of being suffered for, what thoughts are clear and dignified, and what mere insanity. A man would take the trouble to verify his guesses if he found them leading him to the rack.

Another great blessing to be gained from the intolerance which some are deploring, is the making of certain moral issues sharp and intelligible. At present no man knows what subscription to the creed of the Presbyterian Church means. The vague terms in which it is couched, and the notorious toleration of radical dissent from important articles of the Confession, have led to an amount of moral shuffling and twisting of conscience which we know to be a source of shame to many in the Presbyterian ministry. They have groaned over the evil, but have not seen how to remove it. Nothing like an old-fashioned trial for heresy to straighten that thing out. It ought to be hailed, and we have no doubt it will be, by great numbers of the younger ministry and theological students who are now all in the fog. They may have to abandon their church, or they may feel that they can stay in it, but they will have a clear conscience in either case. All that these years of toleration have brought them is a miserable sense of being in a perilous, because ambiguous, moral position.

THROUGH RAILWAY ROUTES.

THE case of the New York and Northern Railway against the New York and New England Company, decided on May 6 by the Inter-State Commission, is especially important to owners and managers of railways, particularly as it seems at first reading to reverse the principle of the right of a transportation company to choose its connections in forming a through route. The New England Road runs across Connecticut to Brewsters, where a junction is made with the New York and Northern for New York city. For eight years these roads exchanged traffic to and from this city at through rates and proportions satisfactory to both. Two years ago a new line to New York was opened from New England via the Housatonic Railroad and the Sound. Because the same capitalists were interested in the New England and Housatonic Railroads, this latter was made the only New York line by the New York and New England Road, the old exchange of freight with the Northern line at Brewsters being stopped. The Northern Road thereupon appealed to the Inter-State Commission to compel a resumption of the former through route via Brewsters. This the Commission, in an opinion by Chairman Cooley, decides must be done.

The clause of the act to regulate commerce under which the action was brought, says that common carriers shall furnish reasonable and equal facilities in forwarding or receiving traffic to or from their connecting lines, and shall not discriminate between such connecting lines. It is held that the Housatonic and the Northern are both independent and connecting lines, and should be treated alike by the New England Road, since no objection was raised as to the fairness of the old contract when it was declared void, the new arrangement with the Housatonic being preference merely. On the facts of this particular case as given it is proper to say that the Northern Road seems to have been unfairly treated, and the decision of the Commission ordering the reopening of the through line via Brewsters appears to be a just one.

But the reasoning of Chairman Cooley seems to go further, and to imply that there is some obligation on the part of a railway to exchange traffic on equal terms with all other railways where the physical connections of the properties are equal. If any such doctrine can be construed in any form from the language of the Commission, it is a serious matter. It is acknowledged that no Commission or court now has authority to compel one road to exchange traffic or divide through rates with another, yet if such Commission or court can order the continuance of an arrangement once made, we have taken a long step towards compulsion in any case. It is also true that this power of opening a new route is given to the English Commissioners, and has been exercised by them, but this grew out of the railway situation in Great Britain, where a short road with chartered privileges might, by a consolidation of other roads, find itself cut off from a long-established traffic. Since the language of our Inter-State Act was taken from the English statute with this provision about compulsory through routes left out, it is a fair inference that the omission was intentional. The Lackawanna joins the New York Central at Syracuse; should the latter be compelled to send merchandise shipped from Buffalo to New York over the Lackawanna? Is the Central not in fairness entitled to carry its Buffalo freight to New York all the way over its own lines? If the Pennsylvania receives New York grain at Chicago, should it be ordered to hand the shipments over to the Reading at Philadelphia? Or if these things had once been done, should we compel their continuance?

But it may be said that the decision does not contain such statements; neither does it, yet, whether so intended or not, the wording does not exclude them. In the case of the New England Road, if the Housatonic had been amalgamated with it or if it had had its own line into New York, could it still justly be required to continue exchanging traffic with the Northern at its own expense? Nor could any argument about the previous fairness of the prorating arrangements have any weight in view of the changed conditions, for while it might have been for the benefit of the New England Road at one time to form a through line with the Northern, if there is a unity of interest now with the Housatonic, its business should be allowed to reshape itself. Hence the question of real profit to a carrier in changing its traffic from one connecting line to another is of the first importance. This point seems inadequately treated in Judge Cooley's opinion. He says: "The defendant has an ownership in the terminal company of one-half the stock, which makes it for its interest to shut off the participation of petitioner in the through business. This does not appear to affect at all the legal aspect of the case. If an interest in the line discriminated in favor of can preclude the operation of the prohibitive provisions of

law, the *amount* must be unimportant; 1 per cent. of the stock would be as good for the purpose as 50 per cent. But it is sufficient to say that the statute makes no exception for such a case." This language is very much broader than if Judge Cooley had simply said that the interest in the terminal company was not enough to warrant any discrimination in facilities on the part of the New York and New England in favor of the Housatonic; it seems a fair inference that ownership of one road by another would not justify a refusal to exchange traffic with a third competitive line. Such a principle never will be adopted in the United States, for no branches or extensions of existing roads will hereafter be built if the traffic of the new lines cannot be secured with certainty by the parent systems.

Commissioner Bragg prints an opinion in which he agrees to the conclusion reached in this particular case, but dissents from the reasoning. He says with truth that the Act "forbids a carrier from discriminating against 'a connecting line' and in favor of another 'connecting line,' but it does not require a carrier to discriminate *against itself*, by taking its business where it has a line of its own to a given destination and dividing that business with another line that is competitive with it to the same destination." The weakness of the Chairman's opinion seems to be at just this point. We ought not to follow English precedents too closely in railway questions when circumstances are very different. Our American carriers must open cheap through routes for long distances. Our only hope for this is a small profit for a long haul, and this in turn requires close business affiliations, if not actual consolidation, for the roads composing the route. If such long and affiliated or consolidated routes can be broken up and compulsory through lines be formed of two or four disjointed, inharmonious roads, we cannot expect such economic operation as will warrant low rates. If our tariffs were so high as to give a profit to each little link in a long chain, it would be different; the real situation is the reverse of that. We may acknowledge the apparent justice of the Commission's decision as regards the one road, the New York and Northern, while holding the reasoning and principles advanced to support it as essentially unsound for the United States.

THE CENSUS BULLETIN UPON MORTGAGE INDEBTEDNESS.

In that classical report of the proceedings of his surveying party, the lamented John Phœnix bequeathed to the cause of science some practical suggestions which have not always received attention from later investigators, but which, we are glad to see, have been appreciated and adopted by the Superintendent of the present census. It will be remembered that Mr. Phœnix, desiring to ascertain the distance from the city of San Francisco to a neighboring mission, employed a large force of assistants, supplied at Government expense with chronometers and various astronomical and trigonometrical appliances, together with a newly invented pedometer. When the observations and calculations had been completed, however, the results were found to exhibit such extraordinary discrepancies—the individual wearing the pedometer, for instance, having vitiated the record of that instrument, from which much was expected, by dancing for several hours with some miners in a drinking-saloon—that it was thought best to determine the required distance by asking one of the inhabitants about how far he thought it was.

This procedure has been substantially followed by the Superintendent of the Census in his inquiry as to indebtedness. The first step seems to have been to put upon his payroll some 2,500 presumably faithful "workers." The next step, under an act directing him to "collect the statistics of and relating to the recorded indebtedness of private corporations and individuals," was to decide that he would disregard the requirement as to corporations, their indebtedness being "something apart from the life and undertakings of the masses of the people." The problem was still further simplified by excluding liens upon crops, mechanics' liens, judgments by process of law, and chattel mortgages, on the grounds of expense and impracticability. There remained, then, little more than the comparatively simple task of compiling the records of instruments of the nature of real-estate mortgages made by private individuals—a labor which was prosecuted with such industry as to enable the Superintendent to point with pride to the abstracts of 9,000,000 mortgages now on file at Washington.

The sagacity of the Superintendent had enabled him to foresee, as he tells us, that many of these mortgages would represent extinguished indebtedness, and he resisted the suggestion of "various newspapers that the amount of the uncancelled mortgages should be accepted as the amount of the debt in force," upon the ground that this would be so gross an exaggeration as to make his statistics unworthy of confidence. But how was it possible to determine which of the apparently subsisting mortgages were paid and which were not? Here the pregnant suggestions of John Phœnix bore fruit. It was decided to make inquiries of the parties named in some of these mortgages and of "others who had the information" as to the fact of payment, and to assume that their statements would establish a law applicable to the whole country. These inquiries were accordingly prosecuted in about a hundred different counties, with the result of placing the general principles of mortgage indebtedness upon a new and purely American basis.

As to partial payments, a further application of the Phœnixian method was made. "The partial payments that had been made upon many thousands of mortgages were ascertained from savings banks, insurance companies, mortgage companies, trustees of estates, loan and trust companies, and holders of large numbers of mortgages, generally corporations. . . . The leading object in this trial was to get economically, and by application to a comparatively few lenders, statistics of partial payments distributed throughout a large number of the counties of the Union, which could not be obtained from private lenders on account of expense and their refusal to impart the information." We should have been inclined to attach some weight to returns made by institutions of the class described, but it has been found that these returns are so completely at variance with those obtained by asking the people of the vicinage that they "must probably be rejected." They are declared to be "valuable," but as the choice must be made between them and the answers given by individuals, the latter are preferred; the "remarkable success of the investigations in the 102 counties, which had not been looked for by statisticians of large experience," being a convincing argument in their favor.

In the Southern and many of the Western States the records do not commonly disclose the actual rates of interest, and many mortgages are for larger amounts than are really loaned. The statement often appears that the loan is made without interest, or a lower rate than the true one is named. The Census Bureau, however, has not allowed itself to be baulked by such subterfuges in its determination to fix average rates of interest, and its agents were instructed to inquire what rates were actually paid for loans in all cases where the parties had manifested a disposition to conceal them, and to insert such rates as were thought correct. Where second mortgages were considered by the agents to be for interest and commissions, they have not returned them as principal at all, but have converted them "into additions to the apparent rates of interest borne by the first mortgages." By making use of this elastic method, the determination of average interest rates has been rendered comparatively easy. The silence of mortgages as to the amount of land covered has occasioned no difficulty, the practice being to determine the average area covered by mortgages where the quantity of land was stated, and to write this average into the mortgages that were defective in this respect. It would seem from these investigations that nearly one-half of the land in Iowa and about 15 per cent. of that in Alabama is under mortgage, the average rate of interest paid being not far from 8 per cent. The two States named are the only ones covered by the present bulletin.

The principal criticism to be made upon this method of statistical investigation is that too many people were consulted. John Phœnix asked only one individual, and thus avoided the uncertainty that would have been occasioned by discordant replies. By neglecting this precaution the Superintendent of the Census has arrived at some very questionable results. The apparent debt is greater than the actual debt in various counties by amounts that range from less than 4 per cent. to over 531 per cent. It is almost incredible that such differences should really exist; and if they do, it is a conclusive argument against reasoning from the case of one

county to that of another. To average returns marked by such wide differences is to multiply errors, and we are unable to share the triumphant confidence of the Superintendent that his results do not vary from the truth by 5 per cent.

Nor can we admit that "even if the error should vary from 15 to 20 per cent., the results would still be of incalculable value," unless the word "incalculable" is to be taken in its primitive sense. These results are stated by the Superintendent to consist in attracting attention "to the dangers of these encumbrances, to the enormous burdens in the way of interest, to the alarming extent to which usury is practised, and to the defectiveness of these records in all parts of the country." But we are not informed what these novel dangers are, or what we should do about reducing the rate of interest, or how the heart of the usurer is to be softened, or in what way men are to be induced to have their mortgages cancelled when they pay them, if they do not choose to do so. The true value of such results as these is not indicated by a pile of 9,000,000 abstracts of mortgages at Washington, but by the money received as salaries by a horde of office-holders—which of course is a minus quantity so far as the people of the United States are concerned. It is quite probable that these lists of mortgages could have been obtained by application to the county clerks at a tenth of what they have cost, and in the country districts these functionaries could in many cases have given opinions as to the amount of subsisting indebtedness which would probably have been quite as near the truth as the testimony secured.

If the aim of this investigation was to show the average indebtedness of American citzens, it is obvious that it has not been attained. The omission of large classes of indebtedness would of itself vitiate the result. Furthermore, nothing is more common than for the same person to be both a mortgageor and a mortgagee, and no investigation would amount to anything that did not disentangle these relations. The creation of mortgages is but one development of the complicated system of credit under which modern business is carried on. It is seldom an indication of financial distress, but generally a sign of buoyant business. The attempt of the Census Bureau to disregard the statute under which it acts and ascertain actual and not merely recorded indebtedness, is inexcusable. No competent statistician would waste money in so absurd an enterprise. If there was a desire to learn whether the mortgageors of the country were really in danger, and burdened by interest and usury, the evidence of foreclosure decrees would have been relevant and trustworthy. This evidence, however, was deliberately rejected by the census officers, for what reason we cannot say. It will be interesting to learn the conclusions at which they arrive when they complete their labors in this department, but it is to be feared that they will be of a rather speculative character.

THE SOUTHWESTERN LAND COURT.

SANTA FÉ, N. M., May 18, 1891.

THE establishment by Congress of a special court for the settlement of grants and land titles of foreign origin, chiefly in the Southwestern Territories, is looked upon by the inhabitants of these Territories as a very important measure. It is confidently hoped that much good will result from the labors of that court.

The duties of its members require considerable erudition. There is not the least doubt that, with the great strides made in the United States in the knowledge of foreign legislation, foreign history, and foreign language, it will be easy to find persons particularly well qualified. The provision of the act excluding citizens of the Territories interested from becoming members of the Land Court is extremely wise. It secures absolute theoretic impartiality. The court may, in this manner, become as thoroughly impartial as a jury of marble monuments would prove to be in a case of divorce. It was also highly judicious to provide that the translator shall not be a resident or native of the land the documents of which he is to render into English. The terms which are sometimes used in those documents have become obsolete, and are at this day only known as provincialisms, limited often to a small territory, and any translator who is not versed in the Spanish of the Southwest is therefore not much exposed to misinterpretation, for the simple reason that, in most cases, he will not be able to interpret the terms in question at all. There is little danger of the minds of the judges being biassed by preconceived notions about the lay of the land in a country of which they have no idea, and concerning the inhabitants of which they lack all practical knowledge. In short, there is no doubt but that the composition of the court, as provided in the act, is likely to insure, *theoretically*, the most complete impartialty.

The court may be placed in something akin to a dilemma. There are in New Mexico, for instance, more than one kind of ancient grants and titles. Some of them convey absolute dominion, others were intended as usufructs only, still others include both. In regard to the validity of Spanish titles it may be observed that if the judges should base their rulings upon the Laws of the Indies or upon such passages thereof as they may have translated for reference, it would be surprising if a single grant should be considered valid, for there is not one grant in New Mexico that comes up to the requirements of the "Leyes de Indias" in regard to confirmation, registry, and attestation. For more than a hundred years under Spanish rule there was no public notary in New Mexico. Such defects may induce the court simply to reject all titles of that kind presented to them. Still, there has scarcely ever been any question raised as to the authority of Spanish Governors to grant lands, and their grants, although lacking the royal confirmation and the notarial certificates, have not been disputed, except in a very few cases. It may be now that (although there is no evidence of it) some knowledge was obtained, in Congress as well as in the Supreme Court, of the peculiar conditions under which New Mexico was governed and administered by the representatives of Spain. It may be also that some attention has been bestowed upon the Ordonnances of 1573, or upon the contract made in 1595 with Don Juan de Oñate, or the royal decree of 1608 concerning the administration of New Mexico. Should these documents have been overlooked, it would be well for the Land Court to pay some attention to them, since they virtually embody the basis upon which the validity of titles derived from Spanish Governors is founded. It might also not be amiss for the court to acquaint itself with the manner in which surveys of land were carried on a century ago, and not to insist (as some well-intentioned officers of the Government seem to have done) that the boundaries of tracts be determined after a system excellently fitted for regions where natural conditions are as different from those in the Southwest as the zebra is from the mountain sheep.

In regard to Mexican grants, the main difficulty consists in the state of chronic political confusion peculiar to the Mexican Republic until lately. During the many years of constant turmoil in Mexico, land laws were promulgated which applied to every portion of the country except New Mexico. That Territory was simply overlooked, in the same manner as the Principality of Lichtenstein is said to have been omitted and overlooked when the German States made peace with each other in 1866, so that the Prince of Lichtenstein is still officially at war with the German Empire to-day. Notwithstanding the fact that the colonization laws of Mexico are not applicable to the Territory of New Mexico, our Supreme Court has, in several instances, based its decisions upon such acts of the Mexican Congress. There is also considerable uncertainty in regard to the authority of Mexican officers to grant lands, and the extent to which that authority (in case it existed) could be exercised, and it may require some effort to determine these points with sufficient accuracy.

The proof of title may present considerable difficulty. Through the scattering and partial destruction of the archives at Santa Fé about twenty years ago, many documents have disappeared—at least from the surface. Claims may be presented without the support of original titles or certified copies thereof, solely on parole evidence, or circumstantial evidence embodied in papers relative to entirely distinct subjects. Some curiosity may be felt as to how the court will act in such cases—whether it will exact proof according to our present laws, or whether it will recognize the principles of international law, and accept evidence that would have been deemed sufficient at the time when New Mexico was Spanish or Mexican. There is, of course, not the slightest doubt that the court will enter upon the performance of its duties only after it has thoroughly prepared itself for the solution of such intricate questions.

On the whole, the court has before it a wide and highly interesting field. The so-called land grants have long been regarded as one of the main impediments to the settlement of the Southwest by immigrants from the East or from Europe. The time has come now to remove this obstacle. If, in addition to a speedy and equitable settlement of all these ancient claims, the court should succeed in increasing rainfall, in causing a rapid spread of timber, and in unearthing the treasure which is said to exist at the so-called "Gran Quivira," it will have made the population of the Southwestern Territories completely happy.

AD. F. BANDELIER.

THE NEW GALLERY.

LONDON, May, 1891.

IF at the Royal Academy cheap sentiment and indifferent technique prevail, at the New Gallery indifferent technique and affectation are the order of the day. In England genuinely good work is the last quality looked for

in painting, or indeed in any branch of art. If a man be but eccentric or self-assertive enough, whatever he may choose to do is pronounced great by the artless public. Where would be the fame of Mr. Irving but for his mannerisms? But for his repeated praise of his own methods, where Mr. Henry Arthur Jones's reputation? The Neo-Gothic primitives, with Mr. Burne-Jones as high priest, have ever been distinguished by their firm belief in themselves, and eccentricity has been their one standard of art. That at home they have achieved a popularity second only to that of the sentimentalists of Burlington House, therefore, is not strange. If their renown were confined to England, it would be matter of small surprise; but the result of their taking themselves so seriously is that they are sometimes accepted no less seriously even on the Continent. There was a curious proof of this not long ago. A group of artists in Brussels, supposed to represent all that is most modern and most thoroughly artistic in contemporary art, every year invite two English artists to contribute to their exhibition. This year their invitation included Mr. P. Wilson Steer, a member of the New English Art Club, a self-styled London Impressionist, and Mr. Walter Crane. The latter has also quite a following in Paris, not only as an illustrator of children's books and a designer, when he is often delightful, but as a painter, when he is almost always execrable. Of course, if a little of the work of one of the English mediæval schools is seen, it does well enough, its very eccentricity appealing to the morbid modern craving for novelty and excitement; and on the Continent it is only this little which is seen. But it is another question in England, where, year after year, not one but all paint exactly the same subjects in exactly the same manner, until their affectations have become unendurable.

Certainly Mr. Burne-Jones's favorite tricks of drawing have never seemed more irritating than in the two large works he sends to the exhibition just opened at the New Gallery. His color, which is usually supposed to make up for imperfect draughtsmanship, worse perspective, and, in a word, for his every technical shortcoming, this year is extremely unpleasant. Both his pictures are inharmonious arrangements in blue and green, while in both his deformed rendering of the human figure is absurdly exaggerated. This is specially the case in the larger of the two, "The Star of Bethlehem," an adoration of the Magi, painted for the Corporation of Birmingham. The Virgin sits under an arbor covered with sweetbriar, like that which trails through the "Briar Rose" series. To one side is St. Joseph, in front the angel and the three kings, and all alike have the same impossible, misshapen neck, bent forward at an ugly angle; all, even the negro, have the same type of face; all are equally fleshless and bloodless, made apparently of parchment and wood. The detail, particularly in the robes of the negro, shows remarkable patience and care, but, while it might be appropriate in a small cabinet picture, it is sadly out of place in a piece of mural decoration of such enormous proportions, meant to be looked at from a distance, in which the broadest handling would be the most effective. The unpleasantness of the color is the more marked because the design is almost the same as that which, a year ago, was reproduced in one of his fine tapestries by Mr. William Morris, who carried it out according to his own color scheme, using only Mr. Burne-Jones's drawing. The result was harmonious brilliancy very delightful to the eye, and it proved Mr. Morris the better co'orist of the two.

The second large Burne-Jones picture is the "Sponsa de Libano" of Solomon's Song, with the South Wind and the North Wind blowing upon her garden. There is in the foreground the usual lay figure, graceful in pose according to the Burne-Jones convention; but the two Winds, hovering in the air, are the veriest abortions, and anything more grotesque than the Burne-Jones face, with cheeks puffed out and lips projected in the act of blowing, could not be, except, indeed, the sickly greenish-blue draperies, twisted and knotted in a great parody of the Japanese swirl of life behind them. To the initiated there is scarcely a brushmark but has its hidden or literary meaning; the lover of good painting, however, would prefer less literature and more art.

Of the immediate followers of Mr. Burne-Jones, none rise above mediocrity of imitation, while at least one, his son, Mr. Philip Burne-Jones, sinks to the abyss of puerility by endeavoring to paint "Earth-Rise from the Moon." The belief that art is concerned with any and every thing rather than beauty of form, and line, and color, and perfection of workmanship is the curse of English painters; but none has it misled so hopelessly as the little group who teach—for the English painter of to-day is nothing if not didactic—that the highest duty of the artist is to paint, not what he sees, but what he imagines. This doctrine recently has been very eloquently expounded by Mr. Richmond. Portrait-painting he holds in contempt, because it is the mere rendering of real men and women. It is with the creations of the imagination alone that the true artist should be concerned; and he extols Mr. Burne-Jones because, when the latter introduces a casket, for example, in one of his pictures, he places no model before him, but paints one which he sees only with his mind's eye, this accounting, no doubt, for much that is otherwise incomprehensible in his drawing. Where a painter finds his models, or what he selects as subject, has nothing to do with the results which he chooses to show to the world: it is his affair, not ours. But when the spiritualism or idealism or morality or eccentricity of his subject preoccupies him so entirely that he gives nothing else on his canvas, that he is wholly indifferent to the manner in which he expresses it, then it is within one's right to say, This is not art, and pass on.

Mr. Richmond himself is an excellent witness to the demoralizing influence of his doctrine. His most important work, as probably he would consider it, he sends to the New Gallery. It is called "Amor Omnia Vincit," and presumably represents Venus just after her bath, with two attendants waiting to begin her toilet, a wide landscape showing beyond the marbles of the foreground. If his study of the nude were good, he might call it Venus and welcome; the name can make it neither better nor worse, can neither increase nor lessen its interest. But it is not good; the women of his imagination are made of wax and not flesh and blood; they are without modelling, and as flat as if they were cut out of paper. There is no character or beauty in their faces. Indeed, the faithful study of any St. John's Wood model, any coarse and hideous washerwoman such as Degas painted, would have had more interest, because greater individuality, greater reality than the flat, pale puppets of Mr. Richmond's imagining. And landscape, as his fancy sees it, reconciles one to Nature, who never, in her most brilliant moods, shows such crude and gaudy pinks and purples. The impression of so careful an observer as Monet has far more beauty, and consequently more artistic value, than the invention of a would-be idealist like Mr. Richmond.

Mr. Watts is another prominent member of the school who are all for the imagination. There have been times when splendor of color and a certain grandeur of form have distinguished his work and made it great despite, and not because, of his mistaken theory. But this year he is seen at his worst in a picture of the Flood, which will be remembered by visitors to his studio, where it has been hanging for some time. It may be curious to learn that a large mass of orange paint, looking like nothing so much as the section of a tree, represents his idea of a deluge, but certainly there is not even the suggestion of fine color or form, or of technical accomplishment, to give it artistic distinction. His "Nixie's Foundling," his only other canvas, is also one of his productions in which there is more imagination than art, and it must be counted one of his failures.

It would be useless to dwell at such length on the exhibited work which is least artistic, were it not that it gives the New Gallery collection whatever little character it has, and that it is the outcome of the most deplorable but most highly esteemed tendency in modern English art. Its very pretentiousness duly impresses that portion of the British public which prides itself on having outgrown the anecdotic stage of art as exemplified at Burlington House, not knowing that it has escaped one pitfall for the artless only to tumble into another.

There is some good work in the show, fortunately, but it is scattered here and there, it represents no particular school, as the landscapes were representative of the new Glasgow school at last year's Grosvenor; it does not occupy a conspicuous space in point of size on the walls; but while it may attract comparatively little attention from the casual visitor, to the artist it alone has any intrinsic worth. Foremost is a portrait by Mr. Sargent, not so striking as his Spanish dancing-girl at the Academy, but no less masterly. It shows a girl of fifteen or sixteen in a white gown, sitting on an oak bench and leaning against an old oak-wainscotted wall. Like "La Carmencita," it too has its faults: the face is unnecessarily chalky, the brown hair falling thick about it has rather too much of the quality of tow. But the hands folded in the lap, the foot in its white satin slipper, could hardly be better; and the gown, with all the delicate differences between the white stuffs of which it is made exquisitely suggested, is a masterpiece. But, above all, the portrait has character and individuality, and forces your attention; you remember the strangely repellant, somewhat evil face, just as you would remember a Velasquez, a Rembrandt, or a Franz Hals, long after you have forgotten the dressmaker's dummy which too many English artists elect to paint. Most of the portraits in the gallery are of no great importance; even the few that are good come a long way after Mr. Sargent's girl in white. One of the strongest is Mr. Rudyard Kipling, by the Hon. John Collier, who seems to have been inspired by his subject. While the other two portraits he exhibits are no better nor worse than those many a well-trained student might show, his Mr. Kipling is strong in character and sound in painting; there is vigorous brushwork and fine quality in the white Norfolk jacket. Mr. Edwin A. Ward is one of the most promising of the

younger portrait-painters, and if his Lord Randolph Churchill is not up to his standard, he also contributes the portrait of a little girl in a gray plush frock, which is delightful in its artistic simplicity of treatment, and a refreshing contrast to the Cherry-Ripe type of the popular child picture. Mr. Herkomer, Mr. Richmond, and Sir John E. Millais have rarely turned out worse portraits. But it is a pleasure to find that Mr. Shannon (an American, by the way), in painting Miss Clough of Newnham, has not been overpowered by millinery, as he too often is, but has given a good, straightforward rendering of a woman of mature years and strongly marked character.

On the whole, the landscapes reach a higher level than the portraits. Here again Mr. Adrian Stokes is to the fore, and with a more interesting and pictorial subject than that of his Academy picture, though this subject—a quiet sunset from high Cornish downs overlooking the sea, a woman and two cows in the foreground—would have availed him little had he not succeeded so marvellously in rendering the atmospheric effects and the feeling of an evening when the sun sinks in a great ball of fire behind a bank of clouds on the horizon, and a light mist rises from the sea. Nature has few subtler phases, but his impression is as true as it is restrained. The well-drawn, firmly modelled cows and woman have that strange, almost unreal look that the hour lends to all things, but there is no exaggeration, no meretricious sentiment. There could not be more speaking proof of the fallacy of the Richmond theory; because of his fidelity to nature, Mr. Stokes has filled his canvas with that poetic charm which Mr. Richmond's imagination has so signally failed to give to his Venus and her surrounding. Mr. Arthur Lemon and Mr. Arthur Tomson, who always paint with refinement and breadth of handling, also have good landscapes, strong in the right open-air feeling. And there is notable work by Mr. T. Hope McLachlan, who usually shows Nature in her most dramatic moments, but without melodrama or claptrap; by Mr. J. Denovan Adam, a Scotchman, who knows how to paint Highland cattle; and by Mr. Alfred East, who, at his best, is a painter of some little distinction.

Mr. Alfred Parsons this year has been content to reserve most of his work for an exhibition he gave a month or so ago at the Fine Art Society's on Bond Street. He has nothing at the Academy save a black-and-white drawing already reproduced in *Harper's*. But at the New Gallery, though a small landscape is of no special interest, he shows one of the strongest pieces of work he has done for a long time: a vase of poppies on a window seat, with a landscape dimly seen through the muslin curtain at the window behind it. The technique is no less brilliant than the color. It is marked by far greater freedom of handling than he has accustomed us to expect from him. Two fresh, breezy seas by Mr. Henry Moore, a typical Tadema, but of less artistic importance than the Academy Tadema, landscapes by Mr. John R. Reid, and a striking little interior by Miss Flora M. Reid, are about the only remaining contributions of interest.

The water-colors are more hopelessly commonplace than the collection at Burlington House; it would have been wiser to hang none. Illustration is represented by Mr. Edward T. Reed, one of the newer *Punch* men, a draughtsman without style or refinement or force. No branch of art is so completely ignored in the large London galleries as illustration. There are good black-and-white men, American or English, in London, and yet Messrs. Hallé and Carr's choice has fallen upon one of the least merit or standing; while, as if in satire, we have Sir Frederick Leighton at the Royal Academy banquet singing the praises of Charles Keene, the most distinguished of all English draughtsmen, to whom the Academy never accorded the slightest recognition during his lifetime. A major-general, unknown in the art world, contributes the only etchings; as I said of the water-colors, far better would it have been to show none. And but little more wisdom has been displayed in the selection of sculpture. There are a few busts and reliefs fairly good, but nothing of sufficient importance to call for special mention here. N. N.

GONCOURT'S JOURNAL.

PARIS, May 14, 1891.

FROM time to time there appears a new volume of the 'Journal des Goncourt.' I have now before me the fifth volume, which has made more noise than its predecessors on account of a preface which is addressed to Renan. You will perhaps remember that the notes (for these volumes are a mere succession of notes) of the fourth volume had been written chiefly during the siege of Paris and the Commune, and that Goncourt gave a lively account of the conversation which took place during that period at the monthly dinners of the little literary and scientific society of which Renan was a member. Renan was much offended by the indiscretion of Goncourt, and he expressed his disapprobation in strong terms. He wrote to a friend a letter which was published in a Breton paper called the *Petit Lannionais* (from the town of Lannion): "All these accounts given by M. de Goncourt of dinners of which he had no right to make himself the historiographer, are complete transformations of the truth. He did not understand, and he attributes to us what his mind, closed to all general ideas, made him believe or hear. As for what concerns myself, I protest, with all my strength, against this sorrowful reporting. . . . I hold it as a principle that the babbling of fools is of no consequence."

We might well say here, "genus irritabile vatum." Renan was especially angry because, during the war, he expressed sentiments which were not those of a *chauvin*—which superficial readers might call unpatriotic. M. de Goncourt maintains that, during the two or three years which preceded the war, the superiority of German science, of everything German, was one of the common topics of conversation at the monthly dinners at Magny's. I knew intimately Nefftzer and Scherer, and I am sure that this assertion of Goncourt's is correct. Renan's exegetic work was in its most scientific part inspired by Germany; it was perfectly natural—and why should he reject the imputation?—that when Renan and some of his friends found France dragged into war against her own will by Napoleon III., when they saw France unprepared for this terrible war, they prophesied the triumph of Germany? It does not follow that they rejoiced in the humiliation of their own country.

In the midst of exciting events, the opinions of such men as Renan may well at times take an excited and paradoxical form. It is my own opinion that M. de Goncourt would have done better not to report almost literally conversations held in the fearful circumstances which he describes. On the other hand, since he had done so, Renan would have done better to ignore this publication and to treat it with complete indifference. M. de Goncourt himself admits in his preface that he was indiscreet. "I accept the reproach," says he, "and I am not ashamed of it, as my indiscretions are not divulgations concerning private life, but divulgations of the thoughts and ideas of my contemporaries—documents for the intellectual history of our century. . . . Since the world began, memoirs in the least interesting have been written only by indiscreet people." Goncourt tells us that his accounts of the dinners at Magny's were always written the same evening or, at the latest, the next morning. If he has a merit it is exactitude; he says that his notes "suent l'authenticité."

The fifth volume begins with the year 1872 and ends in 1877; it extends, therefore, over that period during which France was in an equivocal political condition—a Republic in name and *de facto*, but not yet a Republic *de jure*. The Empire had come to an end, but on January 1, 1872, Goncourt writes: "A day or two since, finding in the Rue de la Paix a number of fine carriages, as many as at a first representation at the French Theatre, I asked myself, Who is the great personage whose door is besieged by so many fine people? when, lifting my gaze above the door, I read 'Worth.' Paris continues to be the Paris of the Empire."

Goncourt had, on March 2, 1872, at his own house at dinner, Flaubert, Théophile Gautier, and Turgeneff. How well he describes "Turgeneff, the mild giant, the amiable barbarian, with his white hair falling over his eyes, the deep furrow which cuts his forehead from one temple to the other, like the trace of a plough, with his infantine voice. From the soup he charms us, he garlands us (as the Russian expression is), by his mixture of naïveté and finesse. He has all the seductiveness of the Slav race, a seductiveness which is heightened by the originality of an individual mind, and by an immense and cosmopolitan knowledge." Turgeneff told the company how he was put in prison for a month after the publication of his 'Mémoires d'un Chasseur.' He fraternized with the chief of the police, and gave him champagne to drink, till, one day, this policeman lifted his glass and drank "to Robespierre!" "Yes," said Turgeneff, "if I were proud, I would have people write on my tomb only what that book did for the emancipation of the serfs. The Emperor Alexander intimated to me that the reading of my book was one of the great motives that determined him." Many are Goncourt's confidences concerning Turgeneff, and I am sorry to say they are not always pleasant. But it is impossible for those who knew Turgeneff not to recognize him, with all his charm and all his weaknesses, with his originality of thought and expression.

This is what Turgeneff says of Taine: "The comparison is not a noble one, but allow me to compare Taine to a pointer I once had; he stopped, he looked about, he had all the motions of a pointer, only he had no nose. I was obliged to sell him." One day Zola was complaining loudly: "I shall never be decorated. I shall never belong to the Academy. I shall never have one of those distinctions which are the affirmation of talent with the great public. I shall always be a pariah; yes, a pariah." And he repeated this word "pariah" four or five times. Turgeneff looked at him with a sort of paternal irony, and told him he was invited to the Russian Embassy, to a banquet given on the occasion of the emancipation of the serfs. He had had something to do with this emancipation, and his friend Prince Orloff, the Russian Ambassador at the time, had not forgotten him. "I am not, perhaps, in Russia the first Russian littérateur; but in Paris, as

there was no other, you will concede that I was the first. Well, under these circumstances, do you know how I was placed at table? I had the forty-seventh place. I was placed after the pope, and you know how the pope is despised in Russia."

It is difficult to give an analysis of a book like the 'Journal des Goncourt.' All you can do is to note certain traits which concern interesting characters. Turgeneff comes out in high relief, but I am sorry that Goncourt shows a sort of prurient pleasure in repeating the most extraordinary recollections of Turgeneff. The 'Journal' could hardly be placed in the hands of a decent woman, even if she was an old woman; and some of the pages in it have spoiled Turgeneff for me. Daudet's physiognomy also comes out very vividly—Daudet of the sunny South, with his semi-Bohemian ways, his extraordinary powers of observation. One day Daudet tells at Flaubert's house the story of his childhood. "It was passed in a house without money, with a father who changed his trade every day, in the eternal fog of Lyons." At the age of twelve, Daudet read poetry, works of the imagination "which exalted his brain; his readings were carried on in the drunkenness produced by liquors which he had stolen at home." "Daudet is the pretty, hairy young man with an eyeglass, who throws back every moment superbly his long hair. He speaks amusingly of his impudent way of putting in his books whatever furnishes him literary observations." You will find in every book of Daudet's observations taken from life; a Parisian can affix names to almost all his characters. We are shown Daudet's life in his little country house at Champrosay, in the old Hôtel Lamoignon, in the Marais. "He has lived in this hôtel for seven years (since 1875), and tells me that the house has been good for him; it has made him calmer and wiser. He had a feverish youth, a youth which long preserved, as he expressed it, the swell, the last undulations of the sea after the tempest. Well, in this quiet house, pacific and sleepy, he has been transformed, and his laborious purring has made another man of him." Workingmen all over the world are making a great stir about the limitation of the hours of labor. What do you think of this written on the 9th of October, 1877, at Champrosay? "Daudet is killing himself. For five months he has been working from four o'clock in the morning to eight, from nine to twelve, from two to six, from eight to midnight—in all twenty hours' work." As a comment it is necessary to say that Daudet is now suffering from a nervous disease.

Nobody is more often mentioned in these notes of Goncourt's than his friend Flaubert, the author of 'Madame Bovary.' There was more than a common friendship between them—there was a literary friendship. They were both naturalists, realists, the first of a class which has become very large. As far back as 1872 Goncourt wrote: "Flaubert is, at the present moment, so cross, so cutting, so irascible, so angry at everything and at nothing, that I fear my poor friend will suffer a nervous breakdown." We know, by the indiscretion of Maxime Ducamp, that Flaubert had epileptic fits, which he carefully concealed; his nervous system was at all times in a disordered state, and his temper was the result of his health. His sensitiveness was extreme. The idea of travelling in a railway carriage opposite a man whose face might be disagreeable to him, made him uncomfortable and hindered him from travelling. "No," said he one day, "I cannot bear any annoyance. The notaries of Rouen look upon me as a madman; in a matter of an inheritance I said to them, 'Let my co-heirs take all they want, but don't speak to me of anything—I would rather be robbed than annoyed'; and it is so with everything, with my publishers." Goncourt paints very vividly this physical disorganization in a man who was built like a giant, and makes sad reflections on those who indulge in excessive brain work: "It is positive that we are all ill, all mad, and ready to become completely so."

On the whole, these Journals will remain a valuable, though very incomplete, document for the literary history of our time.

Correspondence.

FURTHER DISCOVERIES AMONG THE BRITISH MUSEUM PAPYRI.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: A small volume will appear containing the unpublished papyri of literary interest in the British Museum. Their preparation and publication is under the direction of Mr. Kenyon, to whom is due the *editio princeps*, so justly admired in Germany and America, as well as in England, of Aristotle's 'Constitution of Athens.'

The most noteworthy addition to the known body of Greek literature which the new volume will bring, consists of seven poems of about 100 lines each, written by Herodas (Herondas or Herodes). From these, scholars will doubtless be able to determine, if not the orthography of his name, at least the time when this poet lived. The date hitherto assigned has varied between the early period of Hipponax and the Alexandrine age of Callimachus. The twenty-five lines of his composition hitherto known consist of fragments, the longest and least obscure of which comprises four lines. All but one are in the hobbling iambic metre invented for satirical purposes by Hipponax and called the choliambic measure. It is interesting to find that all the new verses of Herodas are in this same comically hamstrung rhythm. They are described by Mr. Kenyon as "dramatic idylls," and are chiefly of domestic interest. One contains an account of the visit paid by a party of women to a temple of Æsculapius. Interesting allusion is made to works of art in the temple, and a well-known passage in the "Ion" of Euripides may possibly have been in the mind of the poet. This has its bearing upon the date of composition, and may give support to Bergk's surmise that Herodas was a contemporary of Xenophon, whose son Gryllus he is supposed to mention.

The characteristic liveliness of our "iambographer" has full scope in another of the new poems, where the mother of an incorrigible "mauvais sujet" brings him for salutary flogging to the schoolmaster. It is to be hoped that the boy was not old enough or not clever enough to turn upon his wrathful mother with that charming line of Herodas which declares that "an agreeable woman is bound to stand anything."

The diction of these poems, like that of the shreds and patches of Herodas already known, is very strange. The MS. is a long and narrow papyrus-roll, well preserved only in the middle. One end is badly rubbed, while the worms have had their way with the other.

A second papyrus contains nine narrow columns of an attack—presumably, but not certainly, by Hyperides—upon a political opponent whom he arraigns for violation of the Constitution. The beginning of this speech is lacking; its ending is preserved intact.

With this absolutely new material will also appear collations of parts of works already well known. These papyri contain nearly the whole of three books of the 'Iliad' (ii–iv), considerable fragments of two books (xxiii and xxiv), and small bits from four others (i, v, xvi, and xviii). The back of the papyrus containing 'Iliad' ii–iv has written upon it the text of a grammatical treatise bearing the name of Tryphon. It is to be hoped that this also may be published, as well as a collation of Isocrates "de Pace" and of the third epistle of Demosthenes, both of which are among the treasures of Mr. Kenyon. Treasures they surely must be called, since their date appears to range between 100 B. C. and 500 A. D.

Yours very truly,
Louis Dyer.

London, May 16, 1891.

THE BIRTH-RATE.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: In reading your notice of Prof. Richet's paper in *La Réforme Sociale* upon the French birth-rate, I was impressed anew, as I have been many times before, by what seems to me the extreme obtuseness of writers upon sociology in regard to the really serious side of the population question. Nearly all such writers seem to assume that a rapid increase in population is a good thing in itself, and is to be taken as a true measure of prosperity in a nation or a community. This tendency was most amusingly shown in almost all our journals last year in the discussion upon the results of the census. It seemed to be taken for granted that it is vastly better to have five hundred people in a town than four hundred, and a million and a half in a city than a million; yet upon reflection scarcely anything could appear more absurd than this assumption.

As you so well say, "The most likely way for any nation to be happy is for all the individuals in it to be happy," and I think that it would be difficult to prove that this universal happiness is sure to result from a rapid increase in population. To my mind, the really vital and alarming fact is, that, under the present conditions of our civilization, society is continually dying at the top. In the lowest walks of life, and especially in the most crowded parts of our great cities, and where the means of livelihood are most meagre and most precarious, the capacity for reproduction, following early marriages or illicit unions, seems as illimitable as it is unrestrained, while in the more prosperous and well-to-do classes marriages occur later and the number of offspring becomes less; and in the majority of families which have experienced several generations of comparative ease and culture, the numbers become stationary, then decline, and finally the families themselves, so far as public knowledge goes, become extinct.

This, in its two aspects—the crowding into life at the bottom of the scale, the rapid thinning out at the top—is no light matter. Indeed, it seems to me to so far exceed in importance every other fact in sociology as to render any speculation upon social conditions, or any proposed remedy for social evils, which fails to take it into account, comparatively, if not absolutely, worthless. Thanks to our commercial system, we may assume that of late years there has always been enough food in existence for the existing population, and food is the necessary condition of continued life and all life's possibilities. It is true that this food has not always reached the mouths which were waiting for it, but, alas! it seems likewise true that this has been the sole effective con-

servative influence which kept matters from becoming worse than they actually have been. The fact upon which Malthus so much insisted, that population tends to increase more rapidly than the means of subsistence, *is* a fact as regards the poverty-stricken classes of all great cities, and, in my judgment, no scheme of social reform, Socialistic or Anarchistic, can ever by any possibility be effective in the removal of misery and degradation which does not recognize this fact, and in some way tend to restrict increase in the lowest stratum of the "dependent classes." The struggle for existence which Darwin showed characterizes all organic life, is as positive in the human family as elsewhere, and it can only be happily controlled by the exercise of intellectual power.

Whether in the case of families of long standing there is an inevitable tendency to actual infertility such as must result in their extinction, is not yet clear; the accumulated data are insufficient to base a conclusion upon. That there is a considerable decrease in fertility seems certain, but other causes may account for much of the result which might mistakenly be traced to this.

Whether means can be found to combat effectively the two tendencies which I have described remains to be decided, and until this *is* decided, the future of our civilization is an uncertain quantity. Considering, however, the horribly rapid growth of our great cities, with the thousands and tens of thousands huddled together in their swarming tenement-house districts, the problem is one which is ever pressing more and more strongly for a solution. WILLIAM POTTS.

MAY 23, 1891.

ETCHINGS AND PHOTOGRAVURES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: May I state in reply to Mr. Hamerton that I have never "tried to depreciate etching"? Certainly, in the illustration of books, reproductions of pen drawings have taken the place of etchings; but to say this does not imply that the artistic value of etching has been lessened. As an etcher and a pen draughtsman I can appreciate both arts. And if both could be printed with letter-press, I should practise the one as much as the other.—Yours truly,

JOSEPH PENNELL.

LONDON, May 12, 1891.

Notes.

HARPERS & BROS. will publish directly Margaret O. W. Oliphant's 'Memoir of the Life of Laurence Oliphant and of Alice Oliphant his wife,' in two volumes; 'A Flying Trip around the World,' by Elizabeth Bisland; Matthew Arnold's selection from the Poems of Wordsworth; and 'What to Eat—How to Serve It,' by Christine Terhune Herrick.

D. Appleton & Co. will add to their summer series of light reading 'From Shadow to Sunlight,' a novelette by the Marquis of Lorne.

Dr. Julius Froebel has finally yielded to the importunities of his friends and the wishes of his publisher, and abandoned his original intention of not permitting the second volume of his autobiography, 'Ein Lebenslauf,' to be issued until after his death. After revising the manuscript and changing some forms of expression which might be offensive to persons still living, but without omitting anything of importance or modifying his views in the slightest degree, he has now placed it in the hands of the printer, and the appearance of this valuable contribution to the recent and contemporary political history of Germany and of Europe may be expected at an early date. Froebel's vigorous old age, which promises yet many years of life, seemed to render any further delay in the publication of a work of so great and immediate interest to the present generation undesirable.

By the death of the retired Prof. Eduard Wilhelm Reuss at his home near Strassburg on April 15, Germany has lost one of her chief pioneers in the contiguous provinces of modern Protestant theology and Oriental scholarship. Reuss, born at Strassburg July 18, 1804, was strongly attached and always remained true to his native city, which no promises of academical preferment could ever induce him to leave. Physically slight, he possessed marvellous powers of endurance, and in this respect resembled Döllinger, with whom he had, besides vast learning and a tenacious memory, quite a number of marked intellectual traits in common. As one might naturally expect from their respective confessions or systems of faith, the Protestant was stronger in Biblicism and hermeneutics, and the Catholic more at home in ecclesiastical history and dogmatics. Reuss was diligent with his pen to the very last, and among his posthumous papers are numerous poems, dissertations, and extended records of his thoughts and experiences in the form of diaries which, it is to be hoped, will be given to the public.

It will rejoice the hearts of bibliophiles as well as of Biblical students to learn that the famous Greek manuscript of the New Testament, which dates from the fifth century and constitutes one of the chief treasures of the Vatican Library, where it is well known to scholars by its catalogue number 1209, is now being phototypically facsimiled by order of Pope Leo XIII., who intends to present a copy of the work to each of the principal libraries of Christendom. It is to be hoped that none of our large public and university libraries will be overlooked by the official dispensers of this generosity.

'Des Herrn Friedrich Ost's Erlebnisse in der Welt Bellamy's' is the title of a recent novel by Konrad Wilbrandt, a member of the German Imperial Diet and a writer of some note on political and economical topics. The experiences of Friedrich Ost are intended to show the practical difficulties that would necessarily arise from a State monopoly of all the social, political, domestic, industrial, and intellectual activities of mankind as imagined and described by Bellamy in 'Looking Backward'; and to prove that this millennial golden age of the future, like the mythical golden age of the past, is merely a poet's dream.

About three years ago Mr. Theodore Kirchhoff of San Francisco made a trip to Hawaii, an account of which he now publishes under the title of 'Eine Reise nach Hawaii' (E. Steiger). He manages to convey a considerable amount of useful information of the regulation guide-book variety, and his way of putting it might be pronounced quite inoffensive except for an occasional lapse into a facetiousness which, being of the stereotyped beer-commers style, is not always in the best of taste.

'Hassan le Janissaire' (Paris: Armand Colin & Cie.), by Léon Cahun, purports to be an historical novel with its scene laid in Turkey in the sixteenth century; it might as well be in China in the first century, for its characters are nothing but marionettes, and its incidents are of a sufficiently blood-curdling description to suit any age or country. It might be regarded as a new type of the prevailing dialect story, being plentifully larded with Turkish words which convey no meaning to the reader and add to the indigestibility of the book.

'Sesame and Lilies' has just been added to the 'Brantwood Edition' of Ruskin's Works published in this country, by authority, by Charles E. Merrill & Co. Prof. Norton furnishes again an introduction.

G. P. Putnam's Sons have issued a popular edition, in a single volume, of Prof. Charles F. Richardson's 'American Literature (1607–1885).' It is in every respect a presentable book, and the purchaser will, in view of the lower price, forgive the retention of two indexes, whereas their amalgamation might have been looked for. The original two volumes, it will be remembered, appeared at an interval in 1886 and 1888.

Mrs. Hawthorne's 'Notes in England and Italy' were made public by the reluctant author a little more than twenty years ago. They now appear anew with a changed imprint (Houghton, Mifflin & Co.), and with a portrait of Mrs. Hawthorne etched by Schoff. The Italian portion is quite two-thirds of the volume, and is largely devoted to works of art.

The same publishers send us the revised Sweetser's 'White Mountains' (eleventh edition) and 'Maritime Provinces' (eighth edition). They are incomparable handbooks for the tourist, and they are faithfully kept up to date.

Mr. James Clegg, Wet Rake, Rochdale, England, has got out a third edition of his 'Directory of Second-Hand Booksellers, and List of Public Libraries, British and Foreign.' Other topics than those mentioned in the title are "Fictitious Names, etc., used by Authors and Book Illustrators," a curious array; "Initials Used by Authors," "Book Collectors Wanting Catalogues and Reports," "Bibliographical Works of Reference," "Ancient Centres of Printing, with their Latin Equivalents"; "Glossary of Terms Used in Literature and the Book and Printing Trades"; "Abbreviations," and much other information of a convenient sort for literary workers. The list of second-hand-book sellers is the completest undertaking of all those we have enumerated. Mr. Clegg has trebled the size of the previous edition (1888).

The ninth volume of Mr. Worthington C. Ford's edition of the Writings of Washington (G. P. Putnam's Sons) covers parts of three years, 1780-1782. Beginning with the revolt of the Pennsylvania and Jersey lines, and subsequent troubles with the troops of Massachusetts and New York, aggravated by a general state of military unpreparedness and deficiency, it takes in the surrender of Cornwallis, and ends with Washington's plan of campaign drawn up at Newburgh on May 1, 1782. The disturbance between the "Vermontese" and the New Yorkers, and the suspicious conferences of the former with the British in Canada, are also visible in these pages. Washington's private personality shines out in connection with his Virginia estate, from which some of his slaves are seduced by the enemy, and others have to be sold to pay taxes. Of special interest is the letter to Benjamin Harrison, Speaker of the Virginia Assembly, objecting to the movement in that body to pension Washington's mother.

Mr. Reuben Gold Thwaites's 'The Colonies, 1492–1750' (Longmans) is a swift sketch of the American colonies down to the very eve of the Revolution. It is highly condensed—perhaps, indeed, it is somewhat too full of nutriment for the uninformed—and its arrangement is orderly and convenient. After the necessary account of early settlements, the manual proceeds, on three main lines, to treat severally of the Southern,

Middle, and New England divisions in their political, social, and economic aspects, not forgetting meanwhile to include the other English colonies and New France. Like most compendiums, it will principally invite those able by previous familiarity with the subject to follow easily so rapid a movement. The subject is virtually a fresh one as approached by Mr. Thwaites. Mr. Lodge's 'Short History of the English Colonies' is more leisurely in its treatment, more restricted in its scope, and does not anticipate the plan herein followed. The present volume is the first of the "Epochs of American History," a series having for its editor Dr. Albert B. Hart of Cambridge. It is a pleasure to call especial attention to some most helpful and not overdone bibliographical notes provided by the editor at the head of each chapter, which he should feel encouraged to continue in future volumes. These aids are made in the spirit of the healthy activity in historical study which has been so stimulating a factor in Harvard College for the past fifteen years, so that any one desirous to pursue a larger method of investigation will do well to follow Dr. Hart's notes.

The Messrs. Putnam have reissued the valuable repertory of 'Documents Illustrative of American History, 1606-1863,' compiled by Howard W. Preston, and first published in 1886. We observe no changes in it except typographical.

'Light in Africa' (London: Hodder & Stoughton), by the Rev. James Macdonald, is mainly an account of missionary work in Kaffraria between the years 1875 and 1887. It gives, on the whole, an encouraging view of the progress of the natives, especially in industrial education. Life at an exposed station during one of the frequent wars between the different tribes is also graphically described. The most valuable chapter is that upon the habits and customs of the natives, in which numerous interesting facts and observations relating to nearly every phase of native life and belief are to be found. Witchcraft holds, of course, a prominent place in their lives, but of religion there is almost nothing. Human sacrifices are absolutely unknown, and there are no very distinct traces of fetish. While believing in the existence of the spirit, the natives have no idea of a resurrection, yet have a crude conception of creation and a singular theory as to the origin of death, that it "came into the world by a fraud." Equally interesting is their tradition as to their migration from the centre of the continent, which bears such a close resemblance to a well-known classical story as to make its originality doubtful.

The State Commissioners of the Topographical Survey of Rhode Island are now preparing an edition of their map on four sheets on a scale of an inch to a mile, with contours, including the whole State and adjoining parts of Connecticut and Massachusetts. This large map is made by combination of the small sheets of the Government form of publication, with the addition of the State and county lines in a light red color. An appropriation of $4,500 has been made by the Legislature for the preparation and distribution of the map to the schools and public libraries of the State, in this, as in the map itself, following the example of New Jersey. Proof sheets of half the map, just brought from the press, are now open to inspection in the exhibition of the Brooklyn Institute's geographical collection in Boston during the present month. The entire map will be about four by six feet. When complete, it will be on sale to the public at moderate cost.

We have received the first numbers of a new weekly German Republican high-tariff organ, called the *National-Zeitung*, which was launched this month in Chicago. In form (quarto) it is much more attractive than the generality of newspapers published in German, and its contents are varied and interesting. The editor is Joseph Brucker. In the second number, Julius Gugler of Milwaukee furnishes translations into German of Whittier's new poem, "Immortality," and Howells's poem, "Mortality," and intimates that the musical friend who called his attention to the former will presently set it to music—we presume in the German version. It has not been the lot of the Quaker poet to be thus honored as freely as was Longfellow, and, indeed, we recall only his own adaptation of a Frémont campaign song ("Sound now the trumpet warningly") to the air *Suoni la tromba*. This song is not included in his collected works, and search of it in its published sheet-music form has proved unavailing.

Mr. Hamerton continues his chapters on "The Present State of the Fine Arts in France" in the April and May numbers of the *Portfolio* (Macmillan). He deals with Impressionism and with the Survival of Classical Sentiment, throwing a good deal of light on the former term, and illustrating both subjects by reference to the works of artists in the respective categories. Reviews of W. J. Linton's 'Masters of Wood-Engraving' and of Pillet's 'Madame Vigée-le-Brun' occupy considerable space in these numbers.

In its last half-dozen issues *L'Art* (Macmillan) concludes the review of a century of *salonniers*, or critics of art exhibitions, in France, gives another instalment of its century of engraving (1789–1889) in connection with the late Exposition, notices with portraits the composer César Franck and the painter Émile van Marcke de Lummen, both Frenchmen—though the one was born in Belgium and the other was of a Flemish family—discusses Abraham Bosse and his work as an engraver, and has, besides, the usual miscellany. A full-page portrait in eau-forte of President Carnot accompanies No. 642.

"E." writes to us: "In your notice of Symes's 'The Prelude to Modern History' (No. 1346), the critic states that 'the Gothic historian Jornandes is disguised as 'Jordanes,' and intimates that this is a slip of the pen on the part of the author. Such is not the case. 'Jornandes' is used by Grimm, Wackernagel, and other writers, but the only form of the name found in manuscripts and early documents is 'Jordanes,' and this is now generally accepted by scholars as the proper orthography."

"T. B." writes from Leipzig: "In Bescherelle's 'Dictionnaire National' (1856) I find, under *escalier*, the following quotation from Imbert (place not given): 'On s'avise souvent sur l'escalier d'un bon mot qu'on a manqué de dire dans la chambre.'"

The strong and genial face of the late lamented naturalist Joseph Leidy has been fixed for posterity by Mr. F. Gutekunst, Philadelphia, in his imperial panel series. It would adorn any museum.

—The regular scientific organization of "Psychical Research" seems to proceed apace. We have received the first numbers of two new journals devoted to the subject, one published in Leipzig by Abel, the other in Paris by Alcan. The German one is entitled *Schriften der Gesellschaft für Psychologische Forschung*, and is edited by Dr. Max Dessoir. The French one is the *Annales des Sciences Psychiques*, and is edited by Dr. Dariex. Both seem characterized by a severely accurate and critical spirit, though the contents of the *Annales* is much more meagre than that of the *Schriften;* the only strictly new matter of fact in this number of the former being the record of four cases of "veridical hallucination" gathered at first hand, with the accompanying documents, by the editor. Prof. Charles Richet contributes a preface; and presumably the periodical will grow. It is to appear every two months. The German journal is thicker (90 pp.) and richer. Its most interesting contribution is a paper by Dr. Von Schrenk-Notzing on the relation of narcotics to hypnosis. The facts have been previously known, but are here brought together and studied systematically for the first time. Non-hypnotizable persons may be hypnotized after taking a few whiffs of ether and chloroform, and then by suggestion made hypnotizable in future without these agents. By combining a small dose of chloroform with hypnotic procedure complete anæsthesia can be readily induced. Hashish produces great suggestibility, without any of the common hypnotic processes being used. All the ordinary hypnotic phenomena can be observed in persons intoxicated with this drug. There are many able men at work in Germany upon all these borderland phenomena; and since this new journal is the combined organ of the Berlin and Munich Psychical Research Societies, it is fair to predict for it a vigorous future.

—Our own Anglo-American "S. P. R." shows no symptoms of diminution of vigor. Its Proceedings appear regularly three or four times a year, always with some new record of facts, reported so authentically, and discussed so impartially, as to have permanent "documentary" importance. The collection is already of great value. Earlier reports of supernormal occurrences, abundantly as they lie scattered through literature, are practically unutilizable, for the vague and uncritical character of the record makes it usually easy to doubt what the alleged fact really was or whether it took place at all. The great function of a psychical-research society seems to be that of a sort of weather-bureau for catching these meteor-like phenomena as they happen, and putting them on record in so irreproachable a way that they *can* serve as authentic material for future natural philosophers to lay at the base of their speculations. This demands above all a certain longevity on the Society's part—the importance of its records being essentially accumulative. It demands also patience on the members' part, and a capacity for being satisfied with a good deal of humdrum detail of no very "sensational" interest. In the number just published of the Proceedings, there is the beginning of what promises to be a vigorous discussion of the evidence for clairvoyance, by Mrs. Henry Sidgwick, and a decidedly interesting account, by M. Marillier, of certain apparitions of the Holy Virgin to peasants in Dordogne, which he studied on the spot. A somewhat neurotic shepherd girl, Marie Magontier by name, who saw the Virgin one day when by accident she peered into a crack at the bottom of an old ruined wall, seems to have been able to infect her whole neighborhood with the same visual hallucination, to which, later, others in the open air, as well as auditory hallucinations, were added in some of the subjects concerned. In the earlier days of the Church this would doubtless have made a first-rate miracle. At present the local priesthood is inclined to treat it as pathological. The possibility of collective hallucinations such as these probably throws light on the testimony in some old witchcraft epidemics. The part

played by the dark cavity in the wall is probably analogous to that which the crystal plays in "crystal-gazing," where dimly luminous appearances seem to stimulate the visual "centres" to abnormal activity. We understand that the American Branch of the Psychical Research Society is not yet self-supporting, and would be glad to enlarge its membership. Persons interested can apply to the Secretary, Mr. Richard Hodgson, of No. 5 Boylston Place, Boston, Mass.

—Prof. White's paper in the 'Harvard Studies in Classical Philology,' which has been printed separately in pamphlet form, has a particular interest, since it discusses in a very careful manner the question of the stage in Aristophanes—that is to say, the literary evidence of the plays themselves with regard to Dr. Dörpfeld's theory repeatedly referred to in this journal, and set forth once more by Mr. White himself in his recent communication on the Theatre at Megalopolis. His investigation issues in the conclusion that "the Comedies of Aristophanes could not have been performed on the stage of Vitruvius"; he adds the positive suggestion that the Comedies can be "set" with great ease on the supposition that there was no barrier of a raised stage between the actors and the chorus, and this in itself furnishes a strong argument in favor of the theory. There is a great deal of "stage business" in the Comedies, and Aristophanes is ingenious and fertile in devising farcical situations in which both actors and chorus take part and mingle apparently on the same level. More than a score of such situations occur, in eleven of which, on the old theory, the chorus are on the stage, while in the remainder the actors are in the orchestra. If we read the plays without prepossession in favor of a stage, these situations are easily conceived and easily "set"; they are often much more telling. If we assume the existence of a stage, we are sometimes obliged to explain away the obvious sense of the poet's language, and we are left in perplexity as to what was the exact nature of the action. This perplexity was felt in one case even by the Greek scholiast on "The Frogs." The situation is this: Dionysus, wandering in Hades, is greatly alarmed by his attendant's highly imaginative description of a hobgoblin, and in his fright appeals to his own priest to preserve him. Now the priest of Dionysus sat in the centre of the front row of spectators, and the scholiast asks: "How could the actor go round from the stage and hide himself behind the priest? It appears that *the actors were not on the stage, but in the orchestra.*" This is a very interesting concession made to the apparent necessities of the action by an ancient commentator, who nevertheless believed that Aristophanes used an elevated stage. There are three similar passages, in one of which the actor flings his cloak among the spectators, in another he throws barley-corn to them, in the last he conducts a young woman, Theoria, among the front seats, praises her charms, which are very freely displayed, and palms her off on an official of the Senate, the Prytanis, who had the honor, with his colleagues, of a reserved seat near the circle of the orchestra. "Do you see," says the actor, "how eagerly the Prytanis took her from me?" Now, a pantomime of this piece of buffoonery at a distance of sixty feet from the functionary would certainly seem very flat and pointless. In all these cases the language implies that the action did take place as described.

—Various other situations are highly significant. Aristophanes had a fancy for closing his plays with a procession in which the actors and the chorus join. In several instances he makes a choral dance go on just in front of the scenery. If this took place on a stage, we should have twenty-four persons dancing on a platform six feet wide, for that is all we have left of the stage of Epidaurus after allowance is made for the "distegia." In the "Acharnians," we have from thirty to fifty "supernumeraries" on the stage, and benches must have been provided for half the number. There is great difficulty in "setting" such a scene on a stage so narrow; and we have no warrant for reducing the number of policemen, assemblymen, ambassadors, and so on to a mere representative handful—a Pyramus and Thisbe equipment—as is done by Mr. Haigh and others. In the "Peace" and the "Lysistrata" we have a nearly equal number on the stage, and some very lively action going on, if we are to judge by the conversation. There is no reason, Prof. White argues, why we should not take this language literally, and why the performance should not have been carried out in a "realistic" manner, except the necessities imposed by the assumption of a high and narrow stage. In more than a score of instances, then, the chorus and the actors are on the same level, and Aristophanes, who is very careful in motiving his situations, gives no hint that there has been a change of level. This must be admitted by those who maintain that in five passages the poet does indicate a change of level in the words "ascend" and "descend," used of actors (ἀναβαίνειν and καταβαίνειν). As to these crucial passages, Prof. White maintains that the words are here used as technical theatrical terms, surviving from the time of Thespis and the ἐλεός, or table, on which his single actor stood, and that in the time of Aristophanes these old-fashioned terms were retained with comic effect, simply in the sense of entrance and exit, without implying change of level. He quotes in defence of this interpretation the criticism of one scholiast on another in the "Knights," line 149. The words "ascend" and "descend," it should be noted, are used in these passages only of actors, never of the chorus. More than a dozen other words used in the Comedies of entrance and exit imply no change of level. The details of the facts and arguments are naturally more striking and impressive than this brief summary. Mr. White recognizes, accordingly, three periods in the history of the Greek stage: "The earliest time, when the actor stood on the ἐλεός; the classical time, when he stood on a level with the orchestra, in front of the proscenium; the Macedonian epoch, when, with the loss of the chorus and the general vitiation of the public taste, he did doubtless stand upon it [*i. e.*, the proscenium transformed into a stage]." Of this second period the scholiast had no knowledge; neither, apparently, did Vitruvius the architect, nor Pollux, the antiquarian.

—Some attention having been aroused by the absurd exploit of Mr. Calderon in painting St. Elizabeth of Hungary naked before an altar, in presence of Conrad of Marburg and some friars, our readers may possibly feel an interest in the text which Mr. Calderon has thus rendered so literally. It occurs in Theodoric of Thuringia's 'Life of St. Elizabeth,' Lib. vi., cap. i., and runs as follows:

"Die autem parasceve dum pro mysterio et memoria Salvatoris pro nobis nudi nuda cruce pendentis altaria nuda apparerent, Magistro Conrado et quibusdam de prædictis fratribus præsentibus, in quadam capella ponens super nudum altare manus sacras, voluntati propriæ, parentibus, liberis, et cognatis, omnibusque hujusmodi pompis renunciavit, imitatrix Christi, et omnino se exuit et nudavit, ut et nuda et nudum paupertatis et charitatis gressibus sequeretur."

In view of the applause with which the picture was greeted, and its purchase by the Chantrey Fund as a worthy representative of British art, it is easy to understand the indignation in Catholic circles at so indecent a travesty, which outrages all the traditions of saintly modesty. It is not so easy to comprehend how any artist should be so utterly lacking in imagination and in a sense of fitness as to misconstrue the evident meaning of the chronicler.

—The collection of the folk-tales of England and Ireland has been so long neglected that it is doubtful whether in the former country there is much left to gather, and the amount of material which has undoubtedly perished in Ireland must be very great. We have recently reviewed Mr. Jeremiah Curtin's 'Myths and Folk-Lore of Ireland,' which was a praiseworthy attempt to rescue this evanescent material, and now we have to mention briefly 'Beside the Fire: A Collection of Irish Gaelic Folk Stories,' edited, translated, and annotated by Dr. Douglas Hyde (London: David Nutt). Of the fourteen stories in the volume (there are some riddles also), seven have already been printed in the original Gaelic in the same author's 'Leabhar Sgeulaighteachta'; the rest are here given for the first time with the original text and translation. The stories have all been written down by the author himself or by some friend acquainted with Gaelic, and the names of the narrators and the locality are given with exactness, so that we have here the first really scientific collection of Irish tales. Very few of those contained in the present volume have parallels in the Scottish Gaelic tales published by Campbell and MacInnes; but this is due to the collector, who purposely chose tales which were dissimilar, and who says, "As a general rule, the main body of tales in Ireland and Scotland bear a very close relation to each other." Not many of the stories in Hyde have European parallels. The following are the most noteworthy: p. 3, "The Tailor and the Three Beasts," compare Grimm No. 20, "The Valiant Little Tailor," and Dasent, p. 36, "Boots Who Ate a Match with the Troll"; p. 19, "The King of Ireland's Son" is a mixture of Grimm No. 71, "How Six Men Got On in the World," and the theme of "The Thankful Dead"; p. 129, "The Well of D'Yerree-in-Dowan," compare Curtin, p. 93, "The King of Erin," etc., which has a parallel in Grimm No. 97, "The Water of Life"; and p. 148, "Neil O'Carree," which is composed of the theme of "The Thankful Dead" and the story first found in the 'Cento Novelle Antiche' ('Il Novellino'), and best known by the version in Grimm No. 81, "Brother Lustig." The collector has written an interesting preface, in which he discusses the relation between the folk-literature of Ireland and Scotland, and indulges in some mournful reflections upon the neglect with which the language and literature of Ireland have been treated. Mr. Alfred Nutt has written a valuable postscript to the preface, and appended a few notes to the various stories. Altogether, Dr. Hyde's volume is a valuable and welcome contribution to folk-lore, and we sincerely trust it will lead to a collection of Irish popular tales worthy to stand by the side of Campbell's priceless work.

FREEMAN'S HISTORY OF SICILY.

The History of Sicily from the Earliest Times. By Edward A. Freeman. Volume

I. The Native Nations: The Phœnician and Greek Settlements. Vol. II. From the Beginning of Greek Settlement to the Beginning of Athenian Intervention. Pp. xxxvi, 609; xx, 583. With maps. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Macmillan & Co. 1891.

In the broadest retrospect, European history chronicles a tremendous conflict between the Aryan and the Semitic races. Compared with this conflict, which lasted more than five-and-twenty centuries, the local struggles among the Greek, Italian, and Teutonic tribes seem almost insignificant. The final question to be decided was, from the dawn of history, not which Aryan people should dominate Europe, but whether Europe itself should not fall under Asiatic sway and be deprived of even the possibility of developing an Aryan civilization. We do not sufficiently realize how near, in at least two crises, the Asiatic came to victory: had he won at Marathon, Salamis, and Himera, the course of ancient history would have been completely changed; had he won at Tours, there might have been no Frankish Empire, with feudalism and the other influences it bequeathed to modern times. In the first great onslaught Hellas was the champion of Europe; she defeated Darius and Xerxes on her own soil, and her Sicilian colonists defeated the Carthaginians—who were Semitic colonists in Africa—at Himera. Then followed the long duel between Rome and Carthage for the supremacy of the world. Triumphant Rome, blotting out her rival, made Africa and the East her tributaries, and it seemed as if the question were settled for ever—as if the Aryan were not only securely established in Europe, but also master of the men of Canaan. But when the Roman Empire crumbled, another Semitic wave poured westward; and, with wonderful rapidity, the Arabs swept along the southern coast of the Mediterranean, seized upon Sicily and Spain, and threatened to inundate all western Europe until they were checked by Charles Martel. Then Europe took the offensive, recovered Sicily, and, in the desultory and futile crusades, strove to regain the African seaboard and western Asia. Finally, just as the Arab power declined, Asia sent forth another brood of conquerors, the Turks, who made vassals of the Saracens, and, establishing themselves in the Byzantine capital on the Bosphorus, overran southeastern Europe and menaced Italy and Germany. Only two hundred years have passed since the followers of Othman encamped under the walls of Vienna; and since their defeat there, Europe has inch by inch driven them back, until but a fragment of their western empire remains to them. But the very presence of the Sultan at Constantinople is a reminder that the "eternal Eastern question" which perplexed the statesmen of young Hellas, is still unsettled. Asia no longer threatens to enslave Europe; but she has left a thorn in the side of Europe which no one dares to withdraw.

In this immemorial struggle between the East and the West, Sicily has played an important, often a most important, part. Her position as the stepping-stone between Africa and Europe, and as the wedge dividing the Mediterranean into two almost separate seas, predestined her to be the meeting-place and battle-field of the races. Though never a homogeneous nation herself, she has been involved in the affairs of many nations. Not only was she the pivot on which the struggle between Rome and Carthage turned, but also she has been the abode of Goth and Saracen, of Norman, German, and Spaniard; she has been the spoil of the House of Anjou and the House of Bourbon, and, finally, under the House of Savoy, she has been united to Italy. She is the most cosmopolitan of lands: on her soil all peoples have mingled to form a composite people in which Italian traits now predominate, mixed with traits inherited from Greek or Arab ancestors. No other island except Britain has had so eventful a history; but Sicily had already lived two lives, in the very centre of the world's conflicts, before Britain had a life that interested the world at all. Considering, therefore, the range and variety of Sicily's experience, it may seem strange that no one has hitherto written a first-rate history of Sicily. The reason, however, is obvious: the undertaking is almost too vast, requiring as it does a knowledge not only of what happened in the island itself during twenty-five centuries, but also of universal history throughout all that time. A complete narrative would include not only the deeds of Hiero and Hannibal, of Roger, Frederick II., and Garibaldi, but also a broad statement of the general currents of human progress so far as these influenced, or were influenced by, the fortunes of Sicily.

To supply this want has been for years the ambition of Prof. Freeman, and we have at last the first two volumes of his work, which he hopes to bring down to the time of Frederick II. He originally proposed to treat of Sicilian history during the Norman period, but in studying his material he became convinced that, in order to make mediæval Sicily intelligible, he must go back to the beginning; he felt that the real significance of the island's career comes from the part she played in that inveterate conflict between Europe and Asia to which we have briefly referred; and so, undaunted by the magnitude of the task, he set himself to write the history of Sicily from the earliest times, when fragmentary records disappear in myths and legends. The key to his treatment is found in this sentence, which he quotes from Grote (vol. v, p. 277):

"We are here introduced to the first known instance of that series of contests between the Phœnicians and Greeks of Sicily which, like the struggle between the Saracens and the Normans in the eleventh and twelfth centuries after the Christian era, were destined to determine whether the island should be a part of Africa or a part of Europe—and which were only terminated, after the lapse of three centuries, by the absorption of both into the vast bosom of Rome."

The scale on which Mr. Freeman works may be inferred from the fact that these first two volumes (of nearly 1,200 octavo pages) bring his narrative down only to the year B. C. 433; yet the authentic history of Sicily cannot be said to begin before the seventh century, and then it can be gathered only in scraps. Before the seventh century, and long afterwards, conjectures and myths are our only guides, to be confirmed by what hints archæology and philology can give. Of the aboriginal inhabitants of the island we know nothing; the first distinct tribes were the Sikans, who may have come from the Iberian peninsula; the Sikels, who seem to have been related to an early Italian people; and the Elymians, about whose origin even so expert a guesser as Mr. Freeman offers no plausible suggestion. Some time later than the eleventh century the Phœnicians made settlements on the northwestern shores of the island, and three of these settlements—Panormos, Motya, and Eryx—grew to be prosperous towns, which, in the seventh century, looked to Carthage, the great Phœnician power in Africa, for protection. In B. C. 735, the first Greek settlement was planted at Naxos by men of Chalcis, and in the following year, Corinthians founded Syracuse. Thenceforward, for more than two hundred years, the work of Greek colonization went on.

It was about B. C. 580 that the first recorded struggle between the Greeks and Phœnicians occurred, when Pentathlos led a body of Rhodians and Cnidians to settle on the western coast, and they were driven away by the Phœnicians. But not till a century later did the irrepressible conflict between the races come to a crisis. Then, when Xerxes massed all the power of Asia to crush Hellas, the Carthaginians sent their armies to aid their Phœnician brothers in overwhelming the sons of Hellas in Sicily. At Himera the contest was fought; the Punic host was routed, and Greek Sicily had a respite from barbarian aggressions during nearly three generations. During this interval, Syracuse and Acragas rose to the meridian of luxury and power, and several other cities fell but a little behind them. The early tyrants, Gelon and Hiero at Syracuse, and Theron at Acragas, enjoyed only a brief ascendancy; yet it was to them, and to their imitators elsewhere, that the Greek cities of Sicily owed the erection of many of those monuments whose ruins now attest the power and culture of that period. From B. C. 472 to B. C. 433, Sicily was free alike from native oppression and foreign interference, although would-be despots harassed her from time to time and there was more than one quarrel between city and city. By far the most interesting episode during these forty years was the unsuccessful attempt of Ducetius, a Sikel, to set up a Sikel kingdom. After him, the Hellenization of his tribe went on so rapidly that the Sikels themselves became one in interests and fortune with their Hellenic conquerors. Mr. Freeman's second volume ends, it will be seen, on the eve of the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war, the most dramatic and important of whose campaigns was to be waged in Sicily.

This first epoch is illustrated by the career of a few conspicuous men—of the tyrants above mentioned, of Phalaris and Empedocles, of Dorieus, Hippocrates, and Anaxilas—and Mr. Freeman has done well, in the absence of larger information about the people, to dilate upon these. The chief sources from which he could draw his facts, the works of Herodotus, Thucydides, and Diodorus, are often so scanty that he has also ransacked Greek poetry for every reference to early Sicilian affairs; and at least two Greek poets, Simonides and Pindar, have supplied him with material. That poetic side-lights are better than utter darkness, no one will deny; but we believe that the tendency of modern scholars is to overestimate the value for historical purposes of these poetic hints. If, in the far future, the only record that men possessed of Napoleon should be Manzoni's ode—if nothing were then known of Cromwell but Marvell's ode—historical students would doubtless attempt to reconstruct the history of Cromwell and Napoleon; but can we believe that their patchwork could contain more than those poems contain? Is it not time to be more wary of conclusions drawn from stray phrases in the classic poets—to suspect the solidity of an historic edifice based on the fragment of an ancient statue or a bit of pottery? We would not for a moment disparage the use of these and similar aids, but we would insist that their authority can be, at the most, only partial and corroborative. More than once, after the expert has restored a mutilated statue to the satisfaction of archæologists, the missing fragments have been unearthed, and have been found to differ widely from the "restoration."

We feel the want of caution in Mr. Freeman's work, especially his first volume, where facts are few and conjectures many. Indeed, without adding the most liberal supply of conjectures, no one could stretch the account of Sicily from prehistoric times down to the middle of the fifth century B.C. through nearly 600 pages: all the facts, together with a concise statement of the legends and theories, could be adequately told in a small fraction of that space. But Mr. Freeman does not sufficiently discriminate between the functions of the historian and the functions of the archæologist. He devotes much of his attention to the topography of the ancient towns; he describes those ruins that remain, and speculates as to the probable site of lost monuments and cities. He requires, for instance, two pages for stating that Sicily's shape is not exactly triangular, the western angle being somewhat blunted; he debates whether a town started at the foot of a hill and crept to the top, or started at the top and crept to the bottom; he dwells upon the probable changes in the harbor of Panormos. This is much as if we should find in a history of the United States a long and minute description of the Great Serpent Mound or of Dighton Rock. Temptations like these Mr. Freeman, in the case of Sicily, cannot resist. In proportion as a question is hazy, his attitude towards it is not, "What do we know about this?" but, "What can we infer?" This method causes an historical work to resemble those German editions of the classics in which five lines of text are an excuse for ten pages of comments. Let one case serve to illustrate many: less than two pages sufficed to Grote for stating all that is known about Phalaris; Mr. Freeman's discussion of Phalaris covers fourteen pages in the body of the work and an appendix of twenty pages in small type.

We lay stress on this subject because we believe that it involves the fundamental principles which should guide the historian. During the past half century there has sprung up a body of writers devoting themselves to that amiable fiction, "the science of history." They might as well pursue the science of prophecy; for if history were a science, in the strict meaning of the word, the historian would not only know absolutely all the motives and actions of men in the past, but he would also be able to foretell the future. But the most "scientific" historian in the world did not foresee on April 13, 1865, that President Lincoln would be assassinated within forty-eight hours; and who would have predicted two years ago the dismissal of Bismarck by the heady young Kaiser? The term "science," as we understand it, cannot properly be applied to human events in which the unexpected may at any moment upset all calculation. What is really meant by the "science of history" is that the historical student strives to sift evidence accurately, to state facts impartially, and to eliminate so far as he can the personal equation from his results; and he has been wonderfully assisted by the great advance made by the true sciences in recent times. A man may, however, succeed in all these endeavors without being a great historian. Mere accuracy and ability to heap up facts do not suffice; there must accompany these qualities imagination—the power to see through facts to causes—and the artist's power of classification and expression. A history is worth, at the last analysis, only as much as the historian's personality; it is not only a record, but a commentary; and whereas to a small man the most stupendous episodes seem small, to the great mind the smallest event is mightily significant. Long before the "science of history" was dreamt of, Thucydides wrote a history, and Tacitus another, which all the "scientific" historians in the world to-day would try in vain to equal. One characteristic of this modern school is to overburden their pages with erudition; another is the absence of imagination, of vividness, of charm. To the average "scientific historian" the past is a vast cemetery whence he abducts cadavers for dissection.

How far Mr. Freeman's adherence to the scientific method of writing—it would be more appropriate to say of *accumulating*—history has led him to cumber his work with matters which only indirectly bear upon it, we have already hinted. That he sees clearly the great currents of human progress is as evident as that he has not the gift of describing them in a master's fashion. He labors so hard to be precise that he has too little charm. He carries antithesis and repetition beyond all bounds. If such a sentence as the following seems rugged, "The gods were the gods of the netherworld, but their very nature as gods of the netherworld made them also gods of the high places" (i, 98), what shall we call this passage?

"The English settlement in Britain, with all that it was slowly to lead to in after ages, was not, at the time, an *advance* in civilization. In truth, as an *advance* of heathen destroyers, it was eminently the opposite. But the *advance* of the Greek over the Sikel was in every way the *advance* of the higher over the lower man. The English *advance* in America was so far more strongly. For the *advance* of the Greek against the Sikel was after all only the *advance* of European against European; it was the *advance* of kinsmen to whom the lamp had been first handed against kinsmen who had lagged behind them in the race" (i, 319-20).

Such a style might be excusable in a textbook of chemistry, or in the composition of a child who had not yet been taught the use of pronouns; but in an historical work which is to be read as literature, how can we excuse it? Mr. Freeman has so long been known as a spelling-reformer that it is hardly worth while to quarrel with him on that score now, but we may fairly ask that he be consistent. On one page we find *Aeschylus* and *Sophoklês*, on others, *Aristotle* and *Sokratês*; why this discrimination? Or, if we are suffered to write *Macedonia*, why are we forced to write *Epeiros*? But into the mysteries of classical spelling-reform we will not venture to intrude. The use of *æra*, *phœnomena*, *prae*-historic, etc., is a reversion to antiquated forms which, being unnecessary, seems pedantic.

It will be observed that our adverse criticism falls in the main on the method which Mr. Freeman has pursued—a method which, we believe, can never produce an historical work of the highest order. But we recognize and applaud the diligence with which he has gathered his materials, the breadth of his erudition, the patience with which he has examined every line and literally turned every stone that bore an allusion to his subject. And if the reader be disappointed because all this industry and learning have not created a vivid, terse, and charming history, he will nevertheless acknowledge that there is scattered up and down these two volumes, as in an encyclopædia, a vast deal of information concerning all things Sicilian as late as B.C. 433. And in the fifty-six appendices the specialist will find a further discussion of those moot questions in archæology and classical lore which to specialists are of more interest than the lives and deeds of men. It is to be hoped that, in the succeeding volumes, Mr. Freeman, having reached a period concerning which contemporary historians have left ample records, will devote himself to the swift and strong narration of events, leaving the critical exegesis of texts and the putting forward of conjectures to German students who excel therein.

A word should be said in praise of the make-up of these volumes. Each has a full table of contents, marginal rubrics, maps, and an index. The paper and press-work are excellent. It is a pity, therefore, that each volume should have several pages of corrections and additions, which might have been distributed in their proper places in the text. We have marked a goodly number of misprints not included in the list of errata, but we have no space to set them down here.

STRATMANN'S MIDDLE ENGLISH DICTIONARY.

A Middle English Dictionary. By Francis Henry Stratmann. New edition, rearranged, revised, and enlarged by Henry Bradley. Oxford: The Clarendon Press; New York: Macmillan.

THE appearance of a Middle English Dictionary, though but a new edition, is by no means insignificant. No period in our language history is more important for an understanding of present English, and none has been so lacking in those proper aids to study, grammars and dictionaries. The grammar of Middle English is yet to be written, the Chaucer Grammar of Ten Brink, invaluable as it is for the great part of the fourteenth century, being still inadequate for all periods, and for other dialects than the Midland. In the matter of dictionaries, the case has been worse. The great dictionary of Mätzner has not yet reached the middle of the alphabet. Stratmann's dictionary, last issued with supplement in 1881, left much to be desired, as must have been the case with the first work in so wide a field. Appreciating this, Dr. Stratmann had nearly completed a revision of his work in 1884, when his death occurred. It is this corrected edition which is now issued by the Clarendon Press, under the editorship of Henry Bradley.

The first question suggested on the issue in England of a new work connected with English philology, is, "How far does it take account of the results of philological research in Germany?" For it is a lamentable fact that in England not only have German methods been sneered at, but the indubitable results of the most painstaking and trustworthy investigation have often been wholly disregarded. It is a pleasure to note, therefore, that, in the book before us, British prejudice has not prevented using the latest work of German scholars, and largely on this account the new volume will be most important to the student of Middle English.

Some of the points of superiority over former editions of Stratmann are indicated in the preface. They are, a more exact definition of words, Stratmann having paid little attention to this; a strict alphabetical arrangement, except for one or two modifications easily understood; the marking of vowel quantity to a much greater extent than hitherto attempted; the revision of etymologies, and the addition of many words, especially those of Romance origin, so largely omitted by Stratmann. Even as to the unremedied defects of the former book, the editor disarms criticism by frankly acknowledging the advantage of a different course in many cases. Here may be

placed the failure to separate all doublets resulting from adoption of a word through two channels, as English *chase* and *catch*, *chatel* and *cattle*, *desk* and *dish;* the verification of all references and their insertion in manuscript spelling; the indication of Middle English open and close *e*, *o*, both long and short, and the separation of palatal *g* from the guttural and dental-palatal consonants.

The marking of Middle English quantity is not easy, but the attempt is to be heartily commended. Mr. Bradley's plan of marking in a different way the new long vowels, while perhaps not objectionable, is hardly necessary, since the lengthening conforms to fairly definite rules well known to students of the language, and the addition of the Old English word in most cases of Germanic origin shows clearly enough the original quantity. Some objections might be made to Bradley's statement of the laws of lengthening, since it is at variance in several particulars with that laid down by Ten Brink in his Chaucer Grammar, and that given by Kluge in the recently issued 'Grundriss der Germanischen Philologie.' Moreover, full account does not seem to have been taken of the later development of the language, as throwing light on Middle English quantity ; for it must be assumed that vowels whose later changes are wholly normal must have had in ME., or late ME. at least, the quantity of vowels in other words of the same category. To illustrate, the *i* of *climben* should be long, both because of the general rule that *i* is long in ME. before *mb*, *nd*, *ld*, and because in no other way could we account for our word *climb*. So the lengthening of *o*, open and close, before *mb* is evident from present English *comb*, *womb*, *tomb*, while in *lamb* the ME. word was long, though our word must have come from a form retaining its short *a*. Sweet even adds *dumb* to the list of words with long vowel before *mb*. Similarly, the lengthening before *r* + voiced consonant, while it may not have been universal, might better be marked in words which are distinctly separate in present English because of such lengthening. Examples are, *board*, *hoard*, *weird* (long in OE. even), and *beard*, the last of which is alone marked long by Bradley. Wholly unmarked are the lengthened vowels before *n* + palatal *g*, even when the modern forms show the quantity conclusively. Examples are *change*, *grange*, *strange*, *stranger*, *danger*, *manger*, *angel*—the last not from OE. *engel*, as implied by Bradley, but from the old French word. The recognized lengthenings of OE. monosyllables are usually noted, but *we* is given short, and our *thou* is marked both long and short. In some other cases there is lack of consistency. For instance, *hol* 'hollow' is short, while *col* 'coal' is long. In fact, both were long in ME., probably lengthened before the close of OE. times. So while vowels in open syllables of Germanic words are usually marked long, *beren* 'to bear' and *barin* 'to bare' among the *b's* are not marked, although the similar word *swerien*, 'to swear,' receives its proper length. Lengthening of *e* before *nd* is not marked, though both Sweet and Kluge give examples of it; and such a word as *taste* has long *a*, while *best*, 'beast,' is unmarked. In general, the quantity of originally unstressed syllables in Romance words is not indicated, although many of them had become long, owing to shifting of stress, as early as the fourteenth century. Following Stratmann, Bradley indicates the quantity of these words only in the earliest time.

But the most striking omission is in not indicating the difference between open and close *e*, *o*, long and short, at least so far as it is fairly evident from the later outgrowth of the speech. Mr. Bradley himself recognizes this by saying that the open *o* (long and short) "ought to have been used for Middle-English *o*, when representing an Old-English *a*" long and short. It is true such distinction would be pioneer work, like that of marking quantity, but it is to be regretted it was not begun in so good a book. Moreover, to one who looks upon language as a physiological development under determinate laws of sound-change, it is perplexing to see ranged side by side, without any indication of difference, words whose phonetic quality has been different at every successive stage of the language. For example, the separation of ME. open and close *ê* is by no means so difficult as it would at first seem. Both *ê*'s appear in modern English as *î*, with the spellings *e*, *ee*, *ie*, *ei*, *ea*. But until the eighteenth century words with *ea* were distinct from the others. A comparison with Old and Middle English shows that words spelled now with *ea* and having the *î* sound must have had open *ê* in ME., and that this alone can account for a distinction kept up for three centuries. The only exceptions are a few words with *ee* springing from open *ê* in early ME., which must as certainly have become close *ê* in late Middle or early modern English. It should be said that some indication of the quality of vowels is given by the editor in his retention of the early *œ* for open *ê*, but this should have been supplemented by the recognition of the close *ê* as well. The problem of marking open and close *o*, long and short, is even less difficult. Not only OE. long *â* became ME. open long *ô*, although sometimes retaining the traditional spelling with *â* in the earliest period, but words which show long close *ô* at present presuppose an open vowel in the ME. time. Examples are numerous, as our *stone*, *boat* from OE. *â*, and *gold*, *hole* from OE. short open *o* by lengthening in ME. The separation is the more easy because ME. long close *ô* has regularly become long *û*, as in *gloom*, *bloom*, *tooth*, *goose*, etc.

The palatal and guttural *g's* should have been separated also, since the palatal quality which precedes our *g* was almost, if not quite, as distinct in ME. as it has become in later times. The separation has been made in the smaller ME. dictionary of Mayhew and Skeat, besides being usual in glossaries. Bradley's introduction of German *ü* for the umlaut of OE. *u* represents, of course, the phonetic value of the umlaut in Southern English, but not in the Midland and Northern dialects, where the umlaut of *u* was constantly represented by *i*, showing it had become unrounded.

Without seeking for errors especially, some have been noticed which show carelessness at least in giving OE. words. Under *dust* the OE. word should have a long vowel, the *û* being for original *u*+*n*. Our *fever*, ME. *fefre*, should have long *ê* both in Old and Middle English, although unmarked by the editor in either case. It has been generally accepted also, that OE. *lytel*, "little," has a long vowel, as may be seen from Kluge's 'Etymologisches Wörterbuch,' or the OE. grammar of Sievers. Under *rechen* the OE. forms should be *rêcan*, *reccan*, not *rêccan*, cf. Kluge under *geruhen*. After ME. *stirôp* should be given OE. *stigerâp* if one follows Kluge, or *stîgrâp* as often, but not *stigrâp* with short *i*. The OE. word from which ME. *snare*, "snare, noose," is derived is *sneareh*, not *snear*, the two consonants *rh* alone accounting for the breaking *ea*. In giving OE. words there is no distinction between original *e*, and *e* the umlaut of *a*, nor is there recognition of OE. dialectic forms. It would have been comparatively easy to give West Saxon forms in all cases, or to have indicated dialectic peculiarities.

It is not to be expected, perhaps, with our present knowledge of the subject, that all etymologies in such a work should be correct, but we are surprised to see the too common English reference of our word *silly* to OE. *sælig*, ME. *sæli* 'happy,' instead of to OE. *sellic* 'odd, peculiar.' The two words were distinct as late as Spenser's time at least, if they ever fell together. Similarly there is no separation of OE. *engel*, and OF. *angel*, from which alone our *angel* could have come. There is little reason also to connect *early*, ME. *ærlich*, with Icl. *ârligr*, rather than with OE. *ærlice*, notwithstanding the theory of Ten Brink that the adverbial ending *-ly* has been influenced by Icl. *-ligr*. So it is highly improbable that *trout* could have come from OF. *truite*, while it would be a natural outgrowth of OE. *trâht*. In most cases, also, the modern English phonetic equivalents are given, even when the word has changed its meaning, but sometimes these are omitted when we should expect them. Under *runien* 'to whisper' should be given English *round*, marked obsolete in our dictionaries, but used by Browning in the 'Ring and the Book' and other poems. So, too, under *gure-blôd* should be mentioned the word of similar meaning used by Shakspere, *gore blood*, "Romeo and Juliet," iii., 2, 56. Without doubt the words are the same, the ME. *u* being (as often) for a close *o*, and in this case the word belongs under *gôre*. There seems to be a curious mistranslation of a Latin definition in one of the glosses. ME. *stert*, our *start*, is rendered 'start, moment,' where *moment* translates Latin *momentum* 'a movement.'

Notwithstanding these criticisms, it remains to say that we have in this volume a much better book than the original Stratmann, more exact, more complete, more useful. Its issue by the Clarendon Press is a guarantee of almost perfect typography, and, by abbreviating the references where possible, the book, with its added material, has been made no larger than the original dictionary.

The Right Hon. Arthur Macmurrough Kavanagh. Compiled by his cousin, Sarah L. Steele. Macmillan & Co. 1891.

FREQUENTERS of the streets of Dublin, visitors to the lobby of the House of Commons, between 1866 and 1880, must at one time or another have been attracted by the spectacle of a noble head and presence being carried in the arms of an attendant from carriage to door, or from lobby to a back seat. There was something wrong—the being had no limbs—yet no painful impression was given. It appeared for the moment not so much that something was wanting to him as that ordinary men were endowed with unnecessary appendages. This being was Arthur M. Kavanagh, the subject of the biography before us. We doubt whether there ever was a greater instance of a man triumphing over physical disabilities. If he had been the child of poor parents, he would doubtless have lingered out his days by the fireside or in the wards of a charitable institution. Born of one of the oldest and wealthiest Irish families, the direct descendant of Dermot Macmurrough who brought over Strongbow and his Norman knights, he was given every advantage, and, with the aid of appliances, became a fearless rider, a keen sportsman, and an enthusiastic yachtsman. He travelled Europe and India, often enduring privations that would wear down men of robust constitution. Naturally

of a religious temperament, his cheerfulness was admirable and unfailing.

Still more remarkable was the manner in which he threw himself into public affairs, local, Irish, and Imperial. For many years he stood out as perhaps the ablest of the ascendancy party in Ireland. He was considerate and humane to all around him. He believed the Irish people were essentially unfit for self-government, but that they should be well and honestly governed. As a magistrate he was wont to dispense justice and administer advice from a seat under an old oak tree near his hall door. Thus he and his should dispense justice to the masses of their fellow-countrymen. He sat in Parliament from 1866 to 1880. A Protestant, he represented a constituency in which the Catholics were to the Protestants as 8 to 1. A landlord drawing his wealth, and means for foreign travel, and keeping up his yachts and placing his children in high positions, largely from the power to screw up the rents upon tenants in proportion as they delved and saved, his constituents were those very tenants. He voted to rivet the support of the church of the minority upon that of the majority; he resisted all efforts for effecting land reform. In the elections of 1880 the people, armed with the ballot, threw off the representation of such men. This he and his biographer regarded as the basest ingratitude—as a conclusive proof of the unworthiness of the people and of their weakness in being led by interested agitators.

Mr. Gladstone's measures of land reform accomplished, it is to Kavanagh's credit that he accepted the inevitable, and recognized that the only safety for his class thenceforward lay in the widest extension of peasant proprietorship. Needless to say, he was an opponent of home rule, an ardent admirer of Mr. Balfour. Under different circumstances he might have become a prominent leader in Irish affairs; as it was, he could only be an advocate of the maintenance of the rights of a class.

The biography before us is unduly laudatory, and is often wanting in balance. It is, upon the whole, interesting, and has its value as a witness to the extent to which man can triumph over bodily failings and maintain a cheerful, healthy spirit. It is also of worth as an exposition of the ideas and the hopes of the class to which Mr. Kavanagh belonged. We are left in doubt as to whether the numerous mottoes in ancient and modern languages at the heads of the chapters indicate the learning of the subject of the memoir, or imply the erudition of the authoress.

Optical Projection: A Treatise on the Use of the Lantern in Exhibition and Scientific Demonstration. By Lewis Wright. Longmans, Green & Co. 12mo. 1891.

MR. WRIGHT'S excellent work will assuredly be warmly welcomed by teachers and lecturers. In it the subject of what may be termed illustrative projection is reduced to purely scientific principles, while its capabilities are developed and largely extended. In this country lectures are, as every one knows, very frequently and often very advantageously illustrated by optical projections upon screens, and the lantern has become a popular instrument. It is important to give it the highest degree of perfection, and this can only be done by a thorough study of the optical principles upon which its construction rests. Mr. Wright's work gives all that is, at present at least, necessary. It contains the theory and practical construction of the lantern itself; an account of the different sources of light, and of screens and accessories of all kinds. We have then accounts of apparatus necessary for scientific demonstrations and their application to Physiology, Chemistry, Sound, Spectral Analysis, Light, Heat, Magnetism, Electricity, and finally to Scientific Diagrams. The book is very full of useful details, and is eminently practical. We notice no errors of moment, but may in correction state that the invention of the vertical lantern described on page 167 is due to Prof. J. P. Cooke of Harvard University.

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NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JUNE 4, 1891.

The Week.

THE publication of the last batch of Bering Sea correspondence shows simply that Mr. Blaine received from Lord Salisbury about the 28th of February a despatch agreeing, with a few unimportant modifications, to Mr. Blaine's proposed plan of arbitration; that Mr. Blaine made no acknowledgment of this, and took no notice of it until about the 1st of April (Sir Julian Pauncefote says "a few days" before April 7), when in a conversation he proposed that a *modus vivendi* restricting seal-killing should be arranged pending arbitration; that Sir Julian expressed disappointment at not receiving along with this proposal an acceptance or rejection of Lord Salisbury's proposal of February 21; that this led to some mutual correction and recrimination; that May 4 Mr. Blaine revealed his *modus vivendi*, but still gave no answer on the plan of arbitration; that on the following day Sir Julian accepted the *modus vivendi*, which simply stops seal-killing this season, except 7,500, which the North American Company are to be allowed to take to meet the expenses of their establishment on the islands, and enable them to fulfil the obligations towards the natives imposed on them by their contract with the Government; that since May 5 there has been delay, owing to the need on the part of the British Government of communicating with Canada, and to Sir John Macdonald's illness, but that on June 1 Lord Salisbury was able to present to Parliament the bill now pending giving the British Government power to carry out the *modus vivendi* in Bering Sea. It will be seen that it is owing to Mr. Blaine that the arbitration scheme is still in abeyance four months after it was substantially agreed on, and that Lord Salisbury has been tardy in accepting the *modus vivendi* because in the first instance it came to him separate from the plan of arbitration, and with the plan of arbitration pushed back into the region of uncertainty, and in the second because he has had to consult the Canadians. However, the *modus vivendi* really carries the negotiations an important step forward, for it is an implied abandonment of all the old weapons of the controversy—the *mare clausum*, the hundred-mile limit, the "bonos mores," and so forth. The seals will by it be placed under the protection of the contiguous Powers, and saved for the present at least from Elkins, and we congratulate the poor beasts most heartily thereon. The slaughter of 7,500 seems, if slaughter there must be, not unreasonable, in view of the permanent obligations of the company on the islands, and we trust there will now be a final settlement of a controversy which in places savored greatly of the ridiculous.

John Bardsley, the City Treasurer of Philadelphia, who had $930,000 of the State's money and $600,000 of the city's money in two of the collapsed banks, and who speculated with it also and drew 4 per cent. interest on it for his personal profit, is in jail as an embezzler and misappropriator of public funds intrusted to his keeping. It is said now that he was known to have been a dishonest man for years, and to have been charged with forgery twice, before he was selected by the Republican managers of Philadelphia for City Treasurer. No one can be surprised to hear this. Qualifications of that kind are no novelty in Pennsylvania politics. Quay had similar ones, and his use of them in office, which was fully exposed, did not prevent his election to the United States Senate. Delamater had similar ones also, and his possession of them did not prevent his nomination for the Governorship, nor the support of him for that office by all the leading organs of his party. Everybody who opposed his election was denounced as an enemy of protection to American industry, and as an agent and worker for British free trade. Pennsylvania was spared the shame and the fruits of Delamater's election, but Philadelphia's bankrupt treasury indicates what the fruits might have been if the "agents of British free trade" had been less energetic.

The Chairman of the Prohibition State Committee of Pennsylvania has sent a protest to Gov. Pattison against the new ballot bill, asking him to veto it—

"(1.) Because one provision of the bill denies citizens of the Commonwealth the freedom in nominating, and, hence, voting for, candidates by any party name for public office, unless such nominations are first attested by 3 per cent. of the total vote at the previous election.

"(2.) Because, by another provision, no nomination for any office can be recognized and placed on the official ballot, or counted or returned, unless said nomination shall first have been petitioned for by one-half of 1 per cent. of the total vote.

"(3.) Because another provision requires that certificates of nomination shall be filed with the Secretary of the State fifty-six days before election and nominating papers forty-nine days before election."

Two of these are reasonable objections, and, if they represent the provisions of the bill accurately, are strong enough in our estimation to justify a veto. The 3 per cent. of total vote required for a regular party nomination is the same as is required by the Massachusetts and some other laws. In New York only 1 per cent. is necessary. This feature of the bill is not objectionable, therefore. The second objection is a very different matter. All existing ballot-reform laws state precisely the number of signers necessary to petitions for State and minor offices, but few or none of them give so large a number as one-half of 1 per cent. would be. That is, in fact, a prohibitive requirement, and would be found so in practice. The same thing is true of the requirement, stated in the third objection, of 56 and 49 days previous to election as the latest periods in which nominations can be filed. There can be but one meaning to these provisions, and that is, that they were put into the bill to make practically impossible the nomination of third-party and independent tickets.

The election in Massachusetts last fall resulted in the choice of a Republican House of Representatives, a Senate equally divided between the two parties, and a Democratic Governor. This Legislature should reapportion the State for Congressmen on the basis of the census of 1890, and the political conditions were such as to invite the passage of a measure which should be fair to both parties. The Republicans generally agreed that a non-partisan scheme of redistricting should be carried through, and a committee of the House was appointed which in due time reported a bill satisfactory to all candid men. Under its provisions the Republicans would carry eleven of the thirteen districts on the basis of the Presidential vote of 1888, and seven of the thirteen even in a "tidal wave" year like 1890. The better class of Republican newspapers throughout the State approved the plan, and everything promised its ready acceptance by the Legislature, when that "Scholar in Politics," Henry Cabot Lodge, and that lecturer of gerrymandering Democrats, the Boston *Journal*, called a halt, and insisted that the fair and non-partisan scheme should be dropped in favor of what the Republican Chairman of the Redistricting Committee pronounced "the most outrageous gerrymander ever proposed." Mr. Lodge went to the State House and lobbied to secure the passage of this bill, designed primarily to benefit himself by reaching out to bring some more Republican towns into his close district; but, fortunately for the cause of public decency, he was defeated, enough fair-minded Republicans in the House voting on Thursday with the Democrats to give the Committee's bill a good majority.

The Norwich (Conn.) *Bulletin* (May 21) announces that the great lock factory in that city, employing (according to the last report of the Norwich Board of Trade) 275 workmen, has determined to withdraw from New England and move its whole establishment as speedily as possible to Roanoke, Virginia. This involves a probable withdrawal of population from Norwich of from 1,000 to 1,200 taxpayers, consumers and good citizens, whose places it will not be easy to supply. The reason assigned for this action by the *Bulletin* is that the company may obtain cheaper supplies of pig-iron, brass, and coal; but it takes very good care editorially not to tell its readers and the people of Connecticut that, if it were not for the exorbitant tariff taxes which Pennsylvania has been mainly instrumental in imposing and defending, pig-iron, steel, brass, and coal could be supplied at their own doors as cheap as in

almost any manufacturing locality in the whole world—certainly as cheap as in any one of the great competitive centres of the metal industries of Europe. And under such circumstances there would be little thought or occasion for any metal-manufacturing establishment emigrating from Norwich or Connecticut, but a good deal of temptation and inducement for such industries to move in. During the last Congressional election this destructive influence of the tariff in general, and especially the influence of the McKinley Bill on the manufacturing interests of Connecticut and New England, was made a prominent feature of the canvass of this section of the country. It was presented by one of the candidates in Connecticut —Mr. David A. Wells—with a wealth of illustration and power of argument that could not be surpassed. His protectionist and Republican opponent attempted no serious reply, but on the contrary took great credit to himself for his votes in support of the highest and most unwarrantable protective duties on raw materials, and avowed his purpose, if elected, to continue to follow the same policy. The people of the district in which Norwich is situated elected him, and so endorsed his sentiments and approved of his votes; and now, we fancy, they are likely to appreciate practically the fruits of such policy, and also the point of the proverb about the class of people who will learn only in the school of experience.

The *Banking Law Journal*, in its last issue, publishes in full the Court of Appeals decisions upon the Bedell forgeries, declaring that the bank of deposit must make good the losses caused by the unauthorized payments. Genuine checks were made out to fictitious or real persons as the case might be, the endorsements were forged by Bedell, and the checks cashed through some bank by an accommodating friend. Aside from the legal points involved, the *Journal*, on behalf of some of our bankers, thinks that the common sense of mankind will pronounce the decision inequitable, since it puts upon banks a danger which they did not agree to assume, namely, that arising from the negligence of the drawers of the checks. That the plaintiffs led the banks into this danger there seems no doubt, and if the losses could be settled on a percentage basis, commercial equity might demand that a portion should be borne by the office from which the checks with forged endorsements proceeded. But this is not the case presented. The question is, Upon whom should the chief responsibility be laid? To this the business community will have but one answer: Upon the bank which paid the money without authority. The whole system of banking in the United States, and the established customs of trade, depend upon the principle that evidences of debt are payable only to the persons named therein. To weaken this principle would tend to destroy confidence, and would in the end be bad for the banks themselves. If a merchant, under our present conditions, should be distrustful whether money made payable to a particular individual would ever reach the right person, and whether, if it did not, he would have to pay the sum over again, that business man might think his own vaults safer. It is well to remember how important to the community is the office of a bank in collecting capital from one man to lend to another. Anything which looked towards lessening the security of deposited money, or its proper payment on demand, would, so far as it went, impair this service of a bank to the public. The Court of Appeals, in declaring the bank liable for payments to unauthorized parties, has followed a long line of judicial precedents, which have increasingly tended towards a more strict interpretation of a bank's responsibility, rather than the reverse.

It may be true, as a matter of law, that where two parties "equally innocent" have been the victims of fraud, the loss ought to fall on the one whose act set the fraud in motion. But the public cannot, in its own interest, agree to this doctrine, without stipulating that not only shall the parties be equal in "innocence" but in all other things. They must, that is to say, be equal also in special responsibility. It was wrong of the law firm in this case to intrust its checks to Bedell, but it was not its special business to keep Bedell from forging checks or to keep in constant readiness machinery to prevent fraud on the part of confidential clerks. The public looks to law firms for advice, for the conduct of litigation, and for the examination of titles to certain kinds of property. It looks to them only incidentally and for short periods for the safe custody of money. We presume that if lawyers were not allowed to handle the money of clients at all, their business might go on very much as it does now, and whatever service they render to the public be rendered with as much efficiency and fidelity as at present. Their custody of funds is something gratuitous, like a banker's reception and forwarding of travellers' letters.

In the *Forum* for June, President Walker gives a most instructive and judicial survey of the present situation of the census controversy, in an article entitled "The Great Count of 1890." After pointing out the reasons for pride in the wonderful achievement of the American people in overspreading with their population and with the agencies of civilization so large a portion of this great continent, and calling attention to the desirability of awakening a popular appreciation of the importance of these great decennial enumerations, he mentions the different bases upon which criticisms of a census can stand. These he divides into three classes: inaccuracy in particular localities, shown by recounts or by actual individual cases of omission; internal evidence of inaccuracy, supplied by nonconformity in results furnished by the census itself with inferences irrefragably deduced from other data contained in the same census; and finally non-conformity of the general result of the census with conclusions derivable from the series of preceding censuses. Of the first class, in the case of the eleventh census, the only important instance, according to General Walker, is that of the city of New York; as between the police and the national census, he considers conclusions doubtful, while he distinctly blames the national authorities for not having themselves undertaken the renumeration. But in any case an error in New York would not of necessity involve any conclusion concerning the general character of the census; and President Walker accordingly turns to the consideration of the comparative rates of increase in successive decades. Here, however, while his presentation of the subject is most interesting and instructive, he refrains from entering at any length into that portion of the question which, as he himself states, furnishes "the real *gravamen* of the hostile charges" against the census, viz., the vastly increased immigration of the decade. His reason for not doing so, while perhaps inadequate, is sufficiently distinct and scientific, as will appear from the concluding sentences of the article: "If the birth-rate among the previously existing population did not suffer a sharp decline coincidently with that enormous increase of immigration, and perhaps in consequence of it, the census of 1890 cannot be vindicated. To ascertain the facts we must await the tabulation of the population by periods of life, and ascertain how many of the inhabitants of the United States in 1890 were under ten years of age." It would have been interesting if so accomplished a statistician as General Walker had estimated, in advance of the facts, how "sharp" the decline in the birth-rate would need to be in order to justify the result of the eleventh census.

The Bradstreet Company has issued a very interesting pamphlet giving statistics about mercantile failures and their causes in 1890. It appears that there is one strictly commercial or industrial establishment in the United States and Canada to each seventy inhabitants. Out of this number 12,299 failed last year, a failure being defined as resulting in loss to creditors, and no account being taken in these figures of failures where the losses fell solely on the principals. Of the failures as thus defined, 90 per cent. were of concerns whose capital was less than $5,000 each. When it is recognized that out of 1,063,000 traders reported, about 903,000, or 85 per cent., are credited with less than $5,000 capital each, it has special significance that 90 per cent. of the failures are from this class: one in each 75 of these small traders fails each year. This large proportion of failures among the small concerns seems to indicate two things — one, the characteristic ambition and energy of the American people; the other, the bad effects of zeal without knowledge. To show the matter more clearly, tables are given which set out the causes of

failures in detail. More than four-fifths of all who failed in business in the United States in 1890 (82.3 per cent. in number owing 62.7 per cent. of the total liabilities) did so, primarily, because of lack of equipment, either natural or acquired, either mental or financial.

The Philadelphia *Record* states that "cattle will hereafter be shipped by weight on the Pennsylvania Railroad to prevent crowding." We have no doubt that this is the end which crowns the work of Mrs. Caroline E. White of Philadelphia. Her labors in "championing the cause" of cattle, so often cruelly treated while in transit from the West, were detailed in a report made at the last annual meeting of the American Humane Association, of which she is a prominent member. Suspecting that the United States statute, which requires that cattle in transit be watered, fed, and rested once after every twenty-eight hours of consecutive travel, was being broken by the Pennsylvania Railroad, she personally obtained money to hire an agent to go over the road and ascertain the facts. Having thus obtained evidence of violations of the statute, Mrs. White called upon the officers of the railroad and threatened them with a suit. She obtained from Mr. L. M. Prevost, the General Superintendent of Transportation, a promise that the schedule of the trains should be so arranged that in future the provisions of the law would be complied with. Mrs. White was, at the time, hardly satisfied with this promise. She was very anxious to induce the Pennsylvania Company to change their ordinary cattle cars into compartment cars. The obstacle to this was the opposition of the owners of the compartment cars. They, she states, are "so desirous to keep the renting of these in their own hands that they do everything to dissuade shippers from using the same kind of cars when provided by the railroads." The shipping of cattle by weight, instead of by number, seems to be another way of reaching the end Mrs. White has had in view.

While most of the immigration from the Dominion of Canada into New England is of the French race, there is a large element of English-speaking people from the Maritime Provinces. A reunion of Province people was held in Boston the other evening, at which New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island were represented, banners symbolizing the different counties in the respective provinces being erected so that the large company might know in what parts of the building to find old-time friends. A correspondent of one of the Provincial papers, speaking of the reunion, writes: "We have plenty of ministers, doctors, and lawyers, provincialists by birth. No less than thirty-six of the ministers in Boston were born in the Maritime Provinces. Indeed, there is one county in Nova Scotia that claims to have but two products—lumber and Baptist ministers." Not a few of these people are the descendants of men and women who lived in New England generations ago before the Revolution, but fled to the Provinces during the war because they were Tories and sympathized with England. The reappearance of this element in New England a century later is one of the most curious phases of the migration of races.

The first Sunday opening of the Metropolitan Museum demonstrated that there was a real popular demand for the change, and that the new policy will prove fruitful of good results. There was a great crowd, composed almost entirely of people who cannot visit the Museum on week days, and "everybody was well-behaved and quiet." The instant success of the experiment here only accords with the invariable rule in other cities. The last annual report of the Cincinnati Museum Association says upon this point: "During the year 1890 the Museum was visited by 31,153 persons, of whom 15,993 came on Sunday afternoons. The attendance during 1889 was 21,287, of whom 3,917 came on Sundays. The gain over 1889 is, therefore, about one-half, and on Sundays alone. This was due to the lowering of the charge for admission on that day, referred to in the report of the Trustees. The character of the visitors on Sunday and the interest shown by them in studying the collections, seem to warrant the conclusion that the most effective part of the work of the Museum in art education is being done on that day."

When Count Taaffe dissolved the Austrian Reichsrath in January last, after the declared failure of his attempt to "reconcile" the Germans and Czechs, it was supposed that the new House of Deputies would supply him with a working majority, to be secured chiefly by a coalition of Germans and Poles. It now appears, however, that the task of welding the warring parties and fractions of the new Reichsrath into a safe Government majority is altogether beyond the power of the Austrian Premier. This was strikingly revealed in the recent proceedings of the Lower House when the question of adopting the usual address in reply to the speech from the throne presented itself. Three distinct drafts were proposed. The German Left, under the leadership of Plener, drafted an address which, in its timid moderation, reflected the despondency prevailing in German Liberal circles. It contained not a word that could possibly be construed into a provocation to the Czechs; and a gentle reminder that "the importance of the German element cannot be permanently ignored without detriment to the Empire," was the only manifestation of the Liberal protest against the odious Taaffe régime. The Young Czechs in their draft, on the other hand, were outspoken and defiant. They insisted on the restoration of their language to the rank to which they consider it entitled, characterized everything the Government had hitherto done in this respect as insufficient, and more than hinted that only constitutional changes in the direction of Bohemian state-right would satisfy their demands. Herr Bilinski, as the spokesman of the Poles and Conservatives, and hence of the Government, produced what the *Neue Freie Presse* justly called a "masterpiece of ambiguity," an address which might be construed equally as a demand for provincial autonomy and an assertion of the most rigid centralism. As a matter of fact, the members of the Committee charged with the drafting of the address could not reconcile their differences, and the House saw itself confronted with a deadlock from which there seemed to be no escape.

A glance at the composition of the House of Deputies will serve to bring out the nature of the differences which divide the parties. Of its 353 members, the United German Left count 108, the Conservatives or members of the Hohenwart Club 70, the Poles 55, the Young Czechs 35, the German Nationalists 20, the Christian Socialists (more properly anti-Semites) 18, the Italians, or members of the Coronini Club, 13, the Moravian Czechs 10, the Ruthenians 7, and various unclassified fractions 17. The Conservatives, Poles, Ruthenians, and perhaps the Italians could be counted upon to support Count Taaffe, but even a bare majority could only be secured by enlisting, among others, the support of the anti-Semites, and so far Count Taaffe was hardly prepared to go. In this dilemma, Dr. Smolka, the President of the House, came to the aid of the Government with an expedient which is without a parallel in the thirty years of Austria's parliamentary life. Leaving his chair, he introduced from his seat a motion to substitute for the usual address to the throne a simple expression of thanks to the Emperor for his gracious speech. This proposal secured the immediate support of all the important factions; the Young Czechs alone reserving to themselves the right of airing their grievances on some future occasion. Public opinion in Austria is, however, by no means enthusiastic over what is considered a voluntary abdication of parliamentary power, and Liberal papers like the *Neue Freie Presse* as well as Clerical papers like the *Vaterland* and Czech organs like the *Politik*, deprecate the "harmony" which the Emperor, in receiving the deputation of the Reichsrath, pretended to discover in its action. The Young Czechs, moreover, are now being taunted by the conservative Old Czechs with their submissiveness to the Government after all their fiery talk. The Liberal Germans once more hope to profit by the new demonstration of the inability of Taaffe to govern without them; while the Hohenwart Club shows serious symptoms of resolving itself into the elements which gave it its precarious life—the Bohemian Feudalists, South Slavs, and the Clericals of all sorts and nationalties. And Taaffe has at least the satisfaction of having persevered in the impossible task of "reconciling" Austrian parliamentary parties longer than any other Premier before him.

POLITICAL BANKING.

THE Keystone Bank of Philadelphia, about whose condition damaging reports had been in circulation for several months, was closed on the 20th of March last, by order of the Comptroller of the Currency. It was said by its President that "an earnest effort to fully restore the bank will be made immediately," and one of its directors said it would certainly resume in a short time, and that depositors would "not lose a single penny of their deposits." The National Bank Examiner, N. P. Drew, declared at the same time that he believed the bank to be in good condition for recovery. Very different views were to be heard, however, in banking circles, for it was generally believed there that the condition of the bank was far from sound. Days and weeks were allowed to pass without the appointment of a receiver. On May 8, seven weeks after the closing of the bank's doors, two other Philadelphia banks failed, and it was rumored that their failure had been brought about by the Keystone collapse, or by causes similar to those which had undermined that institution. On May 9 the Comptroller of the Currency appointed a receiver for the Keystone Bank, and a committee of the City Council began soon afterwards an investigation into the city deposits in the three collapsed banks.

There had been ugly rumors abroad before the appointment of the receiver, to the effect that the unusual delay in the appointment was due to high political influence at Washington. On May 15, the Philadelphia *Inquirer*, which is a very loyal Republican paper, printed a double-leaded article, asking many direct questions in regard to the bank and its affairs and their relations to politics, and closing with the following, which was printed in italics: "Was there any official of the Government, higher in authority than Bank Examiner Drew, who shielded the rottenness from the public and used his influence to prevent the receivership?" That there was "rottenness" in the bank there was at this time no longer any doubt. The President had been placed under arrest, together with the Cashier, and there were unmistakable evidences that there had been plundering on a very large scale. On May 22 the President forfeited his bail and fled, and on the same date John Bardsley, the City Treasurer of Philadelphia, resigned his office and made public confession that $930,000 of the State's money and $400,000 of the city's money had been deposited by him in the Keystone Bank, and lost.

It has been shown by the investigation that the bank has been bankrupt since August, 1888, and that Mr. Bardsley was aware of its condition when he took office in January, 1889. Knowing it to be bankrupt, he continued in it a city deposit of $400,000, and between January, 1889, and October, 1890, put into it no less than $930,000 of State money. It has been shown, also, that a former president of the bank, now dead, embezzled $998,000 of its funds and used it in real-estate speculations, and that the bank concealed his dishonesty, which was not discovered till after his death, and attempted to carry the loss and conceal it in the bank's accounts by false entries. About $400,000 was refunded from the estate of the dead President, but the remaining $598,000 has never been made good. In the period during which Mr. Bardsley was pouring the State's money into the bank there was a quiet withdrawal of deposits effected by heavy depositors, who had evidently been given a "tip," for the soundness of the bank had not been questioned. No less than $329,000 was drawn out in this manner just previous to October, 1890. There was then left in the bank $1,100,000 in deposits, including $930,000 of State money. In November whispers began to be heard of the bank's unstable condition, and in December a "run" was made upon it, during which nearly all its deposits were withdrawn, except the city and State deposits, which Mr. Bardsley allowed to remain.

It has been shown, also, that when the National Bank Examiner made his examination of the bank, he was deceived by false statements, and that leaves had been removed from the books in order to conceal the bank's true condition. The Examiner admits that the fugitive President, Marsh, confessed to him on January 5 of this year that he had falsified the books, and that he, Mr. Drew, reported the confession to the Comptroller of the Currency at Washington. Yet the President was not arrested, and the bank was allowed to go on doing business for nearly three months. "Who can tell," asks the Philadelphia *Ledger*, "why the hand of the Federal criminal law was not laid upon Marsh and his co-conspirators two, three, or five months ago? There was enough known long ago not only to warrant that, but to demand it." Speaking upon the same point, the Philadelphia *Inquirer* says: "Then there really was some influence in Washington at work in behalf of the plundered bank. That influence was responsible for keeping the bank open for two months and taking in some additional thousands from deluded customers. This is on a par with the whole sickening business. *But what was the influence?*"

These are questions which we shall not attempt to answer, but there are some political facts about the scandal which may serve to throw light upon them. All the persons concerned in the scandal, and all those concerned in hiding it and shielding its criminals from speedy justice, belong to the Republican party. The former President of the bank, who embezzled nearly a million of its funds, was a devoted companion of John Wanamaker in all good works, political and pious, and so beloved of Wanamaker that when he died, the latter shed tears copiously over his grave. When, after his death, it was discovered that he had been a thief, the man who had been cashier under him was chosen to the bank's presidency, and this man, who was also a friend of Wanamaker, is the fugitive President, Marsh, who confessed before flight that he had falsified the bank's statements in order to conceal the former President's theft. One of the bondsmen of this fugitive President, who will have to help pay the forfeited $25,000 of bail, is a brother of John Wanamaker. Bardsley, the City Treasurer, who put $400,000 of the city's money and $930,000 of the State's money into the Keystone Bank, and $200,000 more of the city's money into another of the collapsed banks, was for many years previous to his election as City Treasurer a trusted Republican of the Wanamaker school. He was heavily in debt at the time he ran for City Treasurer in 1888, and it is said that good Mr. Wanamaker raised a purse of $75,000 to pay off these debts, but discovered after the election that he had only raised about half enough. The financial troubles of the Keystone Bank date from August, 1888, which was about the time when Mr. Wanamaker began his efforts to raise his $400,000 fund for the national Republican campaign. He was then, it is said, a director of the Keystone Bank, as well as the political and pious friend of its dead President and its living but now fugitive one.

Furthermore, the National Examiner, who admits that he knew of the thieving of the dead President, and the falsifying conduct of the living President as early as January last, has been a close personal and political friend of John Wanamaker for many years. He has testified that Wanamaker was granted discounts on large sums by the Keystone Bank beyond the 10 per cent. allowed by law, and a director of the bank admits that Marsh, the fugitive President, lent John Wanamaker $200,000 of the bank's money on his personal note last summer, without the knowledge of the directors. Finally, it will be remembered that at the time when the withdrawal of the bank's deposits began last fall, and when Bardsley began to pour the State's money in to enable the bank to pay its depositors, John Wanamaker was reported in the newspapers, whether truthfully or falsely we do not know, to be in serious financial straits.

All these curious facts may throw some light upon the conduct of the Republican party in Philadelphia and in Pennsylvania in seeking to prevent the appointment by the Governor of an honest man in place of the dishonest City Treasurer, and also upon the conduct of that party in seeking last fall to have an embezzler, Delamater, elected Governor of the State.

What has Bardsley done that Quay did not do? He used the public money, as Quay did, for private speculation, and he lost it, as Quay did, but he had no rich friends, as Quay had, to make up the loss. The Bank Examiner says that Marsh was allowed to remain at the head of the bank, after he was a confessed swindler, in the hope that his friends might recover the money that had been lost, and that the Comptroller delayed the appointment of a receiver because "he was willing to give a chance to the reputable men who were trying to get the bank on its feet." The relations of the good Mr. Wanamaker to the bank and its officials may have been in accordance with general bank

usages, but it is unfortunate that the delays in exposing the rascality of those officials and their political accomplices should be charged to powerful official influence at Washington at a time when Mr. Wanamaker is an official of that kind himself.

THE FARM CHANGE IN POLITICS.

More than a year ago, after the symptoms of farm discontent at the West had been followed by the Democratic successes at the autumn elections of 1889, we referred many times, and with all the force that we could put in words, to the changes which would be likely to ensue in the next autumn of 1890. We even named twelve States where the farm revolt would most probably break out, of which eight were at the West. The eight, it is true, did not include Kansas, now foremost in the "farm movement," and they did include California, where, for local reasons, last autumn the Republicans more than held their party strength. But out of the twelve States, in those at the West which held elections last year, and which included practically all of the old "Granger" States, the revolt went far beyond what we or anybody anticipated. And now the same movement is apparently going still further, and taking a national aspect, and may have, before it ends, national effects. This "national" character is what, for the time at least, differentiates the movement from the Granger movement of seventeen years ago, and in that phase it has certain meanings which as yet are far from being realized in all their fulness and import.

The first Granger movement may be said to have begun early in 1873, and reached its climax about a year later. It gave the politicians a good deal of alarm and swelled quickly to considerable size. In some respects it resembled the present agitation. It had to a degree the same "cheap money" flavor now revealed in the demand for free silver, and was even more "anti-railroad" in character—so much so that the loud-voiced orators of it used to describe figuratively the Western prairies as set on fire politically by the locomotive's spark. But what, as stated, separated it widely from the present agitation was its almost exclusive appeal to the State rather than to the Federal authority. The "Potter law" in Wisconsin and kindred Granger measures in other States, all aiming at "relief for the farm" by State legislation, were the most striking episodes of the time. To the Western farmer then, as well as during years later and up to a very recent period, his State was the *fons et origo* of lawmaking, to which his political vision turned rather than to the vague and distant Federal capital. He knew, or knew of, his local State Representative; he did not know much of Congressmen, or of Federal Senators, or of the indefinite, mystic, and far remote Washington. The movement, after going to some rather silly extremes, waned as quickly as it had waxed, and as early as the first months of 1875 the Potter law had been modified, and the Minnesota Grangers had been forced to content themselves with broad and general railroad restrictions which left large discretionary authority to a railroad commissioner. Out of that whole epoch of agitation about the only Federal effect was the Supreme Court Granger decisions, and those came some years later. As to the promoters and actors in the movement, they fell back easily into the old parties, so that its influence could not in the least be descried at the West in the returns of the Presidential election of 1876.

Comparing that agitation with the present movement at the West, along with its various "alliances," "leagues," "patrons," and the rest, we see the contrast instantly. The regulation of railroads, of legal rates of interest—like the absurd Minnesota "loan" law—and other visionary attempts to legislate the farmer into happiness, undoubtedly still mark the farm outbreak. But over and beyond these it is reaching out strongly into the Federal field. Hardly a convention of the farm organizations can be named but has passed its resolutions on Federal questions, notably the tariff, currency, and banks, and put in its long string of demands for Federal boons. In addition to the recent weak and unrepresentative side-show at Cincinnati, there will probably be more serious gatherings of a national character, with possibly their candidates for President and Vice-President next year; and the embattled farmers have elected Federal Senators and Representatives and at other points opposed one of the old parties fiercely. These national characteristics are undoubtedly due in part to the larger size of the revolt, as compared with that of seventeen years ago, which was also much more narrowly localized. In half a generation of time, moreover, such old party emotions as the war feeling have decreased in force and proportionally taken away from the obstacles to a national "farm" party. But whatever the causes or their relative part, the central fact is that where the voters of the Western farms have hitherto been circumscribed by State lines in their more or less temporary outbreaks, they are now overreaching them and have rushed headlong into the to them new arena of Federal polity.

And their first venture into the strange field is attended with the absurdities which were to be looked for. They grope about like lost travellers in a thick forest, give us laughable expositions of political economy, satirize history as to money questions, and make their platforms the oddest jumble of good and bad "issues." They "garble principle with nonsense," and, in the impression made on the intelligence of the country, excite momentarily and in about equal parts jeering and alarm. But, after all, was anything very different to be expected from a class of voters isolated from contact with affairs, not given to reading, and who for a quarter of a century have been more stirred by sentimental memories of the war than by the crushing material burdens of a war tariff? When such a class first exploit a new domain of politics, we expect blunders and absurdities.

The movement must be judged not by its initial vagaries, but by its secondary results after reason has followed rashness, after its demagogues have been weeded out and the truths that survive have been fertilized by the errors that fail. Those results, indeed, will probably soon be attended with the dissolution of the movement itself, and show themselves in that readjustment of the Western farm vote which the Republicans have so much cause to dread. Remembering, then, how lethargic and how partisan the Western farmers have been, how many they are as voters, and how powerful is that "common sense of most" which, in a country like ours, always throttles demagogism sooner or later, can we not look to the farmer in his condition of too radical revolt with more hope than we have looked to him in a condition of political stagnancy? Those who tremble long over such a movement in an industrial group that numbers half the voters of the country, must either be distrustful of our whole American system of self-government, or be, like the Republican protectionists, a class whose reverse is the nation's profit.

TRIALS FOR HERESY.

There is in modern society no more curious mediæval survival than trial for heresy before an ecclesiastical tribunal. When such trials first began, they were based on two assumptions: one was that the tribunal could condemn the culprit to torment in the next life; the other—somewhat inconsistent with the first—was that heresy was a contagious disease, which could be prevented from spreading, or "stamped out," if taken in time, like pleuro-pneumonia among cattle, by killing the persons infected with it. Behind these assumptions, too, there was the not unnatural feeling, in the days when authority reigned in Church and State, that when heretics, or persons inclined to heresy, found that great personages, like bishops and canonists, disapproved of their opinions, they would discard them. This last was the real origin of the practice which prevailed, even in England, down to the middle of the eighteenth century, of having obnoxious books "burnt by the common hangman" in some public place. The employment of the "common hangman" was intended to emphasize the horror felt in high places for the author's views. In truth, all trials for expression of opinion both in the Middle Ages and in more recent times were the natural and proper outcome of the general belief that there was such a thing as a divinely appointed earthly authority in matters of opinion; that the persons composing an ecclesiastical tribunal did, *ex officio*, know more than the defendant could possibly know touching the matter in hand, and that their judgments were registered and confirmed in the unseen world by a final spiritual court of appeal.

In those days, trials for heresy in which the judges and defendants were simply rival literary critics, whose opportunities of becoming acquainted with the divine will were about equally good, and in which the Court claimed no jurisdiction which it did not derive from what we may call popular

election could have got no respect whatever—in fact, would have been considered a punishable and irreverent absurdity. A court of any kind, civil or ecclesiastical, must have force of some kind behind it in order to secure respect and obedience. A spiritual court must have the power of inflicting spiritual penalties to take effect on the offender's soul after death. A temporal court must have the power of inflicting penalties on the offender's body. In other words, courts of all kinds must have authority suited to their jurisdiction, and machinery for enforcing it; otherwise they rapidly become a mockery.

If all this be true, it is an easy inference from it that Protestant trials for heresy are, and have been ever since the Reformation, a rank absurdity. All Protestant sects—the Episcopal Church would perhaps claim to be an exception—are simply conflicting Biblical critics. They have all arisen out of the differences of interpreters touching the language of one book. A Protestant ecclesiastical tribunal, therefore, unless when, as in England, it sits to apply acts of Parliament to church ritual (and here it really is trying the title to property), if it undertakes to try a minister for heresy, is simply arranging for a debate between two bodies of opposing commentators, with almost a certainty that the defendant at the bar will be the abler of the two parties. When heresy means not defiance of generally accepted divine authority, but simply a hermeneutical difference from other brethren of the same standing in the Church, the chances are 100 to 1 that the heretic will be by far better equipped and more competent than his judges. It is, as a rule, owing to his hermeneutical capacity and devotion that he has become conspicuous, and the reason for trying him is that his conclusions on questions of interpretation have begun to weigh more with those who attach importance to such matters, and are capable of understanding them, than those of his opponents. To take Dr. Briggs's case as an example, the probabilities are that his word touching the true meaning and origin of any chapter or verse of the Bible would go twice as far with the more intelligent readers of the Bible as that of any man who will sit on the bench to judge him. Moreover, the man who sits on the bench to judge him will not be able to close his mouth with any assumption of authority whatever, owing to the fact that all Biblical questions are questions of translation from dead languages. Nobody but a learned Greek or a Jew of the first three centuries is, in fact, competent to sit on the Briggs case as *an authority*. All others must sit as disputants, with a strong chance of getting the worst of the dispute.

Another absurdity about modern heresy trials is that although their avowed object is to prevent mischief to the Church, no pretence is made that the condemnation of the heretic will prevent the spread of his opinions. A mediæval heretic could be silenced by death, and the mere fact that a spiritual tribunal thought him worthy of death no doubt closed the ears of a vast body of pious people to his teachings as probably suggestions of Satan. But Dr. Briggs's condemnation by the Presbyterian courts will not prevent a single human being from listening to his interpretations, while it will certainly greatly help to spread them, by drawing public attention to them and exciting public interest in them.

Moreover, while a mediæval ecclesiastical tribunal had some excuse, in the then intellectual condition of the world, for considering the heretic an isolated man, or sort of religious monstrosity, whose guilt was shared by few or none with whom he had not come into personal contact, a modern ecclesiastical tribunal, which in this age of discussion relies on extirpating or repressing heresy by the punishment of one offender, makes, *ipso facto*, a confession of its incompetency. All modern heretics are simply the bolder members of a large body of thinkers. If we had time or space to go in detail into the ecclesiastical history of the last half century, we should be able to supply abundant illustrations of the fact that every ecclesiastical as well as scientific come-outer is simply the exponent of views which have, secretly or openly, partially or wholly, vaguely or clearly, taken hold of a considerable number of other minds. The usual effect on these minds of judicial proceedings against the offender is either to glorify him as a martyr or else to illumine and clarify his teachings through the discussions raised by the trial. There is, in fact, no more dangerous thing for a modern religious denomination which cares for fixity of creed than forcing a dissenter into the judicial forum to give reasons for his heterodoxy. We do not believe there has been a single attempt of the kind which has not ended badly for the creed. *Quieta non movere* should be written over the door of every modern church.

BALMACEDA'S DEFENCE.

President Balmaceda has, in the message which he has addressed to his Congress, made confessions of the most extraordinary character. The document is one which in fact would have served perfectly well as a manifesto of Louis Napoleon after the *Coup d'État* of 1851, or a proclamation of Boulanger if he had succeeded in getting possession of the Government and dispersing the Chambers, or of Andrew Johnson in 1867, if he had come to blows with Congress. He talks throughout as a saviour of society, who derives his power from some source superior to that from which the Congress derives its power. We need hardly say that both draw their authority from the same fountain, and are, under the Chilian Constitution, equal and independent, each in its own sphere, except that Congress has the right to impeach the President, and appoint a commission to watch him during the legislative recess, and keep him in the country, *nolens volens*, a year after the expiration of his term of office, to see if any ground of impeachment appear.

The only part of the message which has any relevancy is Balmaceda s explanation of the causes of the quarrel between himself and Congress. They are almost exactly Boulanger's reasons for desiring the French people to make him a dictator and abolish the parliamentary system. The following criticism on the Chamber reads like an extract from Boulanger's manifestoes:

> "The Liberal party has been wanting in that unity of idea, of direction, and of method without which it could not of itself suffice for the government of Chili. It is because of this want of unity that it has often been compelled to demand help from the Conservatives or other political groups, in spite of its differences with them. . . .
>
> "The spirit of absorption, and the essentially personal tendencies of the different groups, the excessive number of the Senators and Deputies, . . . have produced disunion in the Liberal party and the disorganization of the traditional historical parties. Hence there has arisen in Parliament a deplorable anarchy and political uncertainty, resulting in diversity and inconsistency of personal groups, whose unmeasured ambition have made parliamentary labors sterile and led fatally to a general perturbation."

Balmaceda evidently thinks parliaments not only useless but mischievous. His wail, in truth, not only resembles Boulanger's, but the earlier exposures of the "régime parlementaire" which poor old Persigny used to make between 1851 and 1860 in behalf of his master.

President Balmaceda then goes on to show that when he organized the Cabinet of M. Lillo, he expected the majority in the Chamber to support it; but the majority failed to do so, as has happened so often in France of late years. After this he tried other Cabinets, but all failed to secure the support of a majority in Congress. At last, in 1889, he formed a Liberal Cabinet, which had a majority and might have worked well but for a dispute about the manner in which the convention which was to nominate Balmaceda's successor to the Presidency was to be constituted; Congress apparently being desirous of breaking up the old practice of allowing each President "to name his successor," as we say. Then there were quarrels about the Presidential power of collecting the taxes, and about the execution of the electoral laws, and various other matters. Congress clearly, according to his own story, had lost confidence in him, and were determined to tie his hands in every lawful way, like our Congress in 1867. He got rid of his enemies at last by the close of the session, which he refused to prolong, as the Constitution allowed. But the ad-interim Commission which sits in the recess was just as hostile to him, he says, as the Congress had been, and called on the whole Congress to sit with it to watch him. No appropriations had been made for the army and navy. What was he to do? The naïveté of the following answer to this question is remarkable:

> "Being charged under the Constitution with the duty of administering the State and of extending my authority over everything necessary for the internal security of the nation, *I was then obliged to assume all the public powers* in order to repress armed rebellion and meet the position taken by Congress which was tending to the overthrow of our institutions and of established order. I was obliged to bring together the elements necessary to defend and make triumphant those principles of authority in Chili without which nothing solid or durable can exist in the future. *These circumstances imposed on us the painful duty of reducing the chiefs and promoters of the revolt to impotence by arresting them or driving them away from the scene of their activity.*"

He adds that for similar reasons he closed the higher courts of law. It will be seen that he here describes and justifies a *coup d'état* in almost the exact language of a Napoleonic Cæsar, engaged in saving society from the "rhéteurs" and "avocats." When Congress fails to make appropriations for the army and navy, he does not call it together and urge it to do its duty, or disband the army and navy and let the country see the consequences of its misconduct, or borrow money to keep the service going and take the chances of an indemnity bill. He simply arrests and disperses the Legislature, closes the courts, and proceeds to govern by martial law. Moreover, this is not the charge of an enemy; it is his own account of his doings.

Oddly enough, too, in spite of these admissions, which ought to fix his position beyond peradventure in the eyes of all constitutional countries, the little accident that he has a Minister in Washington, and that one of the Congressional ships violated our neutrality laws, has carried a large portion of the American press over to his side as the legitimate ruler of Chili. On his own showing, he is really an impeachable traitor and usurper, whose trial ought to be the first business of any regularly elected Congress; and one may say this without by any means approving the course of his opponents.

How near Andrew Johnson came to Balmaceda's position, the following extract from his message of December 2, 1867, shows:

"If Congress should pass an act which is not only in palpable conflict with the Constitution, but will certainly, if carried out, produce immediate and irreparable injury to the organic structure of the Government, and if there be neither judicial remedy for the wrongs it inflicts, nor power in the people to protect themselves without the official aid of their elected defender—if, for instance, the legislative department should pass an act, even through all the forms of law, to abolish a coördinate department of the Government—in such a case the President must take the high responsibilities of his office, and save the life of the nation at all hazards."

THOMAS PAINE AND GOUVERNEUR MORRIS IN PARIS.

NEW YORK, May 30, 1891.

FOR nearly a hundred years some mystery has surrounded the ten months' imprisonment of Paine during the French Revolution, and in this dusk one or another figure has been inferentially discovered at work, according to the prepossessions of those who have considered the matter. He is supposed to have been followed by the enmity of the "Mountain" (party of Marat, Robespierre, and Danton), after his speech against the execution of the King. But proofs of Danton's subsequent friendship for Paine have been discovered recently. Danton warned Paine to stay away from the Convention on June 2, 1793, when the Girondist leaders were to be arrested, and he could hardly have kept Paine's name out of the list without the connivance of Marat. With his own hand Marat erased from the same list M. Lanthenas, translator of Paine's works. Furthermore, Marat was slain by Charlotte Corday more than six months before Paine's imprisonment. Robespierre then became chief of the Mountain. If he had been disposed to harm Paine, why should he have waited six months? During the summer of 1793 Paine lived among his friends peacefully, absenting himself, indeed, from the Convention, because he would not unite in their terrible decrees, but giving no offence, and working on the Constitution. When this Constitution, to help frame which he had been invited to France, was offered, Robespierre had eulogized it, and no word ever fell from his lips against Paine. But after Robespierre's death, July 27, 1794, the Committee that examined his papers found a note in his handwriting: "Demander que Thomas Payne soit décreté d'accusation pour les intérêts de l'Amérique autant que de la France."

This, equivalent to a death-sentence, puzzled the Committee, who added in their report: "Why Thomas Payne more than another? Because he contributed to the liberty of both worlds." Paine also was mystified by the form of the sentence. "There must," he says, "have been a coalition in sentiment, if not in fact, between the terrorists of America and the terrorists of France, and Robespierre must have known it, or he could not have had the idea of putting America into the bill of accusation against me." Before me, however, are documents, obtained from the French and American Archives and from private hands, which cast light on the subject and tell a strange story.

In the beginning of the French Revolution the United States had in Paris typical representatives of the contrarious principles then contending in this country. The conflict of Jefferson and Hamilton in the Cabinet had its counterpart in that of Paine and Gouverneur Morris in France. Morris had come to Europe (1789) with a commission from Washington, the secret nature of which rendered him a very important personage. Jefferson, then Minister in France, received no sympathy from Morris in his "expectations of a downright republican government." Morris actively favored the Royalists, and wrote the manifesto of Louis XVI. published by Sparks. Paine, on the other hand, wrote the first Republican manifesto, which was found nailed on the door of the Legislature. In the year 1792 Morris received his appointment as Minister to France, and Paine was elected to the Convention—by four departments, from which he selected Calais. Paine frankly told Morris that he considered his appointment "unfortunate," and Morris was equally frank in repudiating Paine's doctrines; but their personal relations were friendly. The Diary of Morris shows him dining Paine and obtaining important information from him. In January, 1793, the royalism of Morris and the humanity of Paine brought them into a common anxiety to save the King's life. But in the spring of that year a break occurred between them.

After the King's execution (January 21, 1793), immediately followed by war with England, Morris believed it would be an advantage for the United States to be rid of its treaty obligations with France. He so wrote repeatedly to the Secretary of State. An opportunity presently occurred for acting on this idea. In reprisal for the seizure by British cruisers of American ships conveying provisions to France, the French cruisers were ordered to do the same, and a large number of our vessels were carried into Bordeaux. Here they were not allowed to reload with French goods, and go to sea, where they would be liable to capture and their cargoes benefit England. Morris pointed out to the French Government this violation of the treaty, and wrote to Jefferson that he would leave it to them in Philadelphia to insist on the treaty's observance, or to accept the "unfettered" condition in which its violation by France left them. Consultation with Philadelphia was a slow business, however, and the troubles of the ninety-two American vessels laid up at Bordeaux were urgent. The captains seem to have applied to Morris through Paine, but the Minister showed apathy, and in one interview Paine asked him "if he did not feel ashamed to take the money of the country and do nothing for it." It was, of course, a part of Morris's case against the treaty's continuance to point out its violation and the hardships resulting therefrom; but the American seamen needed practical relief, and it was the reverse of any part of his case to obtain this. The captains sent a deputation to him (August 20, 1793), and, being angrily repulsed, thenceforth had no more to do with him. They consulted Paine, and on August 22 offered a petition to the Convention itself, in which they said: "We, who know your political situation, do not come to you to demand of you the rigorous execution of the treaties of alliance which unite us to you. We confine ourselves to ask, for the present, to carry provisions to your colonies." A suspension of the treaty thus excused by the only sufferers could no more be cited as releasing the United States. Apart from this "mischief," as he described it, Morris was humiliated by this direct application and the response to it. In his report (October 10) to Jefferson he belittled the success, and said it had "only served an ambition so contemptible that I shall draw over it the veil of oblivion."

The "ambition" veiled from Jefferson was revealed to others. "I suspected," Morris had some weeks before written to Robert Morris, "that Paine was intriguing against me, although he put on a face of attachment. Since that period I am confirmed in the idea, for he came to my house with Col. Oswald, and, being a little more drunk than usual, behaved extremely ill, and through his insolence I discovered clearly his vain ambition." This was probably written soon after Paine's rebuke already quoted. There is some ground for believing that for a week or two after the arrest of his friends, the Girondists, June 2, Paine's mental anguish drove him to excess; but it is doubtful whether Col. Oswald would have taken a tipsy man twenty-seven miles out of Paris to Morris's retreat, or the tipsy man remembered the words of his rebuke two years later, when Paine records them in a letter to Washington. At any rate, if Morris saw no deeper into Paine's physical than into his mental condition, the "insolent" words were those of soberness. For Paine's private letters show him ignorant of any intrigue against Morris, and under an impression that he had asked for recall; also, that, instead of being ambitious to succeed Morris, he longed only to get out of France and into America as soon as possible. The demand for Morris's recall was due to his refusal to accommodate the Ministers in 1792 in a money matter, also to his intercepted letters showing preferences for England, and was conveyed through De Ternant, whom Morris had been the means of sending to America. Paine's real feeling in the matter is shown in a letter (unpublished) to Barrère of the Comité de la Sûreté Générale, who consulted him. It is dated September 5, 1793:

"I send you the papers you asked for. The idea you have to send Commissioners to Congress, and of which you spoke to me yesterday, is excellent, and very necessary at this moment. Mr. Jefferson, formerly Minister of the United States in France, and actually Minister of Foreign Affairs at Congress, is an ardent defender of the interests of France.

Gouverneur Morris, who is here now, is badly disposed towards you. I believe he has expressed the wish to be recalled. The reports which he will make on his arrival will not be to the advantage of France. This event necessitates the sending direct of Commissioners from the Convention. Morris is not popular in America. He has set the Americans who are here against him, as also the Captains of that nation, who have come from Bordeaux, by his negligence with regard to the affair they had to treat about with the Convention. *Between us*, he told them: That they had thrown themselves into the lion's mouth, and it was for them to get out of it as best they could. I shall return to America on one of the vessels which will start from Bordeaux in the month of October. This was the project I had formed, should the rupture not take place between America and England; but now it is necessary for me to be there as soon as possible. The Congress will require a great deal of information independently of this. It will soon be seven years that I have been absent from America, and my affairs in that country have suffered considerably through my absence. My house and farm buildings have been entirely destroyed through an accidental fire. Morris has many relations in America, who are excellent patriots. I enclose you a letter which I received from his brother, Gen. Louis Morris, who was a member of the Congress at the time of the Declaration of Independence. You will see by it that he writes like a good patriot. I only mention this so that you may know the true state of things. It will be fit to have respect for G. Morris, on account of his relations, who, as I said above, are excellent patriots."

About the same time that Committeeman Barrère was consulting Paine about sending Commissioners to America, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. Deforgues, was consulting Morris. When France had demanded the recall of Morris, Edmund Randolph, Attorney General, had persuaded Washington to wait until he could be heard. This delay was a surprise to Morris, who says that the French Ministry then took it into their heads that he was "immovable," and began "overtures for conciliation." He was thus all-powerful when he had the consultation with M. Deforgues. Morris had discovered that this Minister was himself anxious to get out of France and take Genêt's place in America. All of these circumstances had given Morris, for the interview, the strength of a giant, and he used it like a giant. Unfortunately for Paine, he was just then, *malgré lui*, the actual Minister of the captains and other Americans in Paris, and Morris believed that he was aiming to become the official Minister. He was therefore delivered over to the tender mercies of Robespierre. The French Ministry having not only recalled Genêt, but demanded him for punishment because of the offence he had given Washington, Morris remembered that Paine had introduced Genêt to him in Paris, as no doubt to influential persons in America. In reporting his interview with Deforgues to Washington (Oct. 18, 1793), Morris says: "I told the Minister that I had observed an overruling influence in their affairs which seemed to come from the other side of the Channel, and at the same time had traced the intention to excite a seditious spirit in America; that it was impossible to be on a friendly footing with such persons, but that at present a different spirit seemed to prevail, etc. This declaration produced the effect I intended."

This effect was that Paine was ominously mentioned in Amar's report of October, which preceded the guillotining of the Girondists. This was followed by the denunciation of Paine on Christmas Day, by Bourdon de l'Oise. "They have boasted the patriotism of Thomas Paine. *Eh, bien!* Since the Brissotins disappeared from the bosom of the Convention he has not set foot in it; and I know that he has intrigued with a former agent of the Office of Foreign Affairs."

It was sufficiently ingenious for Morris to allude to Paine being an influence from the other side of the Channel; it disclaimed jurisdiction over Paine, and suggested that he was an Englishman worrying Washington through Genêt—this being the only agent of Foreign Affairs with whom Paine could have been connected by Bourdon de l'Oise. This was also plausible, for Paine sympathized warmly with the project of the Kentuckians to expel the Spanish from the Mississippi. Bourdon de l'Oise was followed by Bentabolle, who moved the exclusion of foreigners "from every public function during the war." Three days later Paine was imprisoned in the Luxembourg, December 28, 1793.

MONCURE D. CONWAY.

THE VENETIAN ARCHIVES.

VENICE, May, 1891.

THE student of English history has not been unmindful of the wealth of material illustrating the foreign, and indeed the domestic, policy of England which are preserved in the Venetian archives. The holiday visitor to Venice spends his admiration on the Church of the Frari, with the tombs of Titian, Canova, and the various Venetian worthies; but a few strokes of the gondolier brings him where the student of history is more content. It is the monastic buildings of the same Frari, round two large courts, which are now devoted to the storing of the voluminous documentary records of Venice. As you pass along the cloisters towards the staircase which leads to the offices, you notice on the walls a tablet to the memory of Rawdon Brown, who spent many years in searching these Archives for the materials of English history, and so ingratiated himself with the Italian scholars among whom he lived that the story of his service is thus carved on stone near the scene of his labors and in the language of the people whom he passionately loved. Those who have had to search for the evidences of the earliest explorations on the American coasts have not passed by the crowded volumes of the Venetian calendars which Mr. Brown communicated to the series of publications issued under the superintendence of the Master of the Rolls. Brown, when he died some eight years ago, left the last of his volumes incomplete; but an associate finished it for publication. Last September the authorities of the English Public Record Office appointed as his successor Mr. Horatio Forbes Brown, a long-time resident of Venice, an Oxfordian, and a Scotchman, and a namesake of his predecessor, but of no kinship—a gentleman whose studies in Venetian history and in the early typographical records of Venice have made his name known to the lovers of Venetian lore. I have had some talks with this gentleman on his work in the archives, and he is at present making transcripts and abstracts of the despatches and relations of the Venetian Ambassadors at Madrid and Paris, respecting the preparations and prospects of the Spanish Armada. He tells me that the Venetian envoys conveyed to their home Government at the time a strong sense of the hopelessness of the task which Spain had undertaken.

The publication with which Mr. Alexander Brown of Virginia has recently enriched the documentary history of America, shows how the archives of Simancas have yielded important material for the history of the early settlements on the coast of New England, through the information which the Spanish agents in London obtained from the returned English navigators—obtained, doubtless, in some instances, by suborning, while it was sometimes information made to sell. Mr. Brown tells me it is the same with the Venetian envoys in Madrid and the Low Countries, and that they not infrequently cautioned the home Government as to the dependence to be placed on the information which they conveyed.

The records here in the main go back to the thirteenth century, though some have escaped the early conflagrations and carry the imagination even to the ninth century. The reports of the ambassadors of the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries, which are most interesting to the foreign student, are contained in two or three of the very extensive ranges of rooms which hold the entire collection. The documents are certainly in good order, and the keeper told me the rooms are cleaned twice a year. Some of the records are bound, but the great mass of illustrative papers are simply laid within pasteboard covers, labelled on the back, and filling shelf above shelf in the lofty apartments. The Austrian Government is largely credited with the care which has brought the papers together from numerous depositories. Since the amalgamation of Venice with Italy, the growth has been largely from the current notarial records of the town and the administrative records of the departments. The records of the notaries have always been an important part of the archives in Italy. Formerly there was a considerable annual expenditure in repairing the older and more dilapidated records, but the policy seems rather now to copy than to attempt to restore those which have become considerably wasted.

There is not so much among these records of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries relating to Western explorations as one could wish, or might even expect. I believe there is no reference to Columbus to be found in them, and that the mention of one Colombo, a pirate, which Rawdon Brown was deceived into accounting the same person as the famous Genoese, was only one of a family of sea-rovers which has been often confounded with the stock of the wool-comber's son.

The material which the foreign student mainly depends upon are the despatches of the ambassadors of Venice, and the summaries of their experience which they gave the Senate on returning from their missions. These last, from 1492 to 1699, have been printed, but they are not greatly useful to the student of American exploration and colonization, as the interests of Venice extended eastward rather than westward, and England plays, in both the despatches and summaries, a far less important part than the Continental countries. It is unfortunate that, for the reign of Elizabeth, when English sea-adventure was at its height, the Protestant proclivities of England deprived her almost wholly of relations with Venice, and there are no glimpses of English deeds and policy except as they were discerned from the Continental courts. It was not till 1603 that the regular series of English reports began.

The progress which the present agent of the Master of the Rolls can make does not indicate that his task of digesting the reports regarding English doings, ending with the fall of the Venetian republic under Napoleon, is to be consummated very early. Some five and twenty years ago, Berchet anticipated the interest in the Cromwellian period by his 'Cromwell e la Repubblica di Venezia,' but the book, though interesting—and Carlyle

lacked the advantage of using it—can hardly prevent their further exposition in the Rolls series when the period of the English republic is reached.

I chanced to hit upon a letter signed by Franklin, Adams, and Jefferson, which, in 1785, was sent to the Venetian Ambassadors at Paris, and it is possible that a search might reveal other letters touching our interests in European politics.

I found, when at the Archivio to-day, six or eight students at work in the public room. A German investigator whom I met tells me that something over thirty can now be seen daily in the Vatican; but the reports which I get from users of the Vatican archives are not pleasant ones, being to the effect that one can hardly ever feel sure that the officials have exercised intelligent care in laying before the reader what he wishes to see. They have few or no registers of the contents of the Archives to help in searching, and the patient waiter for the attention of the servants of the archives has absolutely no chance of aiding their search or ascertaining the fidelity of it. Here in Venice the frequenters find little to complain of. There is, indeed, but a rough index to furnish any clue to what is desired; but the classified papers are in the main chonologically arranged, and it costs nothing more than tedious sifting of bundle after bundle to find what is searched for, and these bundles are brought promptly by the attendants.

JUSTIN WINSOR.

Correspondence.

A LOGICAL INFERENCE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Your editorial of the 28th set forth how a delegation from the Cincinnati Convention called on Mr. Carlisle, and how the latter, by a few simple questions, upset all their theories and reduced them to silence. Your comment upon this serves my purpose so admirably that I ask leave to reproduce it:

"It is very difficult to reach those who are dominated by a confusion of ideas through a newspaper article or a speech. Neither of these applies any real pressure to their minds. They let the argument slip by as something perhaps a little puzzling for the moment, but to which they will find an answer presently; but when face to face with an honest questioner, who does not rouse their antagonism, they are compelled to dive at once into the recesses of their knowledge-box for an answer, or, in other words, to think the thing out."

This seems to me the most powerful of all arguments for giving to the Cabinet officers seats in Congress. The confusion of economic ideas is just as great in Congress as among the people. The presence of a high official, representing through the President the whole country, and whose duty it was to examine and expound in public debate, and in answer to the questions of individual members, the bearing of every measure brought forward upon the general interest, would do more to bring into operation the sober second thought of the nation than all the newspaper discussions and reform associations to the end of time.

So plain and simple is this proposition that if it stood upon its own merits, it would be reduced to practice in the next session of Congress. But it does not. That body is so joined to its idols that it prefers darkness to light. It is exceedingly jealous of having anybody (except its elected party Speaker) guide or control its deliberations. It is under cover of the confusion of ideas and of a fictitious public opinion, that the private and party and lobby intriguers manipulate their schemes through the Legislature. There is not in Congress a single element which wants the public represented, or the chaos of thought cleared up, or the cold, lucid brain of a statesman applied as a touchstone to their schemes for plundering the people. For that very reason these things form the most available basis for a third party appealing to the nation for support G. B.

BOSTON, May 30, 1891.

BIRTH-RATE IN FRANCE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: As supplementing the article in your issue of May 21, on the birth-rate and population of France and the chauvinist fears of some of the French writers, the following may interest the readers of the *Nation:*

It is only of late years that France has really taken the matter of public health into serious consideration, and since 1885 has begun a somewhat systematic registration of vital statistics, not yet in general or very successful operation. Quite recently M. Henri Monod, the Director of the Public Health Department in the Ministry of the Interior, has been able to present strong arguments in favor of a further development of sanitary laws, backed by some remarkable statistics lately become available and gathered with much painstaking and wearisome labor, showing that thousands of lives, in the period of their greatest usefulness to society and the State, are annually sacrificed by the ravages of preventable disease. England's Public Health Act dates from 1875; and citing those laws with their remarkable results for a series of fifteen years in lowering the death-rate and improving the conditions of living generally, Monod states "that were similar sanitary laws in operation in France, 130,000 lives would be saved annually." Another eminent French hygienist, Brouardel, in a paper on health matters before the French Academy of Medicine, pleaded for compulsory vaccination and revaccination, and held the State responsible for 14,000 lives annually sacrificed to smallpox, reasonably presuming upon as good results as follow from the Prussian system. In the same paper he tabulates many thousand lives lost by typhoid fever, and notes the commencing improvements in the death-rates of cities and provinces where sanitary measures are being put in operation, particularly purer water supplies.

Both these eminent authorities, strengthened in their convictions by the growing statistics dating from 1885, are bringing home to the nation the enormous losses occurring annually from the infectious eruptive fevers, typhoid, tuberculosis, diphtheria, and the diseases of debility resulting from impure and adulterated supplies of food and drink. Monod shows a list of twenty-one communes in which substantial diminution of mortality rates has already followed disuse of surface water, shallow surface pools or ponds, "surface drainage." In Bessèges, where the mortality-rate had reached 32.4 per thousand for the years 1881-'84, a reduction of no less than 13 per cent. had occurred in the years 1885 '90, and it is pointed out that this saving of life had resulted from the provision of a wholesome public-water service in 1885. Monod also states that typhoid fever, for which France retains an unenviable notoriety, has hardly been present at all since the completion of the new works. Looking upon this experience, he exclaims, "How many are the cities of France where the general mortality is excessive, and where typhoid fever is normally endemic; how much longer will it be before they understand, before their populations perceive, that if there is an expenditure which is justifiable—perhaps, indeed, obligatory—and at the same time remunerative, it is above all that which has for its certain result the preservation of human life!" C. A. SIEGFRIED.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I have not noticed, in the recent discussion of the causes of the low birth-rate in France, any allusion to one that was suggested in a magazine article which I read some years ago—the title of it I have forgotten—and which seems to me not without importance. It was to the effect that the French law of inheritance, requiring the equal division of the estate of the parents among their children, operated as a discouragement to large families by depriving parents of the power to make special provision for such children as might need it. Parents who might be reasonably confident of leaving a comfortable property to two or three children, could hardly hope to do as much for each one of ten or a dozen. That the French race, under favorable circumstances, is not deficient in fecundity, is sufficiently shown by the example of Canada. W. L. WORCESTER.

LITTLE ROCK, ARK., May 25, 1891.

[This undoubted *vera causa* has been fully discussed in the writings of the late M. Le Play (a reformer whose work is still carried on by organizations having *La Réforme Sociale* for their mouthpiece), and in Claudio Jannet's 'Les Résultats du Partage Forcé des Successions en Provence,' of which a second edition was published just twenty years ago. See the *Nation* of October 3, 1872, and May 6, 1875.—ED. NATION.]

THE W. F. ALLEN MEMORIAL VOLUME.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The loyal devotion of brother scholars to the memory of Prof. Allen of the University of Wisconsin has borne fruit in a volume, already noticed in the *Nation*, made up of selections from his scattered essays and monographs. Feeling that your notice was hardly an adequate recognition of the real importance of this work, I ask a brief space wherein to add a few words explanatory of what Prof. Allen has done. The volume deserves this not merely because it was in the *Nation* that some of the best fruits of the Professor's ripened scholarship were printed, but also because of the intrinsic merit of the essays themselves. The most important of these are in the field of primitive and mediæval institutions, and are a permanent contribution to the literature of an exceedingly perplexing subject. They are known by scholars in England and Germany, and are highly prized by the few in this country who are so fortunate as to possess the modest reprints from the Proceedings of the Wisconsin Academy of Arts and Sciences, and who, it may be said, have never failed to recognize the handiwork of a master in the reviews in the *Nation* of books bearing on the above subjects. Prof. Allen's attitude in approaching the institutions of the early period was a singularly impartial one; in his work there is no evidence of prejudice or historical bias. He was liberally conservative, always ready to appreciate the productions of every scholar and to condemn none, however much he might differ from him. This is the more important for the

reason that, among the many American scholars writing about Germanic institutions, he was one of the very few who, from a sound and independent scholarship, were competent to criticise or to express an opinion.

The latest and ripest of his contributions are "The Primitive Democracy of the Germans" and "The Village Community and Serfdom in England." In these he seeks to defend the old view of the independence of the *ceorl* as against the views advanced by Mr. Seebohm and Mr. Ross. The defence seems conclusive. Yet Professor Allen was no mere follower of the English school; he constantly shows a latent scepticism towards the views of Sir Henry Maine, and is antagonistic, though not expressly announcing it, to many of Mr. Freeman's favorite theories. He follows Bishop Stubbs in his conception of the village community in England as a constitutional unit, yet opposes him in his interpretation of the Court Baron as the original court of free settlers. This judgment has recently found a sort of indirect support in Maitland's discussion of the leet jury in his 'Select Pleas.' He is in sympathy with Earle's *gesith* theory, at least in the principle of the composite origin of the manor; nevertheless, he differs from him on such important points as the distinction between township and vill, the purely military origin of the lord of the manor, the police functions of the *gesithas*, etc. In his interpretation of Tacitus's much discussed passages, Prof. Allen became somewhat bolder. Approaching the subject from the point of view of an historical scholar as well as text editor, he brought no previously conceived opinion to bear upon such discussion as had Maurer, Ross, Baumstark, Fustel de Coulanges, Seebohm, and even Waitz. Therefore he sought for the spirit as well as the letter. He was opposed to the existence of private land-holding, as well as to the theory of the freeman living solely in *Einzelnhöfe*, as manorial lords, with slaves in the *vici*. He rather finds freemen in both, the former possibly occupied by the *principes* with their free retainers, and the latter by the common freemen, the rank and file. He denies the statement, once more asserted by Fustel de Coulanges (in "L'Alleu et la Domaine Rurale"), that the Germans were a sedentary people even at the time of the writing of the 'Germania.' We may not agree with all these statements and suggestions, but we confess that he has materially aided in the solution of the problem.

But it is not my intention to discuss the papers *in extenso;* rather do I wish to call attention more directly than has been done to the labors of so able a scholar, who has left no single great work upon a subject he was so competent to treat. For Professor Allen was an independent thinker, who knew his sources thoroughly, and who in consequence followed no school or set of historians. Therefore now that these monographs have become so accessible, it is to be hoped that they will serve a much needed purpose, in acting as an antidote and corrective to better known and more popular writing on the subject of Germanic institutions, in which well-worn and in part discarded theories are threshed *ad nauseam.*

CHARLES M. ANDREWS.

BRYN MAWR COLLEGE, May 25, 1891.

Notes.

THE Century Co. at length announce for issue in the autumn George Kennan's 'Siberia and the Exile System,' in two volumes, containing much matter that has not appeared in the *Century Magazine*; 'The Land of the Lamas,' travels in Thibet, by W. Woodville Rockhill; 'The Women of the French Salon,' by Amelia Gere Mason, printed in two colors; and Frank R. Stockton's 'The Squirrel Inn,' with illustrations by A. B. Frost.

Harper & Bros. will shortly publish 'Jinrikisha Days in Japan,' by Eliza R. Scidmore; 'Unhappy Loves of Men of Genius,' by Thomas Hitchcock; and 'A Group of Noble Dames,' by Thomas Hardy.

Houghton, Mifflin & Co. will have ready in the fall a work on 'Municipal Corporations,' by Charles F. Beach, jr.

Thomas Whittaker has nearly ready 'John Howard,' by James S. Ellis, in the series called "Men with a Mission."

'The Bravest Five Hundred of '61: Their noble deeds described by themselves. Compiled by Theodore F. Rodenbough,' lately published by G. W. Dillingham of this city, is an enlarged reissue of a book published in 1886, by G. P. Putnam's Sons, with the title 'Uncle Sam's Medal of Honor.' Seventy-two pages of new matter are inserted in the middle of the book, and a few alterations made in the appendix; otherwise the two books appear to be the same.

To the somewhat miscellaneous collection of biographies of the "Great Artists," of which Charles Scribner's Sons are the American publishers, have been added those of David Cox and Peter De Wint, by Gilbert R. Redgrave, the two in one volume. Mr. Redgrave gives a straightforward account of the uneventful lives of these very respectable painters, but hardly manages, either by his comment or by the accompanying illustrations, to demonstrate their right to a place among the "great artists" of the world. He should probably be given the full credit of adding to the English language the word "onceness."

Harper & Bros. have issued in a convenient form for the pocket the classic selection from the Poems of Wordsworth made by the late Matthew Arnold, and long familiar in the irreproachable garb of the Golden Treasury Series of Macmillan & Co. This more intimate form is welcome, and it is only necessary to remark of it that it appears to follow the text of the edition of 1879; in later issues, Mr. Arnold reconsidered his choice among Wordsworth's revisions—not always happily, as we think. The proof-reader, also, of the Messrs. Harper, has not always followed Mr. Arnold's punctuation or indention, and has as a rule sternly frowned upon Wordsworth's license in capitalizing. These are risky liberties, but we do not affirm that they have been abused in the present instance.

A great many readers will welcome the amalgamated volume entitled 'Natural Selection and Tropical Nature: Essays on Descriptive and Theoretical Biology' (Macmillan). Mr. Alfred Russel Wallace has united his 'Contributions to the Theory of Natural Selection' (1870-71) and his 'Tropical Nature, and Other Essays' (1878); but in so doing he has retrenched and expanded, partly in the interest of the general reader, and partly to avoid repetition of what he has more fully treated in his other works. Thus he omits entirely "The Malayan Papilionidæ" for the former reason, and "The Distribution of Animals as indicating Geographical Changes" for the latter, and has retained but a portion of "By-Paths in the Domain of Biology." The additions consist of a brief essay on "The Antiquity of Man in North America" (lately emphasized in these columns with fresh evidence by Prof. G. F. Wright), and Mr. Wallace's article in the *Century Magazine* of January, 1888, on "The Debt of Science to Darwin." Everybody will be glad to have this remarkable tribute accessible in book form. Mr. Wallace further illustrates the ethics both of science and of good bookmaking by tabulating the chief alterations and additions he has made. The way of the critic, the bookbuyer, and the student is thus made perfectly clear. The volume is handsomely printed.

'Adventures in Nyassaland' (London: S. Low), by L. Monteith Fotheringham, is an account of the spirited attempt of the agents of the African Lakes Company, aided by the missionaries, to defend the natives about its station of Karonga from the Arab slave-hunters and their followers. Before the war broke out in October, 1887, the plain along the northwestern shore of Lake Nyassa, some four hundred square miles in extent, was "dotted all over with tidy villages and enriched with luxuriant groves of banana, sycamore, and cotton trees." In the course of a few months the region was nothing but blackened ruins, a desolate and silent waste. The Arabs pursued their usual tactics. They were suffered to settle in the country as peaceful traders, and then, when sufficient ivory had been collected for transport to the coast, they picked a quarrel with the unsuspecting natives, raided and burned their villages, capturing the women and older children, but killing the infants and men. The war lasted for two years, during which time the whites, though very few in number, with the aid of their native allies, made many brave but unsuccessful attempts to dislodge the Arabs from their strongly stockaded posts. The story is vigorously told by the person who for the greater part of the time was in command of the station. A few such men, well-supported and posted on the different slave-routes in central Africa, and at the same time offering to the Arab merchants regular trade facilities, would speedily put an end to the raids by which vast regions are being depopulated. Mr. Fotheringham hints that the Portuguese were the instigators of the Arabs in this warfare, and it is very likely that they sided with them so far as to furnish arms and ammunition exclusively to them.

Ginn & Co. have lent their name to Prof. MacFarlane's book on the 'Algebra of Logic,' published in Edinburgh in 1879. It is, we are sorry to say, a wholly misguided and unprofitable work. The author says in his preface: "I consider it proper to state that the theory . . . advanced in this work occurred to me five years ago; and that I have directed towards its development the whole of my subsequent study of the mathematical, physical, and natural sciences which are embraced in the curriculum for the degree of Doctor of Science (mathematics) at the University of Edinburgh." No doubt it is this misdirection of his years of student life that has prevented the author from discovering later how inadequate are his views upon a subject of much promise.

The essay upon the 'Monetary Question,' by M. Boissevain, which received the prize offered at the Paris Monetary Congress in 1889 by Sir H. Meysey-Thompson, has been translated into English, and is now published by Macmillan & Co. Whatever opinions one may hold as to bimetallism, it is impossible not to be amazed that its advocates should have selected such a production as this for the presentation of their case. Scarcely any of its conclusions rest upon undisputed premises, and very little attempt is made to establish these premises by scientific methods of proof. M. Boissevain's strong point is that the general

use of silver as money would create an additional demand for it, and thus increase its value. On the other hand, he exposes himself to conclusive refutation in arguing against those who contend—like Mr. D. A. Wells in his 'Recent Economic Changes'—that the fall of prices in recent years has been caused by a diminution of cost of production. He takes the position that if this were so, there should have been a general augmentation of wealth and prosperity, together with a great commercial and industrial development, whereas, he says, the very contrary has taken place. It is hardly necessary to say that this last statement is utterly at variance with fact. M. Boissevain regards very unfavorably the silver legislation of this country, considering that it must be detrimental to the cause of international bimetallism. His essay, we should add, is moderate in tone and agreeable in style.

A second edition of 'German Socialism and Ferdinand Lassalle,' by W. H. Dawson, is published by Swan Sonnenschein & Co. This work is principally devoted to a biographical history of German Socialism, and is sympathetically done, although the author is a little staggered by some of the details of Lassalle's life.

A work of obvious utility and convenience, just from the press of Ginn & Co., is Prof. Charles F. Dunbar's 'Laws of the United States relating to Currency, Finance, and Banking, from 1789 to 1891.' The compiler has had in view the advantage of students and teachers of political economy, in bringing within ready reach documents which must otherwise be sought in the Statutes at Large with no little labor and weariness. His main divisions are Currency, Finance, and Banking, 1787-1860 and 1860-1891; Coins and Coinage, 1789-1891; and Vetoed Bills, and Other Documents (resolves, ordinances, circulars). He has gone to great pains to extricate sections from laws not directly within the scope of his collection; to abbreviate other sections in laws for the most part quoted textually; to describe statutes summarily which it was not worth while to reproduce even abridged. The arrangement, of course, is chronological, and a table at the end gives a conspectus of the series. Parts I. and II. occupy 220 pages, of which about one-fifth is devoted to legislation down to the close of the last century, and one-third to that since the outbreak of the civil war. Prof. Dunbar's task has been most scrupulously executed, and a bare statement of the nature of it will stand in lieu of praise. The volume is beautifully printed.

The annual report of the State Geologist of New Jersey for the year 1890 is the first by the new incumbent, Prof. John C. Smock. It betokens an energetic conduct of the Survey on the lines so wisely laid down by the late Prof. Cook, and an extension of these in ways sure to be as profitable materially, and to vindicate anew the State's prudence in fostering this branch of its administration. A study of the limestones on the northwest border of the Highlands has revealed unexpected organic remains, which, being referred to the Cambrian formation, open up a lower than the lowest fossiliferous horizon hitherto known in the State. Mr. Nason's report on the iron mines tabulates all that have produced ore commercially, and, by references to previous publications of the Survey, makes the history of each mine readily accessible. A map shows the location of the principal mines. Work in the southern part of the State has determined three terrace formations, old coast lines, together with the area of the ancient estuary of the Delaware marked by the Trenton gravel; and has fixed the constant depths of three underground water-courses available for artesian wells. Researches into water-power are going on, and a map shows the several watersheds of the State, while a list of all water-powers in Northern New Jersey is given. Two new geological maps are in preparation, showing structural geology and surface nature (soil and outcrop) respectively. The U. S. Geological Survey will coöperate in making these.

We have received the second Bulletin of the United States Board on Geographic Names, constituted by executive order of September 4, 1890, to promote a "uniform usage in regard to geographic nomenclature and orthography" in the several departments and publications of the Government. The pamphlet sets forth the principles adopted by the Board, gives a table for transliteration from foreign languages, and an alphabetic list of decisions, with occasional discussions. Most noticeable in the foreign section is the preference of Bermuda to Bermudas, Colon to Aspinwall, Haiti to Hayti, and Tokyo to Tokio.

The second number of the *Quarterly Register of Current History* is the first that has fallen under our eye. It is published in Chicago, and edited by Mr. Alfred S. Johnson, is printed in large open type, and illustrated with cuts of varying degrees of merit. It will no doubt prove a handy compendium for those who wish to keep abreast of the news of the day, but it is not a severely impartial chronicle of facts, as one may see by reference to p. 137, where the cause of Commander Reiter's removal is stated. The statement is quite superficial and incorrect. One might criticise the want of economy in twice recording the deaths of Porter and of Sherman—once in connection with the Navy and Army, and again at greater length in the Necrology.

—The leading article in the June *Atlantic* is that upon Lincoln by Carl Schurz. It belongs to the older and more robust type of the reviews which have now ceased to be written, and, though it is suggested by the late 'Life of Lincoln' by Nicolay and Hay, and starts with some reference to their ponderous ten volumes, it is but little indebted to that work, and soon parts company with it. This is the ancient custom of the days when reviewers were "great," and could have their way with both editors and the public. The revival of the type, however, is unfortunately not to be looked for, even with such a successful example to plead for it as this excellent paper. Mr. Schurz has drawn a portrait of Lincoln in simple great lines, without confusion or overlaying. He has presented the circumstances of the life, the development of the character, the fine human traits and abilities that were permanent in Lincoln's personality, and he has drawn all that eventful life within the compass that admits of a single impression. The paper is in style and treatment the best he has ever done, and the best essay upon Lincoln that we have yet had. In its combination of justice and admiration, especially, it is unique. A second portrait of a very different sort is given in Prof. Palmer's reminiscences of Prof. Sophocles, the Greek who was so long the most striking individuality at Harvard. It was much to be desired that some account of this strange scholar, who had wandered so far from his natural home, should be preserved, and Prof. Palmer had unusual opportunity to penetrate his reserve and seclusion, and to estimate the human side of the monkish scholar who was, for the most part, a humorous curiosity to many generations of Harvard men. These will all feel indebted to Prof. Palmer for his charming paper. Dr. Barrows writes a very encouraging report of a recent visit among the negroes of the South, and dwells particularly upon their material gains, the growing diversity of their employments, their educational progress, and the moral results, already apparent, of this change of condition in their social life. The paper is a primary lesson in the dependence of the higher social sense and its morals upon material conditions in our civilization, which amiable persons with a proneness to Bellamy's crudities might well lay to heart.

—*Harper's* is a routine number, with little that suggests comment. The novelty is Du Maurier's novel, "Peter Ibbetson," about which there will be much curiosity. Mr. Child describes the journey up the river Paraná, Louis Frechette is guide to an excursion to the Royal Châteaux of Blois, Chambord, and Amboise, and Mr. Couch continues his picturesque tour on the Avon. Mr. Besant writes of London after the Romans, and cleverly fills the gap of our knowledge by an imaginary account of the desertion of the city at the invasion of the Saxons. A story by Miss Jewett, an argument in favor of the New England scheme of town government, and a second paper on American Riders, nearly exhaust the list of contents.

—*Scribner's* brings a really "Parisian" article, from the pen of Sarcey, upon the Boulevards. He attempts to render, not the exterior of the promenade, the cafés, shops, kiosks, the figures of the pavement and the roadway, but the spirit of the thing, and he succeeds perfectly in humanizing the street. The scene is interesting to him only so far as it is inhabited; the customs of its population from hour to hour, and especially its most highly developed type, the *boulevardier*, are his subjects, and they are sketched with a lifelikeness and a vivacious sympathy that well express the heart of the lover of Paris. Such sentiment, as soon as a past begins, has always an element of regretfulness, and M. Sarcey laments the boulevards of his fathers cordially enough; and he feels obliged to begin the elegy over the decaying "boulevardier," who is passing away, he says, and flourishes last in his fulness in the person of his friend Aurélien Scholl. The cafés of the literary and artistic sets are already gone; but the life of the pavement from the Opéra to the Rue Montmartre is as exuberantly fertile as ever, and takes on its new forms for the new generation. The attractiveness of this paper, its fine literary quality, is its humanity; it reads like a scene from the real play of life. A second very human article is Mr. Evert J. Wendell's account of the Boys' Clubs of this city. He does not give a statement in detail of their organization and management, and generally he makes few practical suggestions that might be of service to others in starting these clubs elsewhere; but he describes the nature and habits of the boys, their temperament and circumstances, and the way they take these efforts in their behalf, and he makes very plain the excellent and abiding results upon their characters and careers. It is a service to bring so deserving a charity more into public notice, and the article should result in increasing the number of these radiating centres of juvenile reform.

—The *Century*, in an admirably illustrated paper upon Col. William Byrd and his seat at Westover, gives an account of the life of a colonial Virginian and his family in England which is the more interesting because an authentic narrative of this phase of early Ameri-

can life, which attracted Thackeray's mind, is rare; and the picture is completed by the companion sketch of his life on his plantation, with extracts from his diaries. Besides this exceptional contribution, the number contains nothing more notable than Prof. William M. Sloane's presentation of the history of pension legislation and the social tendencies involved in it. The subject does not admit of novelty at this stage, but the author has forcibly stated the leading facts and drawn the usual argument from them. The instalment of the Talleyrand memoirs gives his denial of complicity in the execution of the Duc d'Enghien and in the alleged Maubreuil plot to assassinate Napoleon. The issue left, as Minister Reid remarks, is a choice between the word of Napoleon and that of Talleyrand as regards the first incident, and the account of the second is incomplete. Minister Dallas's Russian diaries afford the same sort of reminiscence as in the previous number. A paper on the University education of women in England, in which the history of the movement is sketched and cuts are given, closes with a valuable note on the health results, so far as experience has yet allowed of statistics. There is a plentiful supply of the usual fiction.

—The Royal Geographical Society's Proceedings for May opens with an account of a fifty days' journey from Tong-king to Canton, the greater part of the way by the Si-kiang or West River. Although this stream is navigable for vessels of eight feet draught for 200 miles above Canton, that city is still the terminus of steam navigation. The author, Mr. A. R. Agassiz, an officer of the Chinese Imperial Maritime Customs, attributes this fact, by which the cost of all foreign goods in the interior is greatly increased and their quantity correspondingly diminished, to the opposition to steamers of the vast floating population of Canton and the surrounding districts, whose carrying trade would be nearly destroyed by the introduction of them. He believes, contrary to the general opinion, that the influence of the lower classes upon the Government is very great, and that the official fear of popular disapproval is the leading motive preventing the opening of the West River to navigation. This will very likely be brought about, however, in self-defence by the proposed construction of the French railway from the head of navigation on a branch of the Red River to the Chinese frontier, whence there is continuous water communication to Canton, thus probably insuring France a large share of the foreign trade of the western provinces. Mr. J. R. Rainey contributes an interesting account of the Sundarban, the lower portion of the Gangetic Delta. This is a tract nearly 8,000 square miles in extent, in great part covered with impenetrable forest and jungle, and intersected in every direction by streams or creeks. During the rainy season the main streams have double currents, "that is, the surface down to a certain depth flows downward or southward, while below that depth the tide advances upward or northward. This is caused by the freshets sweeping down from a higher level and overtopping and passing above the flood tide from the sea." Although this region is now very sparsely inhabited, at no very remote period it appears to have sustained a very large population, as is shown by the "numerous ruins of brick-built houses and temples, and extensive tanks scattered all over the Sundarban." One of these is the "mansion of seventy-seven domes," with twenty-six arched doors on the four sides opening into a vast hall 140 feet in length by 96 feet in width, its many-domed roof being supported by sixty pillars. The cause of the depopulation Mr. Rainey, who cultivates a large estate in the district, believes to have been the shifting of the bed of the lower portion of the Ganges from the west to the east a few centuries ago, by which the streams in this portion of the delta, being deprived of the greater part of their fresh water, have become brackish and unfit to drink. The cultivated districts contain the finest rice fields in all India, and much additional land could be reclaimed to the great advantage of the country, especially in the case of famine, since "the rice crop there does not depend so much on rain for its growth as it does in other less favored and less fertile parts of India."

—Kluge's 'Etymological Dictionary of the German Language' has at last been translated into English. It is very carefully done from the fourth edition by J. F. Davies, and published by Geo. Bell & Sons, London. It is true that nearly all who have occasion to use Kluge must know German enough to need no translation. But not a few are bothered by the many abbreviations in the original, and the meanings of the rarer German words which the translator has accurately rendered will be welcome to a great many. German "Umbildung" has been rendered by "corruption," which is a tabooed expression in modern philology. It is interesting to watch how certain expressions much used by progressive German investigators enter the English vocabulary; *e. g.*, "Ausgleichung," "Angleichung," "Lautwechsel," "Lautwandel." Sweet in his works on English, Wright in his translation of Brugmann's 'Grundriss' and in his O. and M. G. Primers, Brandt in his German Grammar, Wheeler in his 'Analogy,' were the first who used these terms in English. The form, arrangement, and type of the English book are all that could be desired. When the English cognate very nearly renders the German word, the translator might have indicated this fact by a different type or by a symbol, as has been done in Whitney's Dictionary and Brandt's German Reader. This would have saved time and space. Under "Zweig" cognate "twig," "Almosen" cognate "alms," and in a thousand other cases, there would have been no need of repeating the English words. Comparing the English page with the German page, one is annoyed by the prominence which English custom gives to proper names by printing them in capitals. O H G., Mid H G., Mod H G., Mod E. have to be repeated so often that they attract the eye immediately, and the word-form seems lost among them.

—'Shemitic and Other Glosses' to Kluge's Dictionary, by the Rev. Dr. Muss-Arnolt, is deprinted (*sic!*) from *Modern Language Notes*, vol. v., No. 8. The pamphlet, printed on pages with wonderfully broad margins, contains some valuable additions of words of Shemitic origin. The author's tone is objectionable. On p. 58, for example, he says, "Kluge should study," etc., and then follows a reference to the Göttingen *Gelehrte Anzeigen*. Dr. Kluge is a very young man for his wide reputation, but the Rev. W. Muss-Arnolt (Ph.D. Johns Hopkins) should not patronize him so much. Many words which this critic expected to find have been properly omitted, in the opinion of many. Great bulk is the curse of many a valuable book. The charge that Kluge and his publishers were not morally entitled to print the claims as to completeness, etc., in the announcement of the work, will not appear well founded to any one who has had experience in treating a whole language in grammar or lexicon. The author has to treat not merely what is known and interesting to himself, but also the unknown, the unattractive, the cruxes, and, worst of all, the hobbies of a specialist.

YRIARTE'S MONUMENTS OF THE BORGIAS.

Autour des Borgia. Par Charles Yriarte. Paris. 1891.

'AUTOUR DES BORGIA' contains all available information as to the monuments relating to the three historical personages, Alexander VI., Cæsar, and Lucretia, which have withstood the ravages of time or the hatred of mankind. It is a singular fact, and one intensely significant of the detestation their very names inspired, that not a vestige of the last resting-place of any of the three can be positively certified. Pope Alexander VI. may be buried under some nameless stone in the crypt of the Vatican; the account of the neglect his corpse was treated with the very day of his burial almost confirms any hypothesis, and the custodians of St. Peter are in the habit of suppressing the name of Borgia when they show and enumerate the sepulchres of their Popes. At Ferrara, in the Church of San Francesco, the burial-place of the Dukes of Este, there is no record whatsoever of Lucretia, though at the Court of Ferrara no scandal tarnished her life. It is as though the Dukes of Este regarded as a misalliance the marriage of one of their race with the daughter of the Spaniard who ruled at the Vatican and made free use of the Roman Church, its riches and its privileges as of a family inheritance for the good of those of his own blood. A splendid monument was raised to Cæsar by Don Juan of Navarre when the former died in Spain in 1507. It is described by Don Antonio di Guerara, Bishop of Montenedo in 1523, as very richly ornamented about its urn, on which in high relief the kings of Holy Scripture are lamenting the untimely death of Cæsar. In the beginning of the eighteenth century, when Père Aleson, wishing to continue the annals of Navarre begun by Moret, entered the church at Viana, not a vestige of the monument so accurately described remained. He learned on inquiry that at the end of the seventeenth century a Bishop of Calahorra, the head of the diocese of Viana, had protested that the ashes of Cæsar Borgia were a profanation of any Christian church, so he ordered the monument to be destroyed and the bones to be scattered to the winds.

Yriarte, not being at the time cognizant of the diary of the Bishop of Montenedo, first sought Cæsar's tomb at Pampeluna, where the chronicle of Moret places it. At Viana he learned the above-mentioned facts, and a careful search only furnished a few débris which possibly had belonged to the monument. Nothing daunted, he turned for aid to popular tradition, and learned that since the beginning of the eighteenth century a record had been handed down from father to son that those who had orders to scatter Cæsar's bones, fearing to cast dishonor on one made in the image of their Creator, had reburied the skeleton under three steps of the terrace of Calle de la Rua opposite the porch of the church. Through the energy of Yriarte the place was excavated and an entire skeleton found two metres underground, protected by uncemented bricks. After the Alcade in charge had identified these facts, the place was bricked up and left as before.

Other interesting records, hitherto unknown,

concerning Cæsar's imprisonment at Chinchilla, and the details of his marriage with Charlotte d'Albret, came to Yriarte's knowledge in his journey through Spain following the traces of his hero. In Italy the pursuit of fresh matter was more difficult, so completely had the Della Roveres succeeded in effacing everything the Borgias had left their seal on. There was a personal hatred between Julius II. and Alexander VI., so great that when Julius succeeded to the papacy he declared that nothing would induce him to inhabit the splendid apartments then called the Vatican, decorated by Pinturicchio, who had introduced a portrait of Alexander VI. in one of the compositions. "That *Marane*, that Jew, that circumcised one," he called his predecessor. Julius's love of art was so genuine, and his appreciation of Pinturicchio's work so great, that he refused to let the hated portrait be effaced or anything changed, but he had the rooms sealed up and dwelt on the floor above, which was subsequently decorated for him by Raphael. So the Borgia apartments remain to this day the most important monument of that ill-fated race, although, unfortunately for its perfect preservation, it did not long remain as tranquil as under Julius II., for in 1527, during the pillage of Rome, so destructive to innumerable works of art, the lancers of the Cardinal of Bourbon occupied the rooms for nine months, and we read that the Vatican was full of horses and soldiers, and that even the high altar in St. Peter's was bespattered with blood and the ground around it strewn with dead horses. The rooms do not seem to have suffered much from the rough use the lancers put them to as to the ceiling and frieze decorations. They were restored in the latter part of the sixteenth century, for it was only in 1585 that Sixtus Quintus left them definitively to live in the palace of San Damaso, which has remained a pontifical residence. For many years they were then used only when need of more space was required, in the holy week or even at conclaves. Pius VII. wished to turn them into a picture-gallery in the beginning of this century, and to adorn them with certain fine examples of sculpture; but they were so ill adapted, by the extreme richness of their decoration, to this purpose that in 1840 the pictures were removed and the rooms were used as an annex of the Vatican Library.

The Borgia apartments have been practically closed to the public for half a century. Stendhal, who knew Rome so well, never saw them, and Herman Grimm, the great German critic, who spent many years in Rome studying the Raphael *stanze* just above them, was never able to see them. Leo XIII. has formed plans for the restoration of the pavement with painted tiles copied carefully from the ancient ones still remaining in the Torrione Borgia; the frescoes, with their stucco reliefs, will also undergo a most cautious dusting, and a collection of ancient stuffs, ecclesiastical plate, and vestments will be displayed there permanently for the advantage of visitors to the Vatican. Unfortunately, changes in this quarter are very slowly brought about, and at the present moment the spaces between the frescoes and the floor, formerly hung with delicate tapestry, are filled with book-shelves crowded so that they overflow on the floor and window-seats in utter confusion, and make it impossible for tourists to be taken around in the ordinary way. Through the courtesy of Mgr. Carini, all-powerful in the Vatican Library, some favored few are allowed a hurried visit, under the guardianship of a guide who allows no one to lag behind.

Though the compositions and decorations are so full of invention, they demand very attentive examination of all interested in decorative art, of which they are the finest examples we possess in such entirety. We turn, therefore, with great interest to Yriarte's chapter on this subject. The little outline drawings illustrating the text are very useful to make clear the compositions described. The larger photographs, reproduced from bad negatives, are very confused and unsatisfactory, but the difficulty of obtaining even these was extreme. The portrait of Alexander Borgia in color, especially copied from the frescoes for this volume by a *prix de Rome* painter of the French Academy, is wanting both in the character of Alexander's head and in the reproduction of Pinturicchio's manner; it may be looked upon as a translation from the purest quattrocento to nineteenth-century impressionism. Yriarte complains that he has not been allowed sufficient leisure to make a complete study of the frescoes, and hopes that some later student will complete the work, carrying it further. In all times, each Pope had a great desire to perpetuate his memory by adding to the buildings around the sanctuary protected by the great cupola which Michael Angelo designed. Many of these monuments to fame had to disappear in due course to make room for their successors.

"In the fifteenth century a Pope of artistic proclivities, Nicholas V., had conceived the vast project of grouping all the services around the Sistine and St. Peter's, and to this end he invited Bernardo Rossellino and Battista Alberti to his aid. Death, however, overtook him, and Innocent VIII. tried to continue this great work, but he also left it incomplete, and Alexander VI. (Borgia), the successor of Innocent, instead of continuing the beautiful designs of the great artist of the Proto-Renascence, interrupted the general scheme, and, appropriating what was complete, resolved to join it on to the basilica by a splendid portico of three orders of multicolor marbles, whence the pontiff dominating the Leonine City should give his blessing on feast days."

The Borgia tower and the Borgia apartment are but a corollary of this project, which was realized, but of which only a portion remains. Paul V. (Borghese) destroyed the portico mercilessly in order to give a new façade to St. Peter's; it is only by examining the original plans and the drawings of the architects kept in the Library of the Vatican that one can understand what the extent of Alexander VI.'s work was. The famous underground communication from the Vatican to the Castle of St. Angelo was made by him and served him when he fled from Charles VIII. of France. His son Cæsar, at the death of Alexander, escaped from the Orsinis and the Roman barons leagued against him through this same passage. It was also Alexander who enlarged the little winding streets of the Leonine City, between the Vatican and Rome, and made a splendid road, the inauguration of which was considered an event important enough for a commemorative medal.

The six rooms the Pope chose for his personal use were given over to Bernardino Betti, usually known as Pinturicchio, to decorate. He worked there with several pupils from his own *bottega* between 1492 and 1495. In the "Resurrection," Pinturicchio has painted Alexander VI. at the feet of Christ, in full pontifical vestments, gloved hands on which the fisherman's ring can be distinguished, the tiara on the ground at his feet. The Christ, draped in a white transparent veil, is surrounded by rays of light; he holds a shield on which is a red cross, the emblem of his blood having been shed, while a burning flame to the right symbolizes charity. On the left side of the composition the landscape is dark, a cypress tree and a rock against which the Pope's figure is relieved, while behind the Christ is a pale olive tree. It is evident that Vasari had never seen with his own eyes these works of Pinturicchio, and only went on hearsay—then, as ever, unreliable—when he narrates that Alexander had himself painted kneeling before the Virgin, represented in the form of his mistress, Giulia Farnese. The cautious and effective use of relief is very noticeable in these compositions. We see it only in the sarcophagus of the Virgin in the "Assumption," and in the pontifical robes of Alexander, besides a few accessories.

Yriarte brings state documents before us to show that in the "Dispute of Saint Catherine and the Doctors before the Emperor Maximian" the popular tradition that in Maximian we have a portrait of Cæsar Borgia, as in Catherine one of Lucretia, is completely erroneous. Cæsar was then seventeen years old, while Pinturicchio's Maximian is a bearded man. Yriarte inclines rather to it's being Don Giovanni, Duke of Gandia, who was so cruelly murdered in 1497, and who at that particular moment was his father's favorite; but he remarks that the same head is recognizable as representing Frederick III. in Pinturicchio's frescoes in the library at Sienna, where there would be no reason for portraying a Borgia. The Oriental costumes in this composition are very splendid. The court chronicle of the time relates that the unfortunate Djem or Zizim, brother of the Sultan Bajazet, banished on account of his conspiring, was a hostage and prisoner at the Papal Court with a retinue of Circassians and Moors, and we have an account of how Alexander, who loved pageants, would ride out with Djem on his right, and his son, the Duke of Gandia, in full Oriental costume, on his left, preceded by Moors leading fresh horses as relays, and cloaks for their use; and in all descriptions of feasts and processions at the Vatican we read of Djem and his Circassian guard in prominent positions, so that Pinturicchio without doubt must have made use of the picturesque material constantly before him. He probably introduced portraits, but there can be no positive identification of any of the figures.

Of Cæsar Borgia the first portrait considered is the famous so-called Raphael of the Borghese Palace in Rome, now generally acknowledged to be neither a Cæsar nor a Raphael, the costume being that of the late sixteenth century. It is curious that no document exists explaining how this fascinating picture got into the Borghese collection. Yriarte gives most interesting written descriptions of Cæsar's appearance and demeanor collected from the writings of those who came in contact with him. The only portrait of him which Yriarte judges to be trustworthy is the engraving in the volume of Paul Jove's 'Elogia Virorum Illustrium' under his biography. This was published in France in 1551 by Torrentini.

The sword of Cæsar Borgia forms the last, most important, and most romantic chapter of the book. Yriarte considers this sword a most valuable document as to Cæsar's state of mind while still a cardinal, and Gregorovius mentions it thus: "The Duke of Sermoneta possesses a sword which belonged to Cæsar Borgia, decorated with engravings so full of allusions to the ancient Cæsar that one can understand what ideas were simmering in the Cardinal's mind." We only possess its history since 1734. It must have been executed between 1494 and 1498. The grooved blade is 1m.025 long by 0m.83 at the hilt; it is gilt

about a third of its length, and divided on each of its sides into four compartments, of which each is the frame of an engraved subject. The sheath of this splendid sword is no less remarkable than the blade. Curiously enough, it forms one of the treasures of the South Kensington Museum, and must ever remain separate from the blade for which it was destined; indeed, everything shows that the sheath had not left the workshop of the artist, and had not even been properly finished, a small part of the designs having been merely traced on the boiled leather, and the place for the hilt not having been cut. On the sheath we find three monograms identical with those on Cæsar's sword; the tongues of fire which were added to the Borgia arms in the thirteenth century cover the ground; and besides the most exquisite decorations of cornucopias, eagles, scrolls, masks, helmets, there are several compositions executed in relief worthy of the greatest Renaissance masters. In the South Kensington catalogue this work is attributed to Antonio Pollaiuolo; but Yriarte, by pointing out the similarity of certain figures and parts of the composition to the frescoes in the Vatican rooms, and showing by documentary evidence that Pinturicchio was for many years the painter Cæsar Borgia had attached to his person, convinces his readers that the subjects of both the sword and the sheath were suggested to Pinturicchio by Cæsar Borgia himself, and that the sword was ordered for the great ceremony of the crowning of Frederick of Aragon at Naples in 1497, where Cæsar went as the Pope's representative in all pomp, with the attributes of temporal and spiritual power. This was just as he was contemplating breaking away from the Church. Yriarte, who has also found most interesting documents concerning Ercole de Fideli, the celebrated goldsmith who made the sword, shows for our comparison other weapons from famous European collections by the same Ercole, so that we may see how much finer the style of composition and the type of the nude are on Cæsar's blade and sheath which also bear the name of Ercole.

The evidence is very convincing, and the conscientious research and indefatigable zeal with which Yriarte studies every detail, every possible hypothesis concerning his subject, inspires his readers with confidence, and keeps up their interest to the end. The book is so full of documents relating to mediæval history, and is of such importance and size, that it is impossible to give any adequate idea of its value in a brief review.

The Story of Wisconsin. By Reuben Gold Thwaites. [The Story of the States.] Boston: D. Lothrop Co.

The Story of Kentucky. By Emma M. Connelly. [The Story of the States.] Boston: D. Lothrop Co. 8vo, pp. 332.

It is no fault of Mr. Thwaites that the story of Wisconsin is not especially responsive to the treatment which he has wished to give it. The history of this State, as of its neighbors, is but part of a not easily divisible whole—the Northwest. The evident intention to distinguish continually between story and history limits the book, as it has others of this naturally popular series, too sharply to a romantic aspect of its subject. There has been thus far in the five volumes already issued a tendency to sacrifice congruity and orderliness of narrative for the sake of rescuing from natural obscurity a number of glowing but comparatively trivial details. The romance of history in this country is not necessarily to be woven from the exploits of hardy individuals, or from the grandeur of the untouched landscape of earlier days. Abundant opportunity for the play of fancy can be found in an adequate appreciation of the first combined efforts of earnest characters to build up in patience a political system, or to win by great sacrifices liberty of all kinds for themselves and for the future. There will naturally intervene between ourselves and the past an atmosphere so suffused with sympathy that it softens the outlines of events in all probability hard and prosaic enough to them who were of the times.

These most obvious reflections have been excited by the creditable exertions of Mr. Thwaites to do something which he could have done very much better in another way, for he is fully competent to write a history either of Wisconsin or of the Northwest. As it is, he has sought honestly to breathe the breath of life into the meagre narrative of a pioneer life which was mainly the struggle of men uninspired by a common object, except gain or the conversion of savages to the usages of a formal religion. One must sooner or later tire of the mournful solitude of the primeval forest, while the ascent of one new river is not wholly unlike that of another. The *courreurs de bois* charm at first by reason of their free and open life, but appear soon in their actual sordidness and rapacity. Neither scenery nor the lives of picturesque adventurers can long claim interest except as skilful adjuncts. On the larger canvas of Parkman these things, of course, have their relative place. Even well on in his story Mr. Thwaites has seemed to feel impelled to introduce personal anecdotes in no wise essential to preserve a continuity of narrative, and interesting only as a daily sensation is sure to be. Too much space is allowed, for instance, to the "Barstow and the Balance" episode.

A most rapid summary of the deeds of the Wisconsin regiments in the Civil War—and none were more valiant—is well done, as are also the chapters on the social and educational development of the State. The Indians, even the troublesome Winnebagoes, are justly treated, while the rapid sketch of the Black Hawk war shows what Mr. Thwaites might easily have done had he suffered romantic incident to take care of itself and kept to old historical lines. "Materialized" and "bitten" are such new words in accepted literature that it perhaps would have been wiser to quote them, as Mr. Thwaites has done with "boom town."

Mr. Bridgman continues to illustrate the series; some of his work, as usual, is interestingly original, but there is a plate opposite page 164 which looks as if it were done by a child five years old.

'The Story of Kentucky' by contrast is not merely a gossipy, picturesque boys' and girls' history of the commonwealth whose name it bears, but there is a "story," altogether fictitious, carried through four generations from the pioneer christened by the authoress "Edmund Cabell," who leaves Virginia in 1774 and is made a companion of Daniel Boone, down to his great-granddaughter Cornelia, the "typical Kentucky girl of 1890." Along with it marches, side by side, a very loose sort of a history of Kentucky, based mainly on the works of Lewis Collins and Prof. N. S. Shaler, with some quotations from Charles Dudley Warner.

The name "Cabell" given to the early hero may delude some readers into the belief in the reality of the personage, since it was the middle name of one of the most prominent figures of Kentucky (John Cabell Breckinridge); and this is a pardonable trick which Miss Connelly may have learned from the realistic school of Zola and Daudet. The adventures of the early hero are such as are generally found in the boys' books about Indian fighters that were the joy of our youth forty or fifty years ago. Although the writer is a born Kentuckian, she does not succeed in giving much local coloring to the manners and conversation of her Kentucky gentlemen and ladies of the second, third, and fourth generations. The historical part of the book, which is inextricably intermingled with the fiction, in accordance with the title and object of the series, addresses itself to the youthful mind, and passes over the details of political and forensic struggles (such as the contest between the Old Court and New Court party), to dwell upon heroic deeds and the description of beautiful landscapes. Some of the woodcuts, copied from paintings of Kentucky scenery, are thoroughly good, perhaps the best part of the book.

To criticise the book in its details, on the score of inaccuracy, would be utterly useless. The writer evidently has not the historic bent: slips in dates, names, and incidents occur on almost every page. For the entertainment of boys and girls between twelve and seventeen, however, the 'Story of Kentucky' is as good as many so-called holiday books, and the tone is healthful and strictly moral. Miss Connelly could have enlivened the short passage of her story that deals with the "Spanish intrigue" and with the partisan warfare between John Brown and Humphrey Marshall very considerably by drawing freely upon the monogram of John Mason Brown ('The Beginnings of Kentucky'), which is based altogether upon original documents, and is written more for private circulation than for the general reader. Miss Connelly is mistaken in believing that about the year 1800 a tone of infidelity prevailed in Kentucky (p. 133). There were a few prominent lawyers and politicians (among them Humphrey Marshall) who, like Thomas Jefferson and other leading Virginians, openly rejected Christian beliefs, and there were many rough characters who rejected all religion as an irksome burden; but the mass of men and nearly all the women were intensely religious, so much so that the excitement at protracted church meetings in 1803 led to an hysteric disease, the "dancing epidemic," which did not come to an end for two or three years. Coming down to the present state of men and things, we think Miss Connelly pays a somewhat undeserved compliment to the population of the Cumberland Mountains (p. 267). She says that "the larger and better class are of English, Scotch, Irish, and German origin; honest, courageous, kindly"; and further on she says, on Mr. Gilmore's authority, that the man of this class "labors, is industrious, hardy, enterprising, a law-abiding and useful citizen"; while the second class, of which there are only *a few* in the Kentucky mountains, are a sallow, gypsy-like people of unknown origin, idle, vicious, thoroughly conscienceless, and "far more incorrigible" than either the Indian or the negro. Prof. Procter, the Kentucky State Geologist, gives it as his opinion that the latter class is descended from "indentured servants in Virginia and North Carolina, whose fathers had been serfs or villeins in England for a thousand years, and that their bad traits are the result of "poor stock." Miss Connelly may never have heard this opinion or may not believe in it if she did; but we fear she is wrong in speaking of any of the mountain people as enterprising, and in speaking of the "sallow, gypsy-like people" as being "only a few." It is to be hoped that mines, furnaces, and railroads will crowd them out.

To make up for the romance running through the text, Miss Connelly winds up her book with twenty-five pages, in small print, of a dry, chronologic summary from "prehistoric times" down to the meeting of the Constitutional Convention in Frankfort, in September, 1890, and a summary of the Constitution of 1850 is printed by way of an appendix.

The Old Navy and the New. By Rear-Admiral Daniel Ammen, U. S. N. With an appendix of Personal Letters from Gen. Grant. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. 1891.

THIS volume, dedicated "to the officers and men of the old navy, who had to learn their profession as best they could," comprises the reminiscences and experiences of Rear-Admiral Ammen during a naval career embracing now a period of nearly fifty-five years. Few officers of the United States Navy have been more zealous and capable or rendered more valuable and intelligent service to their country in time of war and peace than Admiral Ammen. His interest in modern naval design, his connection with ocean surveys, and above all with the interoceanic-canal questions, will link his name with the new navy as well as with the old, and closely identify his career with the later times and progress of the service. In fact, his activity in professional and other matters has continued in an exceptional manner long after his name was placed upon the retired list of the navy.

To the general reader the interest of these pages will doubtless be heightened by the personal friendship shown to exist between the Admiral and Gen. Grant, whose life the author was the means of saving when they were boys together in Brown County, Ohio. An appendix, prefaced by a portrait of the General, contains a number of letters written by Grant to the Admiral at various times after the outbreak of the civil war.

The first chapters of the book, devoted to the early naval life of the Admiral as midshipman and lieutenant, have a decided sea flavor, like Marryat's tales, and often seem to have been written for the benefit of the younger officers of the service, to whom they should be both interesting and instructive. The Admiral's advice in places becomes so practical in its nature as to include sage remarks as to the advisability of keeping receipted bills, and the payment of tailor's debts. It is no more than just to add that this advice is extended both to the army and to civilians. Notwithstanding occasional discouragement from unpleasant cruises or unsatisfactory prospects of advancement, Ammen was a cordial lover of his profession, and lost no opportunity to improve himself in its various branches, now by modern progress so greatly extended. From his skill and service as Navigating and Coast Survey Officer, he was much employed in duty of that nature, which gave him an experience that added greatly to his efficiency during the civil war, and also to the value of his services as Chief of the Bureau of Navigation in his later years.

It was his good fortune in early life to be associated with Rear-Admiral, then Lieutenant, Du Pont, and he naturally became one of what was known as the Du Pont school of officers—a body of men forming the cream of the navy before the war. In the volume written by Ammen for the war series of the Scribners, 'The Atlantic Coast during the Civil War,' he testifies in glowing terms to the admiration in which Du Pont was held for his elevated and dignified character, as well as for his professional skill and accomplishments. It is to be hoped that the relatives of Admiral Du Pont, who have in their possession a great amount of rich historical material, regarding both the Admiral and contemporaneous naval life, will not postpone too long its publication.

Owing to his absence upon the China station, then vastly more remote than now, the author took no part in the Mexican war, seeing his first actual war service in the civil war. In 1850 he went to Europe on leave, joining afterwards the Mediterranean squadron. The narrative covering this portion is interesting and at times quaint, and proves him to have been a close observer. We doubt, however, the correctness of his opinion, given in one or two places in the book, as to the limitation of the development of yellow fever at an elevation of two thousand feet above the sea. The experience of English troops in the Blue Mountains in Jamaica proves the possibility of this fever at a higher level.

It is interesting, in the light of recent events, to note the usage of naval officers in past times towards political or other refugees when within municipal and foreign jurisdiction. On page 247 the author speaks of an incident which occurred to him when lying at anchor off Cayenne in French Guiana, as follows:

"When in charge of the deck during the mid-watch, I was somewhat startled by the appearance of a man in the gangway, who stepped on board. I asked him who he was, and what was the object of his visit. He said he was a political prisoner, exiled after the *Coup d'état* of Louis Napoleon. He was an educated man, spoke English fairly, and supposed that he had attained his freedom through reaching the deck of one of our national vessels. I had to dispel this illusion, and told him that we were in a French port, enjoying its hospitalities, and could not think of violating our obligations. He insisted on the Captain's being informed of his presence and his demands, which was done—of course without result favorable to his ideas. At that time criminals of all kinds were banished to Cayenne; whether this man's story was true or false mattered not, whatever our individual sympathies might be."

The Admiral, then a lieutenant, was on duty in Baltimore at the outbreak of the war, and left that city during the first tumultuous days on horseback for Washington. He was soon on duty afloat, and attained his first command, the *Seneca*, in time to take part in the Port Royal expedition under Admiral Du Pont. His part in this expedition was performed with credit, and shortly afterwards he was transferred to a double-ender, and then to a monitor, participating in the first attack upon Sumter, under Du Pont. As one of the commanding officers of the monitors, at the request of the Navy Department, he joined in a report to the Secretary as to the qualities and defects of these vessels in action. This report was not well received at Washington, as the Department and the iron-manufacturers were committed wholly and unreservedly to this type of vessels. In view of recent attempts to magnify the war efficiency of the monitor, it would be well for students of our naval policy, especially as to construction, to read the report carefully, headed as it is by the signature of Rear-Admiral (then Commander) John Rodgers.

As Chief of the Bureau of Navigation during the Administration of Grant, Ammen embraced every feasible opportunity to extend the work of the navy in time of peace. By his assistance and encouragement, Belknap made his successful deep-sea sounding cruises in the Pacific; the accurate determination of longitudes by telegraphy was commenced; improved methods of signalling were adopted, and designs and plans made for a coast-defence vessel known as the Ammen ram, which is now being constructed.

One of the final chapters of the book is devoted to the question of the Interoceanic Canal, and no one person, in or out of the service, is entitled to speak more positively and intelligently upon this subject than the author. For more than twenty-five years he has advocated its practicability and desirability, directed surveys for its location, weighed the advantages of the various routes; and, when finally convinced of the superiority of the Nicaragua route, he became its champion with an energy, tenacity, and pugnacity that are beginning to have their reward in the actual construction of the canal.

The Indian Mutiny of 1857. By Col. G. B. Malleson. 1890. Scribner & Welford.

COL MALLESON'S 'Short History of the Indian Mutiny' gives a compendious narrative of a brief, tragic, and very memorable episode in the history of British India. For a century the English had been building up in that country an immense foreign dominion; and in this enterprise they had been willingly and loyally served by a native Indian army, which necessarily grew as the English possessions increased, and which had of late been recruited mainly from Northern India. In 1857, a few years after the conquest of the Punjab, which completed the empire, the whole of the Northern army suddenly broke into open mutiny, shot down their officers, killed all the English, men, women, and children, that fell in their way, seized Delhi, upset the Government over a wide area, and were only subdued after a bloody and desperate contest. At Delhi and Lucknow the representatives of dispossessed dynasties joined and headed the revolt; while throughout the finest provinces of Upper India all the smouldering embers of disaffection and barbarism blazed up. The English, taken by surprise and at first nearly overpowered, faced their assailants boldly; they led the fighting tribes of the Punjab, the Sikhs and Pathâns, against the high-caste Hindu sepoys; they retook Delhi, held on to Lucknow, and thus managed to keep their feet until reinforcements arrived from England, when the outburst subsided and was rapidly suppressed.

Such a story can never fail to excite the keenest interest, for it is full of tremendous disasters and hardy exploits, hairbreadth escapes and savage massacres; it should be read and remembered by all English-speaking peoples, and Col. Malleson tells it in a vivid, enthusiastic style. We must make due allowance for military and patriotic fervor; nor should we be too critical upon our author's habit of crowding his narrative with personal and particular details, with anecdotes of valorous deeds, with praise of various regiments, and with the names of a multitude of local heroes whom he desires to rescue from oblivion. All such things make pleasant reading for those who are already familiar with and love to look back upon the scenes, events, and personages of that time; but there are countries where almost as little is known of Indian geography as of the Indian army list, and the copious array of comparatively unknown names and places may embarrass a later generation of readers, who may wish that minor incidents and the by-play of subordinate actors had been thrown more into the background. Thirty pages, for example, are all too short for adequately describing the siege and storming of Delhi—a most brilliant feat of arms, which was the turning-point of the whole struggle; yet nearly one page is devoted to an encounter

between Lieut. Hills and three horsemen, in which Hills got a cut "that clave his skull to the brain," though he is miraculously revived in a footnote.

How did the Indian mutiny come to pass; what were its principal causes, the lessons that it taught, and the warnings it gave? On these points Col. Malleson's views and conclusions may be usually though not unreservedly accepted. Every one has heard of the greased cartridges, which produced among the Brahminized Hindu sepoys a wild terror of some plot invented to take away their caste, so that they broke out into murderous revolt. But we all know that insurrections which begin in some small matter must have been fomented by larger and deeper circumstances—just as a gun must be loaded before a touch on the trigger can explode it; and in 1857 the Bengal Army was heavily charged with explosive material, and otherwise in a highly excitable condition. The sepoys disliked the dethronement of the King of Oudh, for many of them were his subjects; the conquest of the Punjab had overthrown the last native State that could cross swords with the English, and the sepoys believed that if the English were masters of India, they held it by the good will of the Bengal Army. Nothing is more common in Asiatic States than a mutiny of the troops; the ruler lives in perpetual fear of them. As they are strong, so they wax dangerous, and the East India Company had to crush its own mercenaries much as the Sultan and the Khedive had to destroy Janissaries and Mamelukes. Long before the Indian sepoy actually mutinied it was known that he had become insolent and insubordinate, that discipline had become relaxed and petty grievances magnified; but it was the unfortunate distribution of the suspicious cartridges that united all the regiments in a common conspiracy.

All this is well explained by Col. Malleson, who also shows how Lord Dalhousie's arbitrary annexations of territory had alarmed the native chiefs and had raised up against the English many bitter and influential enemies. He also insists repeatedly upon the discontent and deep hostility excited against the British Government by certain measures affecting the rights of the agricultural village communities; but here he is evidently writing upon a subject which he totally misunderstands. There is no doubt, however, that some very injudicious interference with the powerful landlords in Oudh set the whole class against the English just before the insurrection began, and that many of the British laws and administrative regulations, especially the coercive processes against debtors, were extremely distasteful to the people at large, who much preferred the loose, disorderly ways of their ancestors. In this sense, Col. Malleson's statement, that "the determining cause of the Mutiny of 1857 was the attempt to force Western ideas upon an Eastern people," need not be disputed, although it would be more precise to say that the sepoys revolted because they had got out of hand, through over-indulgence and mismanagement, and that they were joined by certain classes of the population who had lost power and influence under British rule, or who preferred Oriental laxity and lawlessness to the stiff régime of incorruptible but uncongenial foreigners. Strict execution of the laws, enforcement of punctual revenue payments and of private liabilities, a good police and a well-disciplined soldiery are all Western ideas which cannot be impressed upon Asiatics without a certain degree of compulsion, and a little haste or over-pressure may bring about commotions. But the risk must be run if civilization is to advance, and although the mutiny was the outcome of various blunders and miscalculations, it cleared the air like a great thunderstorm, so that the progress of India towards peace, good government, and stability under improved political institutions has since that time been remarkably rapid.

Col. Malleson gives us, in his final chapter, a panegyric upon the qualities of resolution, energy, and endurance displayed by the English in holding, against enormous numerical odds, their ground during a general insurrection in the northern provinces of India. He justly praises the clear-sighted audacity with which Sir John Lawrence and other leaders struck straight at the heart of the revolt when they determined that Delhi must be retaken at all hazards, concentrated their scanty forces upon that city, and staked everything upon the result of a desperate assault. He declares that in this hard-fought contest, as in many other similar predicaments, the English race "showed itself equal to difficulties which no other created race could have successfully encountered." This encomium is perhaps pitched a trifle too high for the occasion. The English have always been a stout-hearted people, with a large fund of tenacity and steadfastness in perilous situations; and during the first six months of the Indian mutiny, when their feeble garrisons were encompassed and nearly overwhelmed by rebels and mutineers, the highest characteristics of their race came out into fine prominence. But within that period the taking of Delhi and the relief of Lucknow had broken the back of the insurrection; for as soon as a large body of troops from England could be landed, all serious danger to the English Government disappeared, though there was prolonged resistance in certain parts of the country. India in 1891 is wonderfully different from India in 1857; the long peace and tranquillity have changed the habits of the people; there has been a great spread of education, an increase of wealth, industry, comfort, and of all the elements that make up a nation's civilization. No one now cares much to rake up the recollections of hatred and bloodshed which are associated with the transient but for the moment internecine struggle of 1857; yet some knowledge of the principal events and leading personages in that extraordinary drama is necessary to those who study the history of our time; and all such information can be readily found in Colonel Malleson's book.

Japanese Girls and Women. By Alice Mabel Bacon. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1891. Pp. 333.

A MORE charming and life-like picture of a hitherto undescribed portion of the world it would be difficult to find than Miss Bacon's account of Japanese women. The faithfulness of the picture it is also impossible to doubt. Miss Bacon has enjoyed the privilege of long and intimate friendship with a number of Japanese ladies and has been able to study their thoughts and daily lives in their own homes, besides having been a teacher in the Peeresses' School in Tokio. Her book has been carefully revised and criticised by a Japanese lady now in this country, and also by Mr. Griffis, the author of 'The Mikado's Empire.' Every page, moreover, bears internal evidence of careful and exact statement and of freedom from exaggeration. The reader can therefore give himself up to the enjoyment of the story of a strange and intensely interesting civilization without fear of being misled.

The more patent features of Japanese women's lives have been described before—the utter obedience which they are trained to show to their fathers, their husbands, and especially their mothers-in-law; their invariable grace and gentleness and their unquestioning submission to the rules of a formidable etiquette; and finally their extreme loyalty and courage when occasion demands those high qualities. But when all the details are filled in by a skilful hand, one gets the impression of a development very high of its kind, and one which a European civilization will do well to study closely before it destroys it. If the changes which Japan is undergoing in adopting a foreign civilization are very remarkable, those which the women of Japan are about to undergo are still more extraordinary. That they will before long obtain the same freedom and the same opportunities for education that their Western sisters now enjoy—and without having to endure so long a struggle to obtain them—there can be little doubt. It was an important moment for Japanese women when, "upon the 11th day of February, 1889, the day on which the Emperor, by his own act in giving a constitution to the people, limited his own power for the sake of putting his nation upon a level with the most civilized nations of the earth, he at the same time publicly placed his wife upon his own level. In an imperial progress made through the streets of Tokio, the Emperor and Empress, for the first time in the history of Japan, rode together in the imperial coach. . . . That this act on the part of the Emperor signifies the beginning of a new and better era, we cannot but hope."

There is, however, still much opposition on the part of prominent men in Japan to a change in the condition of women, short-lived as we may predict that it will be. Their excuse is that, while such power as the husband has over the wife might be abused, in fact it is not; that kind treatment, affection, and even respect for the wife are the general rule. Others oppose the new system of education for girls on the ground that it makes them unwomanly. The manners of the girls educated in the missionary schools are especially severely criticised as being extremely brusque and awkward. The author herself expresses the hope that means can be found by which the charm of manner which is the distinguishing feature of the Japanese woman may not be lost by contact with our Western shortness and roughness.

Interesting side-lights are thrown upon the servant question in Japan, and upon the disgust which the well-born Japanese feel for trade, and upon the artistic and literary pleasures which engross the time of Japanese men who have passed middle life—pleasures which the Japanese believe cannot be appreciated or even understood by the material Americans. But where every page is interesting, the reviewer has only to urge that every one should read the book for himself.

A Literary Manual of Foreign Quotations, Ancient and Modern. With illustrations from American and English authors, and explanatory notes. Compiled by John Devoe Belton. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1891.

MR. BELTON'S title-page sufficiently indicates his scheme: he first translates more or less literally the foreign phrase, and then exemplifies its use by one or more citations from books, magazines, and newspapers. But he frequently cites French authors as well as English and American, in an English version, and in perhaps a score of instances he omits to mention

the writer quoted. Nor is he uniform in his mode of designating the source of a phrase: his rule is to append it directly, in parenthesis, but he sometimes gives it in the course of his explanatory note, and sometimes leaves it to be stated in the illustrative passage, when he doubtless does not hold himself responsible for the correctness of the attribution. There is, further, an inconsistency in the use of two sizes of type, the editor generally, but not always, appropriating the larger for himself. Typographical nicety, indeed, has not been carried far enough, though the proof-reading as a whole has been careful. The superfluous but defensible comma in *Ex pede, Herculem* is omitted in the succeeding *Ex ungue leonem*. On p. 39 and elsewhere Chateaubriand is given an accent on the first *a;* on p. 50 we find "Louis Phillipe"; on p. 166, "Abbé Migné," Crême, p. 34; suffit, p. 61; desirer, p. 77; dîne, p. 101, are other examples of carelessness, to which we may add the Greek words on p. 223 and "Sosie" on p. 101 (beside the correct form Sosia). On p. 57, the lines of Shakspere's sonnet are wrongly divided, with a sad effect upon the metre.

Mr. Belton draws freely for his illustrations on Thackeray, Scott, De Quincey, Chesterfield, Burke, Bacon, Matthew Arnold, Fielding, Macaulay, Montaigne, Heine, Byron, and many lesser lights. As the work grows he becomes oppressed by the material available, and he treats us to many condensed groups of familiar quotations (mostly unillustrated) derived from Horace, Ovid, Virgil, Goethe, La Rochefoucauld, from the French, etc. These are not inserted in their alphabetical order, but appear in one or other of the four indexes, Latin (much the largest), French, German, and Italian (the least ample). As groups, however, they cannot be discovered from the index.

In the main, Mr. Belton's translations are exact even if sometimes too literal and inelegant. "*The* earthly happiness" (*das irdische Glück*), p. 76, "*the* repentance is long" (*die Reu ist lang*), p. 113, involve an unidiomatic use of the definite article. *Beauté du diable* is explained to be the "transitory beauty of youth and freshness," but *transitory* does not enter into the notion. *Deus ex machina* is baldly translated "a god out of a machine," where "a god from the (stage) machinery" would have been better. To define *in petto* by "secretly" is to miss the implication of longing, as, "a President *in petto*," *i. e.*, a would-be President. The Horatian *Omne tulit punctum* is rendered "carries every point," instead of "wins all the suffrages." "Avenger" is not the proper word for *vindex* in *dignus vindice nodus*, but rather "deliverer" (Toussaint *Louverture*). The Romans fastened a wisp of hay to the horns of dangerous cattle (*fœnum in cornu*), not, we may be sure, "as a warning," but to prevent goring.

We would have refrained from these minute criticisms in the case of a poorer book. Mr. Belton has rendered a good service on a good plan and with much painstaking. We hope his manual may pass through many editions.

Recollections of President Lincoln and his Administration. By L. E. Chittenden, his Register of the Treasury. Harper & Bros. 8vo, pp. viii, 470.

Mr. Chittenden's book belongs to the valuable class of authentic memorials of a great historic time. He was an active Republican politician in Vermont in the State canvass of 1860, who, after the State election in September, stumped parts of Pennsylvania and New Jersey for Lincoln, under the direction of the National Committee. He was then appointed a member of the Peace Conference which met in Washington simultaneously with the meeting of the Confederate Provisional Government at Montgomery. He was secretary of the caucus of Republican members of the Conference, Mr. Chase being the chairman, and the relations thus established led to his being appointed Register of the Treasury when Mr. Chase became Secretary.

Mr. Lincoln admitted him to his friendship, and occasionally would take refuge in the Register's office as a "retreat" in which he could rest for an hour, undisturbed by the crowds of politicians and free from the incessant crush of visitors at the White House. The Register's responsible but routine duties were those with which the public had little to do, and one can well imagine that the humdrum quiet of his private office was like a land-locked haven to an ocean-tossed mariner, when the President slipped in for a while. He compared it to the "retreat" to which devout Catholics occasionally resort to rest and refresh the soul for another bout with the world, the flesh, and the devil. He was allowed to have there the absolute quiet, at least, of the monk's retreat, and Mr. Chittenden adopted the discreet policy of letting him talk or keep silence, as his mood might be, without assuming to play either the father-confessor or the over-attentive host. It is a picture full of human interest and sympathy, that of the weary man, sore burdened with the cares of state, finding thus in the inner room of one of the chief accountants of the Treasury the solitude he yearned for, the "society where none intrudes," though the "pathless woods" and the "sounding shore" were hopelessly beyond his reach.

The best proof, perhaps, of Mr. Chittenden's discretion is the fact that the material added to the biography of Mr. Lincoln, in these interviews, is not large. We get some things of great value, but the familiar footing on which the Register was put with the President gave the means at other times to learn much of Mr. Lincoln's heart and mind. We get both directly and incidentally new exhibitions of the clear insight which so often went at once to the heart of things, the lucid statement that was the end of argument; the absolute devotion to great purposes which made each separate resolution take its proper place as a clear-cut means to the end, the genial philosophy which never took thought of his dignity or demanded attention, the abounding charity and sympathy which made the unfortunate and the suffering feel of kin to him.

Some of the scenes which Mr. Chittenden has described are very telling. Such is the visit of the Peace Conference to the President-elect at Willard's Hotel. The unknown man, the uncertain quantity in national affairs, takes definite shape before friends and enemies who are equally curious and wistful, in the tremendous crisis, to learn what manner of man is to head the Administration. His homely ease, his entire possession of himself, his true and firm touch of important questions, the Socratic skill with which he turned or parried every embarrassing thrust, come fresh as a new revelation to us who have studied him to the end of his history. How must it have come to those who came to sneer, but stayed under a spell of hearty admiration?

There is another chapter which is also of capital importance in helping understand the man. It is the last in the book, in which is given the fullest utterance by Mr. Lincoln of his religious beliefs which has appeared in what purports to be his own language. Faith in a divine ruler of the universe had become a consoling refuge to the human ruler, conscious of the weakness of human means and methods in the convulsion of an unexampled civil war. The fact that serious minds on both sides in such a struggle could exercise faith in the same God, and hope for victory by a Providential overruling, is nothing strange. In proportion as they had greatness enough to understand the tremendous events in which they had a part, they would realize how infinitesimal their powers were, compared to the unseen forces at work upon nations. Napoleon's fatalism was only one mode of recognizing the infinite unseen. A more modest and more feeling man, like Lincoln, would be naturally led to the trust in a personal Providence which has been the consolation of ages; and as he has tried to find the right amid sore doubts, he cultivates, even with conscious effort, the faith that what thus seems to him right cannot be vanquished.

Mr. Chittenden makes a mistake in treating what Lincoln said to him as if it convicted other biographers of slander. The scepticism of careless youth, when a curiously active mind was wrestling with ignorance and half-truths as he physically wrestled with village bullies, is quite consistent with a saddened and ripened intellect seeking the comfort of reliance on superhuman help when he feels himself the sport of contending elements. The passage from that youth to that manhood is not incredible, however great may be the wonder and the pathos of it.

And so, in other parts of the book, the incidents and historical facts which Mr. Chittenden gives us of his own knowledge are full of interest, and are warmly welcomed, though his criticisms of others are as fallible as theirs would be of him. The phases of men and things which he has seen he has seen vividly and tells graphically, but they are phases and not the whole. The world will carefully sift and garner his new material, and will give full weight to his testimony; but it will still treat him as the witness to partial though important facts, and not as one authoritatively summing up the case.

Some of the most noteworthy of the chapters in the book have nothing to do with Lincoln. Such are the pictures of Gen. Scott and his conduct and influence during the last weeks of Buchanan's Administration; the counting of the Presidential vote and the action of Mr. Breckinridge as Vice-President; the description of the vast hospitals in the campaign of 1864, and the endless trains of ambulances bearing the wounded from the Potomac to Meridian Hill; the advance of Early upon the city, and the fighting at the Monocacy and afterwards around the Blair homestead at Silver Springs. In these and other well drawn scenes Mr. Chittenden has made a useful contribution to our knowledge of that time, and has set a good, though tardy, example to the veterans of both the civil and the military service who have postponed committing their memories to writing.

Letters and Correspondence of John Henry Newman during his life in the English Church, with a brief autobiography. Edited, at Cardinal Newman's request, by Anne Mozley. 2 vols. Longmans, Green & Co. 1890.

The nine hundred pages of these bulky volumes add but little to our knowledge of the public life of Newman and his passage from the Anglican to the Roman Church, but they

add a good deal to our knowledge of his private character, and it is of a sort that is very favorable to him. His was a remarkable family, and his correspondence with his mother and his sisters has at no time any touch of condescension, nor was there call for any. The tragedy of his "perversion" culminates in his letters to Mrs. John Mozley and her replies, and the correspondence is equally honorable to brother and sister. The mentions of F. W. Newman are few and brief, but kind so far as they go, which is not beyond the younger brother's Calvinistic stage. A brother Charles is only mentioned as in some sense the black sheep of the family. Had the book been autobiographical throughout, its interest would have been greatly enhanced, but it must have merely reproduced the 'Apologia.' The autobiography ends at 1832, when Hawkins, the Provost of Oriel, cut off Newman's pupils, and he went abroad with Hurrell Froude. The account of this is very full, as befits its importance in Newman's mind, for he says that but for this, humanly speaking, there would have been no Tractarian movement.

The autobiography is written in the third person, which relieves a little its intense self-consciousness. This, however, is everywhere in the book—in the letters and in Newman's comments upon them, written for the most part in his old age. It reaches its climax in the account of his fever in Sicily, the ghastly particulars of which are, along the course of several years, fished up from the gaps in his delirium. His would-be humility and must-be self-assertion and self-consciousness suggest Tennyson's St. Simeon Stylites. Nothing he ever thought or said or did fails of importance to his backward gaze. The charm of his epistolary style is much inferior to that of his sermons and other formal writings, which read as if they wrote themselves; but they did not, for see vol. ii., p. 223:

"I write, I write again: I write a third time in the course of six months. Then I take the third: I literally fill the paper with corrections, so that another person could not read it. I then write it out fair for the printer. I put it by; I take it up; I begin to correct again: it will not do. Alterations multiply, pages are rewritten, little lines sneak in and crawl about. The whole page is disfigured; I write again; I cannot count how many times this process is repeated."

The editor was chosen by Cardinal Newman, and part of her work was submitted to his criticism. There is certainly too much of it, as it has come to us, with a good deal that is not relevant to Newman's character or the Oxford movement. The lady's spirit is much better than her style, which sometimes leaves us in the dark as to her meaning. The best account of the famous Tract 90, of 1841, is by the late Dean Church in a letter to one of Newman's most valued friends. Newman's friendships are the most attractive feature of the book, after his relations to his mother and sisters. That with Keble was very beautiful, though not so perfect as that with J. W. Bowden. The strain of Newman's secession on Keble's Tory Anglicanism, which apparently never had one conscious Romeward inclination, any more than Pusey's (though the three walked *pari passu* up to Tract 90 and beyond), was naturally immense, and that he was equal to it proves how great his love for Newman was. The extravagance of Newman's over-estimate of Hurrell Froude, always a wonder, especially to those who have in mind the spiteful insolence and crudity of Froude's 'Remains,' is better understood in the light of his letters, which make up in personal kindliness for what they lack in large intelligence.

The commentary of these volumes on the 'Apologia' helps but little our understanding of the Tractarian movement. Certain things appear less pivotal here than there. Newman goes on after one thing and another, less conscious of definitive results than the 'Apologia' represents. We feel how slow he was to see that he was going to Rome, and how reluctantly he went. The concluding part of these volumes gives a much livelier sense than the 'Apologia' of his agony of heart and mind from 1843 to 1845, when he went over. They also give us a much livelier sense of the rancorous enmity of a certain Golightly, whom Newman had disappointed of the curacy at Littlemore. But for his stirring up of the Tract 90 business, Newman might have died an Anglican. The most painful aspects of the book are Newman's intellectual narrowness—his scholarship was little more than an unscholarly absorption in patristic literature—and the general lack of moral seriousness in his relations to the Tractarian movement. The everlasting talk is of conformity to the dogmatic and ritualistic standards of the early Church, almost as if there were no standards of ideal truth and righteousness. One reading only these volumes would get a very imperfect idea of Newman's spiritual depth and passion for holiness; and those who know him best will do well to refresh themselves after these arid sands at the fountain of his 'Parochial and Plain Sermons,' which are the best he has to give.

The Log of a Jack Tar; with O'Brien's Captivity in France. Edited by Commander V. Lovett Cameron, R.N. [Adventure Series.] London: T. Fisher Unwin; New York: Macmillan & Co.

THE first part of this volume is supposed to have been written by a sailor named James Choyce, and describes his adventures in different parts of the world between the years 1793 and 1822. Commander Cameron states in the preface that there can be no manner of doubt about the truth of the narrative, but he offers no evidence in proof of this assertion, and the confusion of dates and other indications warrant a certain amount of scepticism on the subject. For instance, on one of his whaling voyages Choyce describes an adventure with savages in the straits of Panther (Pantar?) on June 24, *1814*, and, after cruising for many months in the Pacific, he reaches England on Christmas Day, *1813*, after an absence of more than two years! Exact dates add much to the truthful appearance of any kind of story, and this guileless old man of the sea and his distinguished editor would have made a better case if they had been more careful in this respect. Setting aside the question of authenticity, the lover of adventures will find Choyce's story replete with curious and exciting incidents, but the man himself seems to have been an unmitigated rascal. He sacrificed his friends without compunction in order to carry out his plans, and did not hesitate to take service against his native country. The Spanish rulers of Peru and Chili, among whom he spent some years of captivity, were only too lenient to him and the other drunken ruffians who were captured with him, and the reader will find it difficult to take a sympathetic view of his misfortunes.

Capt. O'Brien, whose extraordinary escapes from French prisons in the years 1807 and 1808 are related in the second half of the volume, was a sailor of a very different stamp. Full of resource and of indomitable courage, he finally succeeded in escaping, with three of his fellow-prisoners, from the terrible subterranean prisons of Bitche; and his comrades owed their liberty entirely to his coolness and sagacity. His story, several editions of which were published after his return to England, bears every evidence of accuracy and veracity, and possesses an interest as thrilling as that of 'Monte Christo.' Before he was sent to the dungeons of Bitche he was imprisoned at Verdun, whence he made two efforts to escape, which ended in his recapture when almost within reach of liberty. So innumerable were the risks of travelling on foot through many miles of an enemy's country, well patrolled by gendarmes, that the reader is kept in suspense up to the very last page as to the result of the third venture. Thanks to the gallant Captain, this volume may be fairly considered as up to the standard of the series.

A Short History of Political Economy in England, from Adam Smith to Arnold Toynbee. By L. L. Price. [University Extension Series.] London: Methuen & Co. 1891.

MR. PRICE has made a very readable book, which is at the same time sufficiently critical and substantially accurate. Of course no one can expect to master the science of political economy by reading this sketch of 200 pages, but it is quite possible to get from it an idea of the general scope of economic thought during the past century. Mr. Price does not assume to offer critical estimates of his own, or obtrude his own opinions, although he is naturally somewhat affected by the socialistic tendency of the recent English writers. He inclines to the view that the lower grades of mankind can somehow be legislated upward, and he is not free from the current misconception of what is involved in free competition. Thus, he seems to agree with Toynbee in the statement concerning Adam Smith, that "he did not live to witness the distress which accompanied free competition in the early part of this century." How any one can consider that the industrial régime of that period was one of free competition passes comprehension. Such a view seems to ignore totally the immense work in the removal of restrictions that gives its glory to this century of English history.

This, however, is but a slight blemish, and in the main Mr. Price is conspicuously fair and just in his characterizations. There is a very judicious admixture of biographical detail, which not only gives some color to the statements of theory, but is also of value as showing the allowance that must be made for the personal equation in every development of science by human beings. In the case of Jevons perhaps Mr. Price does not sufficiently state his theory of value, which has had a good deal of influence upon later writers, notably upon Prof. Marshall. Such abstruse matters as this could of course not be adequately discussed within the limits here set, but the importance of the subject might have been indicated. But upon the whole, regarded as an introductory sketch, this book may be commended to the general reader as perhaps as good as anything that is attainable in small compass; nor is it undeserving of the attention of economists.

An Introduction to the Study of Botany. By Edward Aveling, D.S.C., Lond. With 271 illustrations and a glossary of over 600 words. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co.; New York: Macmillan. 1891. Small 8vo, pp. iv., 363.

THIS book is designed to be of service to persons who intend to offer themselves for exami-

nation in botany at South Kensington and at the London University matriculation. After a short general introduction, some two hundred pages are devoted to the dissection and description of eighteen or twenty common plants, such as the buttercup, orpine, hyacinth, pea, primrose, dandelion, daisy, foxglove, hemlock, etc. Every part of the plant is minutely described, and many illustrations and diagrams accompany the text. For an elementary work this portion of the book is overloaded with technicalities. A buttercup may be entomophilous, dichogamous, and protandrous, and its monogynœcial fruit an etærio of achenes; but all this is surely too mysterious and repulsive for a beginner. The next ninety pages are devoted to structural botany, beginning with the vegetable cell, and so developing the subject to the fruit. We miss the well-known illustrations which so many text-books have borrowed from Sachs, and in place of them are figures whose only merit, in many instances, is originality. Throughout the book a Latin or Greek derivation is generally given to technical terms, and here, too, is originality. For instance, *Conium*, the name for hemlock, is said to be derived from κονία, *hemlock;* but this Greek word means *dust* or *ashes*, and κώνειον is hemlock. So also *regma*, an explosive fruit, should be derived from ῥῆγμα *a fracture*, and not from ῥέγμα, *something dyed or colored.*

The American publishers evidently hope that the treatise may be used in America, and, indeed, many of the plants selected for study are as common here as they are in England; but for American students the advice to purchase microscopes and microscopic supplies of a certain London dealer is somewhat inappropriate.

Studies in Statistics: Social, Political, and Medical. By George Blundell Longstaff. With maps and diagrams. London: Edward Stanford. 1891.

Mr. Longstaff has done his best to overcome by the elegance of this volume the usually arid and repellent aspect of statistical information. The superficial qualities of binding, paper, and type are of the highest order, while the more essential attributes of maps and diagrams leave nothing to be desired in their mechanical execution. But the volume has much more solid merits than such as appeal merely to the eye, and we note with pleasure that the author defines at the outset the necessary, although generally misunderstood, qualifications of the statistician. Acquaintance with mathematics and scientific methods of calculation is but a minor consideration.

"The primary requisite is a logical mind and a sound logical training; the second (and not less important) is a good general knowledge of the subject to which the figures under consideration relate. Only a chemist is likely to derive information from a new chemical experiment; in like manner the statistician must be now a banker, now a farmer, now a merchant, now a doctor, according as he is manipulating figures relating to currency, crops, tariffs, or causes of death."

We can do nothing more than call attention to a few of the points brought out by Mr. Longstaff. Perhaps that of most general importance relates to the correct determination of the comparative death-rate of a community. This is not to be found by dividing the number of inhabitants by the number of deaths. It is necessary also to ascertain the number of births, the amount of immigration and emigration, with particulars as to age and sex, and also to know the proportion of the sexes at the several ages. Thus, during the first year of life the excess of mortality of male infants is large; and again, after the thirty-fifth year females die less rapidly than males. Between the ages of ten and fifteen years the death-rate for both sexes is under four per thousand, while under one and over seventy-five it is considerably above one hundred and sixty. The composition of a population, therefore, must be carefully analyzed before we can precisely judge of its health. There is no question that the health of all growing cities is not so good as the figures generally given would indicate, and that most country districts are even more salubrious than is supposed.

The death-rate of England and Wales is now the lowest ever known, having dropped to 17.8 in 1888. This signifies that the mean duration of human life has increased several years over that given in the English Life Tables, and that the greater part of this increased life is lived during the most useful period, between the ages of twenty and sixty years. Some of this gain is due to the diminished virulence of zymotic diseases, the death-rate from fever having fallen since 1850 by nearly 60 per cent. Scarlet fever, diphtheria, diarrhœa, and phthisis are all considerably less fatal than formerly; cancer and diseases of the lungs, heart, brain, and kidneys are all more fatal. Diphtheria, it seems, is far more fatal in rural districts than in large towns; diarrhœa, on the other hand, being more fatal in the city than in the country.

As showing the utility of researches of this kind, we may mention the curves constructed by Mr. Longstaff for the purpose of making more apparent the relations of different diseases. That the curves of croup and diphtheria should be nearly parallel will occasion little surprise, although the evidence is of value as verifying existing theories. But a generalization of great importance may perhaps be derived from the striking similarity, amounting almost to identity, of the curves of erysipelas and puerperal fever. A connection is also suggested with scarletina, with pleurisy, with rheumatic fever, and with rheumatism of the heart. Mr. Longstaff's investigations are, of course, not of a character to suggest the nature of the causes affecting disease, but it is obvious that the medical profession may be greatly assisted in the work of determining these causes by such hints as these. We will only add that typhus fever seems in a fair way to become extinct.

The alarming extravagance of our Government is indicated by comparing the cost of the last English census, considerably under $1,000,000, with the amount provided for our census of last year, which was $6,400,000, exclusive of printing, engraving, binding, etc. No one knows what it will cost before we get through with it, while it is discredited in advance by the scandalous partisanship with which it has been conducted. Much interesting information concerning the movements of population has been extracted by Mr. Longstaff from the census reports, but it would have been well to delay the publication of these results until the reports of the current censuses were available. He finds that the immigration to England from Scotland and Ireland very nearly makes up for the emigration from England. In London there are every year some 135,000 births to 80,000 deaths, so that population increases naturally about 150 every day. The amount of emigration and immigration cannot be ascertained, but the natives of London are but 63 per cent. of its population.

The labor required to prepare such a volume as this is enormous, and Mr. Longstaff deserves the hearty thanks of all who desire to generalize concerning mankind from trustworthy data.

A Move for Better Roads: (Prize) Essays on Road-making and Maintenance, and Road Laws. With an Introduction by William H. Rhawn. Philadelphia: Henry Carey Baird & Co. 1891.

This book is one of the first results of that awakening on the question of common roads which is fortunately taking place in this country. The development of our wonderful system of railroads not only diverted private capital and public moneys, but the attention and interest of the nation, away from these important avenues of local communication. This neglect wrought its evils so gradually that generations of farmers have grown up accustomed to making the best of the difficulty without realizing the detriment to their interests occasioned by the rough and ill-made roads, and the long, steep hills over which they have always been compelled to haul their crops to market. Certainly it will be a surprise to thousands to read in the first prize essay in this excellent collection, that if a practically level road can be made around a hill where formerly the grade had been one foot in fifteen, by increasing the length of the road one mile, which would cost about $10,000, one hundred farmers obliged to use this road, and doing an ordinary amount of hauling, would, in saving of time and cost of maintenance of their teams alone, be benefited $6,750 a year, or $67.50 for each farmer, as a direct consequence of this improvement. It will also set many minds thinking to be told that it only requires a tractive force of 46 pounds to draw a long ton on a level Telford road, whereas on a level road made of gravel 147 pounds would be required, and on a common earth road the force needed increases to 200 pounds. It is estimated that the actual loss to the farmers in Pennsylvania from the deplorable condition of their roads over what it would cost them to do their haulage on first-class macadam roads, is $4,000,000 per annum. The total loss from this cause in the whole United States would form a startling figure.

It is evident that there is need enough for such a book as this. Incidentally it discusses the economic aspects of the problem, but the essayists waste little space in apologies. They proceed to the practical details of construction and maintenance, and it is doubtful whether such a thorough, exhaustive description of the proper methods for every kind of road-building has ever before been published. It is clearly, simply written, avoiding abstruse technicalities, so that whoever takes any interest in this move for better roads can without difficulty find instruction in its pages. What will, however, appeal to the intelligent general reader is the fact that road-making is not the simple affair it is usually thought to be; that it is, on the contrary, a problem of engineering, requiring wide knowledge and good judgment. This explains why so little good has resulted from the appropriations and from the labor expended in recent years under the direction of incompetent commissioners.

George Meredith: A Study. By Hannah Lynch. London: Methuen & Co. 1891.

This "study" is an expansion of a lecture given at Paris upon George Meredith. The writer was encouraged to do the work and enter a more public sphere by the fact that her "humble effort had sent at least three intel-

lectual foreigners to the fountain-head to study for themselves the novels of Mr. Meredith." Such converts enthusiasm can often make much more readily than criticism. The question of Mr. Meredith's genius may be put one side; but this little volume of damnatory reproach to the stupid fellow-countrymen of the novelist, and of triumphant chanting of the pæan over his victory, is as little deserving the name of a "study" in the critical sense as "Rule Brittania." We do not approve of a frequent use of the rhetorical schoolmaster's standard in judging of a book, but in this case we think it will serve. Here is a single sentence concerning which it is to be premised only that the gentlemen in it, the husband and the lover, have just been compared to "two respectable carriage-horses" harnessed with a "young war-steed" (the heroine), who is described as "perilously poised upon every incalculable impulse" and "scatterbrained upon all the ugly brinks in her career." The author goes on thus: "No wonder the unhappy Saxon gentlemen allied to this wild and too lovely Hibernian lost their heads and turned tail when it came to a choice of swallowing her whole and entire and following meekly in her wake, the obedient satellites," etc. We have only to add that the thoughts of this writer gallop very much after the pace of her metaphors.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Anthony, E. The Story of the Empire State. Chicago: The Chicago *Legal News* Co.
Biegler, Dr. Theobald. Die soziale Frage eine sittliche Frage. Stuttgart: G. J. Göschen.
Bisland, Elizabeth. A Flying Trip around the World. Harper & Bros.
Bristol, Dr. E. L. M. Rainy Days, and Other Poems. M. J. Roth.
Century Magazine. November, 1890, to April, 1891. The Century Co.
Crawford, M. Khaled. Macmillan & Co. $1.25
Dunbar, Prof. C. F. Laws of the United States relating to Currency, Finance, and Banking from 1789 to 1891. Boston: Ginn & Co. $2.50.
Eby, S. C. Swedenborg's Service to Philosophy. Peoria, Ill.: J. W. Franks & Sons. 25 cents.
Ellis, R. Noctes Manilianæ. Oxford: Clarendon Press: New York: Macmillan.
Fox-Bourne, H. R. The Other Side of the Emin Pasha Relief Expedition. London: Chatto & Windus.
Gannett, W. C., and J. L. Jones. The Faith That Makes Faithful. Chicago: Charles H. Kerr & Co.
Hardinge, Viscount Charles. Rulers of India. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Macmillan. 60 cents.
Herrick, Christine T. What to Eat—How to Serve It. Harper & Bros.
Houghton, Louise S. and Mary. French by Reading. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co. $1.25.
Huntington, A. S. Under a Colonial Roof-Tree. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.
McLaughlin, A. C. Lewis Cass. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $1.25.
Moore, Susan T. Ryle's Open Gate. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $1.25.
Murfree, Fanny N. D. Felicia. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $1.25.
Myer, W. G. Vested Rights. St. Louis: The Gilbert Book Co.
Thursfield, J. R. Peel. Macmillan & Co. 60 cents.
Tolstoi, Count L. The Fruits of Enlightenment. United States Book Co. 25 cents.
Troup, J. R. With Stanley's Rear Column. London: Chapman & Hall; Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co.
Vernon-Harcourt, L. F. Achievements in Engineering. Charles Scribner's Sons. $1.75.
Verrall, A. W. The Student's Manual of Greek Tragedy. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co.; New York: Macmillan. $1.
Wallace, A. R. Natural Selection and Tropical Nature. 2d ed. Macmillan & Co. $1.75.
Wilde, O. Intentions. Dodd, Mead & Co. $2.25.

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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JUNE 11, 1891.

The Week.

THE *Itata* affair has ended very happily in the voluntary surrender of her to the United States by the Congressional Junta which owned her, and one of whose ports she had reached. We may be allowed, now that the rumpus is over, to recall what we said on the 21st of May, when it had just begun, as to the proper way of getting possession of her and bringing her again within our jurisdiction:

> "Our remedy for the offence of the *Itata*, whatever it be, is at present to be sought from the Chilian Congressionalists by formal application. Whether she has committed an offence remains to be determined, for it is good law that American citizens may sell ships fit for war to foreign belligerents even, no matter where they take on their armaments. At all events, the fact and nature of her offence are to be settled by the courts, and not by the captain of the *Charleston*."

Such an application made to the Junta would undoubtedly have succeeded. But such a mode of proceeding had the demerit of being quiet and dignified and of having no "capital" in it. So we went to work in the way, so dear to Jingoes, known as "hullabaloo." We sent a steamer after the *Itata* three days after she had got away, and when there was not the smallest chance of catching her, and called it "a chase." Sometimes we said we were doing this in defence of our honor, and sometimes in discharge of our neutral duties to the usurper and traitor Balmaceda. And we went on for a full week, threatening and expecting to "blow her out of water" for committing a misdemeanor, and to fight the Chilian navy in order to get possession of her, and even to seize her in the ports of Mexico, to which she had not gone. A more undignified bit of swagger we have not had for a long time, but it is the kind of thing to which we are sure to be treated in every international complication whenever Mr. Blaine is at the helm. A telegram to Admiral McCann, in the Chilian waters, telling him what had happened, and directing him to ask the Congressional Junta for the surrender of the *Itata* when she arrived, would have settled the whole matter in a quiet, gentlemanly way, which should always be the way of a great nation.

Secretary Foster had a meeting with the New York bankers on Thursday, which has apparently had a cheering effect on all concerned. What has been troubling him and the country ever since he came into office, is the question what he should do about meeting the $57,000,000 4½ per cent. Government bonds falling due in September. The contention of his opponents ever since the Billion Congress adjourned has been, that the Treasury was so depleted that he would not be able to meet them without trenching on the reserve appropriated to the redemption of the greenbacks, or, in other words, without virtually confessing the insolvency of the Treasury. What he maintains is, that he has enough money to pay the bonds if absolutely necessary; that he has from $50,000,000 to $60,000,000 of cash available for the purpose; but in doing so he is forced to admit that it would be inconvenient and unpleasant to use it in this way, as it would draw his balance down very low. So he came on to New York to see whether the bankers would not advise him to do what, we presume, he had thought of doing all along, viz., ask the holders of the bonds, mostly Western banks, to let them run after maturity at 1½ per cent. interest. This, of course, would be, to all intents and purposes, the contraction of a new loan at a reduced rate of interest, and yet it is desirable that it should not look like a new loan, and thus enable the enemy to say that the Secretary had been obliged to borrow to meet the current demands on him. What he wanted of the bankers, therefore, was advice which would enable him to call it something else than a loan—such as an extension on mutually advantageous terms—and this they gave him. They pointed out that it was very important to the country that the banks which now hold the bonds should continue to hold them, in order not to have to contract their circulation just as the fall demand for money becomes most pressing; that it was also important that he should not offer them too low a rate of interest, because in that case the banks, finding they could make nothing on their circulation, would begin to sell their bonds at the risk of forcing them below par in the market—a very undesirable thing to have happen to a Government security. So that, in one way or another, it was made to seem the solemn duty of the Secretary to the country, with much resulting comfort to the Secretary himself, to put off on honorable terms the payment of the 4½ per cents. And he in his turn comforted the bankers by assuring them that under no circumstances would he fail in his duty to keep the silver money of the Government at par with gold, and that, no matter how much gold was exported, he would allow no slight to be inflicted on silver—that is, that he would do whatever was necessary to make it as good as gold in the form of currency.

There was a dinner given to Mr. Foster at the Union League Club in the evening, at which, according to the *Tribune's* brief report, an effort was made to improve the occasion for the benefit of the Republican party. Mr. Foster, according to this authority, there met the taunt contained in the epithet "billion-dollar Congress" by the argument that this is a "billion-dollar country," which really contains Mr. Evarts's celebrated defence of the tariff, "that even if $100,000,000 too much taxes are raised by the Government, what is this but $1.66 a head per annum, or three cents a week?" Mr. Foster maintained that although the appropriations made by the last Congress were "large," they were all "essential, and no larger than the needs of the country required." If this means that the money is sure to be spent, there is no denying it, but the fact that the money is "all gone" has never yet been accepted as proof that it was "essential" to the man who had the spending of it. It is no less true of governments than of individuals that their wants adapt themselves beautifully to their attainable incomes. If Congress were to vote two billions to-morrow, there would be no difficulty in finding "essentials" to lay it out on. We were, therefore, not surprised to hear from the Secretary, apropos of this, that "the Republican party had proved true in every emergency." No party certainly was ever more faithful in keeping up the supply of "essentials," or was ever livelier about the receipt of customs.

The Keystone Bank scandal in Philadelphia grows more portentous with each day's developments. It was shown on Thursday by the report of the experts who have been examining Bardsley's accounts as City Treasurer with the Keystone Bank, that he had about $200,000 more of the city's money in that bank than his books showed. He reported $441,000 as deposited, when he really had $628,000. As the authorized limit of city deposits in the bank was $400,000, Bardsley and his bondsmen were responsible for all above that sum, and to escape this responsibility he sought to conceal the excess by having it transferred to his personal account. The difference between the reported deposit and the actual deposit, amounting to nearly $200,000, was represented chiefly by his own unpaid checks, which he carried as cash. In order to raise the amount covered by these checks, when an investigation was ordered, he misappropriated $39,000 of city money lying in another national bank to the credit of city contractors. It also came out on Thursday that Bardsley has been a delinquent taxpayer since 1887, he being a large property-owner, and that, although he at present owes the city nearly $12,000 for taxes, his name has never appeared on the published list of the delinquent taxpayers. This revelation throws considerable light upon the fact, pointed out by the Philadelphia *Ledger*, that there were outstanding taxes at the beginning of the present year amounting to more than $6,000,000, of which $4,000,000 was uncollectible. Why were they uncollectible, and who was protecting Bardsley and other delinquents?

We were in hopes that the Postmaster-General would avail himself, in his address to his Bethany Sunday-school on Sunday, of

the recent sad occurrences in the banking world in Philadelphia in which he has played a prominent part. We were therefore much disappointed to find that, instead, he had talked to a large audience "of the righteous example of King Hezekiah." Now, the example of Hezekiah was righteous, but it nevertheless does not seem to us to furnish Mr. Wanamaker with a text suited to this occasion. Hezekiah's reign was prosperous, and he got the better of all his enemies, including Sennacherib, who was the most formidable; but it will be observed that when he "took all the silver that was found in the house of the Lord, and in the treasures of the King's house," and "cut off the gold from the doors of the temple of the Lord, and from the pillars which Hezekiah, King of Judah, had overlaid," he converted none of it to his own use. On the contrary, we are expressly told that he "gave it to the King of Assyria," on the public account, to save his country from devastation, having contracted to pay that monarch 300 talents of silver and 30 talents of gold as tribute. Moreover, Hezekiah, when threatened with death, was able to say, in his prayer for the prolongation of his life, "Remember now how I have walked before thee in truth and with a perfect heart, and have done that which is good in thy sight." He could not have said this if he had borrowed money, or levied taxes, or taken public treasure for unworthy purposes, or given it to men whom he knew to be dishonest, or spent it in ways which he dared not disclose, or got the keeper of the treasury to allow him secretly to overdraw his civil list, and then pretend to the people that he never took a shekel but what the law allowed.

The death of Sir John Macdonald is an event in Canadian politics of very great importance, and promises a period, probably short, of somewhat chaotic politics. It has for the moment produced something like consternation among the Tories and Imperialists, owing to his long tenure of power, the masterful way in which he has led them, and to the ingenious unscrupulousness with which he met all the troublesome questions with which Canadian politics bristles. His resemblance as a politician to our Mr. Blaine is most striking, and would doubtless have been complete had our system of government permitted Mr. Blaine to become both an executive officer and parliamentary leader. To study Mr. Blaine's career, keeping this limitation in mind, is almost to study Sir John's. Curiously enough, both of them, after having been extreme high-tariff men, became, about the same time, advocates of reciprocity on finding that protection was not fulfilling the promise of its prime. Both, too, owed a large part of their success to their "magnetism," and hearty, bluff manner, and readiness to be all things to all men. Sir John Macdonald's removal will necessitate a complete reconstruction of parties in Canada, and until this is done there is little use in speculating about its ulterior consequences. The one thing certain is, that his death is a serious blow to the British connection. Whether it will do anything for political purification is more than doubtful. No successfully corrupt politician has ever reigned long without leaving a school behind him trained in the same arts, and believing thoroughly, if not in their necessity, in their legitimacy.

The Secretary of Foreign Affairs for the Republic of Guatemala, Señor F. Anguiano, has made a long report on the Barrundia affair to the National Legislative Assembly. His account of Barrundia, personally, does not differ, except in giving more details, from that of Mr. Cabot Lodge in the House of Representatives last fall. He denies that Barrundia was an honorable political refugee. On the contrary, he says:

> "Gen. Don J. Martín Barrundia, who for several years had been Minister of War, departed from Guatemala in April, 1885, a few days after Gen. Don Manuel L. Barillas had entered upon the exercise of the Presidency of the Republic. His departure was not by virtue of any order of exile on the part of the Government, but was caused by the discovery of his having misappropriated a large amount of the national funds, and also by the criminal processes with which many individuals who had been victims of his misconduct, during the years that he had been Minister of War, threatened to arraign him before the courts of justice."

He further adds, and seems to prove, that when Barrundia was captured, he was not only a fugitive from criminal justice, but was actually engaged in a revolutionary attempt against the established government of Guatemala. Señor Anguiano then travels over the law of the matter, which is now familiar ground. His report will doubtless be a valuable document next winter, when the whole Mizner-Reiter-Barrundia transaction will be ripped open by the House of Representatives.

A discussion has been going on between the *Christian Union* and the *Examiner* over the question of the duty of a minister who finds himself seriously out of harmony with the views of his denomination. The former journal maintains that he ought to stay within his church and try to reform it, while the latter says that he is bound in honor to withdraw. In the loosely organized Congregational and Baptist churches it may, perhaps, be a question how stringent is a clergyman's obligation to keep within the limits of the general doctrinal belief of his denomination. But in the Presbyterian Church—and it is to that the whole discussion really refers—there can be no doubt about it, since all ministers have solemnly to subscribe to a definite creed. Nothing could be more demoralizing, therefore, than for a minister publicly and defiantly to declare, as a prominent Presbyterian pastor in this city recently did in his own church, that he "was not bound by the Westminster Confession." At the time of his installation he solemnly declared that he would be bound by it, and if he had not so declared, he could not have been installed. More than that—and this is a point which the religious papers just mentioned do not touch upon—such a man is receiving a salary from a church which has no legal right to its property unless it stands by the Confession. The financial question is one which will play a great part in the proposed withdrawal of Union Seminary from the oversight of the Assembly. From such oversight it can probably withdraw, but it cannot modify its statutes requiring assent to the Westminster without impairing the title to most of its property. And in the case of an individual minister, it would seem that the first thing a tender conscience ought to insist upon is the removal of all grounds for suspicion that monetary considerations have anything to do with his action. The moral grandeur of the Free Church disruption in Scotland was largely in its lofty indifference to the jingle of the guinea.

Few will read the letter of Mr. Philip Schuyler protesting against the proposed erection of a monument to his deceased aunt, Mrs. George L. Schuyler, by an obscure society, without asking whether an intrusion of this sort on privacy cannot be repressed by legal process. The point is certainly worth examination. It would be difficult to concoct a more ingenious or painful mode of annoying a family than starting a public subscription to erect a monument to a deceased relative whose life had been a strictly private one, thus bringing under public discussion his or her claims to this sort of remembrance. There is in a movement of this sort any amount of material for ridicule, or depreciation and even obloquy. It surely must be libellous under some authoritative definition of libel. It is, in the present case, aggravated by collocating the name of a strictly private person with that of a well-known public agitator, with whom, without meaning any disrespect to Miss Susan B. Anthony, Mrs. Schuyler would probably for no earthly inducement have appeared on a platform. It is somewhat like proposing to raise a subscription for a joint memorial to a very retired clergyman and Robert G. Ingersoll, on the ground of their common eminence as "thinkers." To get at the full enormity of the thing, we must suppose the possibility of a similar subscription being set on foot for purposes of ridicule and annoyance by the enemies of a living private individual. They might keep the subscription going for an indefinite period, without the smallest intention of ever building the monument. Surely the law has some remedy for this species of misery.

We presume most readers of the *Tribune* who read Sunday papers at all, opened last Sunday's edition of that journal with the expectation of finding therein the fullest account yet given of the ins and outs of the Cumming trial, from the pen of our old friend the Tory Squire. There is no subject on which, as a rule, the Squire is better fitted to shine, or shines more, than a trouble of some kind

among "smart people." He speaks on all this class of topics with the authority and with the air of a master, for is he not one of the "smart people" himself? He has only to interrogate himself to know how they feel, even at important crises in their lives. Moreover, there has not been, since he made his appearance in the highest circles of London society, an occasion more worthy of his powers, or one of more absorbing interest to the British public, than this one. The scenes in court, the appearance and dress of the ladies, the fence of the opposing counsel, the appearance and behavior of the Prince of Wales in the witness-box (not "stand"), and the appalling audacity of the juryman who cross-examined his Royal Highness, formed a combination of attractions which the ordinary ill-informed reader expected to call into exercise the Squire's very highest talent as a fashionable chronicler. We say, "the ill-informed reader." Those, however, who, like ourselves, know the Squire's place in the exalted sphere in which he lives, did not expect him to come out with anything like his normal splendor and effusiveness about this trial on Sunday, and they were not disappointed. He had three columns in the *Tribune*, of which he devoted two and a half to the Bering Sea question, Sir John Macdonald, the peace of Europe, the Queen's views on the Irish church, Balfour, Parnell, the omnibus men, copyright, and Dr. Fordyce Barker's death, but only at the end, in a couple of small paragraphs, did he make any mention of the baccarat case, and a very colorless mention it was. Some people may be disgusted with this reticence, but we are not. We say it evinces a delicacy and refinement not often found among journalists. The truth is, that the Squire's relations with an exalted personage to whom he distantly alludes as "one of the most distinguished personages concerned," forbid his going into this very disagreeable matter with common newspaper freedom. A county gentleman necessarily has his limitations as a newspaper correspondent. There are certain things on which his position forbids him to dilate, no matter how eagerly a sensation-loving public may desire to hear from him. They must console themselves by remembering that the very things which seal the Squire's lips to-day, constitute his greatness as a social authority on ordinary occasions.

An interesting contribution to the discussion of profit-sharing was made by Mr. A. H. D. Acland, M.P., in his recent address as Chairman at the opening of the Twenty-third annual congress of the Coöperative Societies of Great Britain. These societies conduct stores, both wholesale and retail, which do a great and steadily increasing business, and which return large profits to those who find the capital. But those employed in such stores are no better off than employees in other stores; indeed, it was admitted at this meeting that "there had been a tendency on the part of Coöperative Societies to give contracts to the lowest tender and the jerry builder," and an appeal was made that they should pay at least "the current rates of wages." As for the theory that, in the industries of the country generally, profit-sharing would be found the solution of labor difficulties, and that thus the interests of masters and men would become identified, Mr. Acland remarked: "It could not be said that either abroad—though there were a few remarkable instances on the Continent—or at home those hopes had been widely realized. Even at the best, it was a very difficult system to work, and was almost inapplicable in many trades. The ideal coöperative productive society, where all the capital was owned by workers, was admitted to be an impossibility, except in the rarest cases."

Mr. Balfour's announcement that he is about to issue a proclamation suspending the operation of the Coercion Act throughout Ireland is probably part of the general process of taking in sail in preparation for the general election, in which the Ministry is now engaged. It is doubtless true that there is much less disturbance in Ireland than there has been, but only a small part, if any, of the improvement is due to the operation of the law. The Plan of Campaign, which the Act was mainly intended to meet, diminished owing to its success on the principal estates on which it was tried. What was left of it after this, has expired through the lack of funds caused by the Parnellite split in the Irish ranks. The claim that the Coercion Act killed it is baseless. It kept going vigorously during five years of most relentless execution of the law, which included, in the beginning, a plank bed and prison fare and clothing for the orators who supported it. What has done most, probably, to bring about the suspension is the failure of those hopes, based on the division in the Irish ranks, to which Lord Salisbury gave expression when he advised his followers "to put their money on Parnell." As all those who have done so are apparently out of pocket, something new has to be tried on the now dear, but once contemptible, Irish, particularly as the free-education sop offered to the English electors appears to be a total failure.

The adoption of the new Constitution in Brazil has been shorn of its present effectiveness by the failure of the Constituent Congress, before adjournment, to pass laws putting it into execution. Thus the new instrument provides for the complete separation of Church and State, yet the Administration has just refused to admit that ecclesiastical property is subject to the common law. It takes the position that the pre-existing body of laws was not annulled, *ipso facto*, by the adoption of the Constitution, and that, until they are specifically repealed and others enacted in their places, they must remain in force. The popular opinion was wholly to the contrary, and it is a matter of much public complaint and indignation that the Executive is not putting the Constitution in force. In like manner, the municipal government of Rio is in a singular condition of legal uncertainty. It derived all its power from the Provisional Government, which is now extinct, and has never been recognized by the Constitutional Government. It is also maintained that the very members of the Cabinet are illegally in office, since they were put in office, most of them, before the adoption of the Constitution, and have not been subsequently confirmed. Whatever may be said of the Government's contention that the Constitution does not execute itself without supplementary laws, it certainly seems absurd for it to say that old laws directly opposed to the Constitution are in force until repealed. If unconstitutional, they are as if they never were. At any rate, the unsatisfactoriness of the whole situation is sure to make the Government trouble when the next Congress meets.

The financial troubles in which Portugal is now plunged have been long accumulating. Partly owing to financial incapacity on the part of the Government, partly to the fear of revolution always before the eyes of any Minister of Finance who should propose increased taxation to meet increased expenses, the country's debt has gone on heaping up, under the policy of constant borrowing, until now the national credit is almost exhausted. The total indebtedness has risen from about $400,000,000 in 1875 to nearly $700,000,000 at present—or an advance from a debt of $87 per capita to $135. For this there is little to show, except the 505 miles of Government railways, and the 780 miles privately owned but liberally subsidized out of the public funds. The revenue has been steadily below outlay, and for a considerable time fully one-half of the total income has been required to pay interest charges. The budget for the current year shows an estimated deficit of upwards of $2,000,000, and the shortage will, of course, turn out to be larger than that sum. Where the Government can borrow, except at ruinous rates, does not appear. The attempt to float a loan in London last year was a flat failure. About $15,000,000 were obtained last December from a syndicate of Paris bankers, for 3 per cent. bonds taken at 46, secured by a lien on the Government tobacco revenue. This is only a temporary loan, however, and the Minister of Finance got the Cortes last March to vote the Government a monopoly of the tobacco manufacture, and to authorize a loan of $50,000,000 on the strength of it. But just about then came the dispute with England over South African boundaries, and killed the negotiations for a loan in London. The crisis became so severe that a decree was issued May 11 suspending payments for 60 days to save the banks. Late telegrams show that the Paris lenders are advancing more money, but the situation is such that only radical measures can relieve it, and no Ministry is strong enough to take radical measures.

MR. WANAMAKER'S CONFESSIONS.

MR. WANAMAKER appeared before the Keystone Bank Investigating Committee on Monday, with a written statement, prepared under the advice of legal counsel, in which he professed to give a complete account of all his relations to the bank and its wreckers. In order to comprehend the full meaning of his statement it is necessary to recall what had been revealed by previous witnesses bearing upon those same relations. It had been shown that Mr. Wanamaker was on very friendly terms with Lucas, the dead President of the bank, who stole $998,000 of its funds, and with Marsh, the fugitive President, who succeeded Lucas and concealed his predecessor's theft by means of false statements and other deceits; that he enjoyed most unusual favors at the bank during Marsh's Presidency; that Marsh once lent him $200,000 of the bank's money on his personal note, without the knowledge of the directors; that although the National Banking Law forbade the granting of discounts beyond $50,000 in amount, Mr. Wanamaker was able to get discounts to the extent of $150,000 based upon his own notes without collateral, and that Mrs. Wanamaker was allowed to overdraw her personal account in the bank to the extent of $1,000, and possibly $5,000.

On every one of these counts Mr. Wanamaker confesses judgment, and on the most serious of them he supplies new evidence. In regard to his relations with the dead President Lucas, he confesses not merely that they were friendly, but that the two men entered together upon a speculative venture in Reading stock in which the Keystone Bank's money was used with great freedom. They purchased Reading stock on joint account, Lucas supplying certain sums of money as Wanamaker called for them and depositing the same to Wanamaker's personal account in the Keystone Bank, and on this Wanamaker drew checks amounting to $60,000. Upon several occasions when Wanamaker called for money, Lucas gave him Keystone Bank stock, and when Lucas died, Wanamaker held 2,515 shares of this stock, which he had used for raising money in various ways. After Lucas's death, Wanamaker discovered, he says, that no money had been placed to his credit, and that his account at the bank was overdrawn to the extent of about $60,000. He thereupon held fast to the 2,515 shares of Keystone stock as security for that loss. The character of this stock and its subsequent career in Mr. Wanamaker's hands we shall describe later.

The other counts of the case against Mr. Wanamaker were that he had enjoyed unusual favors at the Keystone Bank during Marsh's Presidency, had been granted discounts to an extent three times as great as allowed by law, and that Mrs. Wanamaker had been permitted to overdraw her account. He admits the truth of all of them. The statement of a $200,000 loan by Marsh without security was made by a director of the bank, and Mr. Wanamaker admits it by making no reference to it. The statement as to illegal discounts was made by the Bank Examiner, Mr. Drew. Mr. Wanamaker admits one discount for February, 1890, of $50,000, the full legal limit, and another one of $50,000 in the same month, explaining that the second one "was understood to be personal to me individually." Another discount of $60,000 was granted at Marsh's personal request because he wanted Wanamaker paper for use in country banks and otherwise. As for Mrs. Wanamaker's account, that was kept for convenience under a separate head, but it was really a part of the firm's account, and could not be overdrawn while the latter had a balance to its credit.

On minor points, about which there have been only suspicions, Mr. Wanamaker's statement and his admissions on cross-examination do little to clear up the mystery, and serve in many ways to add to it. He shows that his firm had deposits of nearly $400,000 in the Keystone Bank in November, and that though they were kept there during the "runs" on the bank, they were gradually removed, so that when the collapse came there was little or nothing left to be lost. He denies solemnly that he was ever a stockholder of the bank, yet he held 2,515 shares of its stock for several years, and used it as a basis for loans. He denies that he had any opportunity which smaller depositors did not have of knowing the condition of the bank in time to get his deposits out, that he knew anything about the Lucas defalcation till after the run in December, and yet he admits that Marsh told him in August last that the bank could not afford to continue to pay 6 per cent. interest on the Penny Saving Fund of the Bethany Church, and that although they had been able to get only 2 per cent. interest on that fund up to the time when Marsh as a personal favor had taken it into the Keystone Bank at 6 per cent., yet as soon as Marsh said they could not continue to pay it he took out the entire fund. It has not yet been shown that other depositors got so valuable a hint as this at so early a day.

It has been said, not shown in the testimony, that Mr. Wanamaker had personal knowledge of Bardsley's doubtful character at the time he was nominated for City Treasurer, and that he raised a fund of about $75,000 to be used in paying Bardsley's debts, but never paid it over because the debts were discovered to be twice that amount. Mr. Wanamaker's answer on this point is extremely interesting: "I never had a business transaction with Mr. Bardsley individually, or as City Treasurer, or with any one representing him in either capacity. I never subscribed any money for his benefit at any time." This is elaborate denial of something that has never been charged. Nobody ever suspected that Mr. Wanamaker himself subscribed anything to this Bardsley fund any more than he did to his celebrated Quay-Harrison fund. He was acting as collector in both cases.

To return for a moment to the 2,515 shares of Keystone Bank stock. Marsh, the fugitive President, says that it is fraudulent or over-issue stock, and is worthless. Mr. Wanamaker admits in his cross-examination that when he discovered that Lucas had not put in the $60,000 in money to meet his (Wanamaker's) checks to that amount—*checks which the bank had cashed*—he held the bank stock as security for the loss; that when Marsh and Mr. Lucas asked him to give it up he refused to do so until his loss was made good; that when he was told that it was fraudulent stock he refused to believe it, and made repeated efforts to sell it, even after the bank had failed, asking at first $100,000 and then offering to sell it at $50,000; that finally he surrendered it to the Lucas estate, and thus considered his relations with Lucas closed without loss on either side, and that he still refuses to believe that the stock is fraudulent.

We have here a simple, unbroken narrative of intimate personal and financial association between Lucas and Wanamaker and Marsh and Wanamaker from the time the former began to speculate with the bank's funds down to the time when the bank collapsed. Lucas went into a "blind pool" with Wanamaker in Reading stock, and when he got into difficulties issued fraudulent Keystone stock upon which Wanamaker raised funds. Marsh, as Lucas's successor, and falsifier of the bank's accounts to hide Lucas's theft, gave Wanamaker most unusual privileges at the bank. When the bank could be kept going no longer, Wanamaker got his money and his firm's money and the Bethany fund money out. Then the collapse came, and it was discovered that while poor depositors had lost considerable sums, the chief losers had been the city of Philadelphia, $600,000 of whose deposits had gone, and the State of Pennsylvania, $930,000 of whose deposits had gone also. Mr. Wanamaker takes the witness stand, rolls up his eyes, says he is glad to be permitted to be there, makes his confession, and says if there has been any wrong done he knows nothing about it, and that if Lucas and Marsh and Bardsley and Drew were bad men they kept their badness entirely away from his pious eyes. And the whole newspaper press of Philadelphia—so mighty is the power of Wanamaker "ads."—comes out solemnly the day after the exhibition and declares that his confession is a complete and conclusive vindication.

REPUBLICAN DECADENCE AT THE COLLEGES.

FOR some twenty years, beginning with 1870, the classes of the Academic Department of Yale University just before graduation have had printed a volume of class statistics known now as the "class-book." It gives, along with many statistics which are trifling or facetious, others that have substance and value. Among the latter are those showing the strength of the political parties in the class during the last term of the Senior year. In the class of 1891 those figures have just been published, giving

80 Republicans, 32 Democrats, 11 "Mugwumps," and 4 Prohibitionists—showing that 47 out of 127 who gave in their party preference, or about 37 per cent., no longer act with the Republican party. It will be noticed that this year the Democrats number almost one-half as many as the Republicans, while in no Senior Class at Yale up to 1886 had they numbered so many as one-third. But in order to make the comparison as broad as possible, it is better to ignore in the main any particular class and take the statistics for the twenty classes since and including 1870, the classes of 1871 and 1872 having had no class-book printed. The showing will thus be expanded so as to cover twenty years of time and some two thousand students, many of them legal voters.

As an initial comparison, we simply take those who have recorded themselves as Democrats or Republicans—a division which nearly eliminates those who count themselves as "Independents," "Mugwumps," and Prohibitionists, as well as a certain number who are mere doubters, or who, "for fun," may have recorded themselves outside of the Republican or Democratic list. Dividing the twenty classes into two groups, the ten classes previous to 1882 give us 788 Republicans and 161 Democrats. For the ten years since 1881 the computation gives us 744 Republicans and 249 Democrats. The Senior year academic "vote" during the last ten years thus shows a loss of 44 in the case of the Republicans, a gain of 88 for the Democrats. In other words, the Republicans have lost say 5.6 per cent., while the Democrats have gained about 54.7 per cent. This change has taken place, too, in the face of the fact that the young men at college are at first apt to adopt "paternal" politics, whether they are "new voters" or non-voters.

In the case of some of the later classes the change is most strikingly marked. Thus in the class of 1889, who must have measurably formed their political opinions during the tariff Presidential campaign of 1888, there are recorded forty-three Republicans, thirty-one Democrats, twenty "Mugwumps," and three Prohibitionists. Of the members of that class who actually voted in 1888 there were twenty who voted for Harrison, eighteen for Cleveland, and two for Fisk. In the class of 1890 there were twenty voters in 1888, of whom twelve voted for Harrison, seven for Cleveland, and one for Fisk. Again, taking the last three classes, we find they have counted 211 Republicans, 107 Democrats, 44 "Mugwumps" and Independents, and 7 Prohibitionists. In these three classes, whose party opinions have been formed on recent political questions, the Democrats number more than one-half the Republicans, while in the ten years before 1882 they were only about one-fifth; and the Democrats, "Independents," and "Mugwumps" together have had, in the three classes, say three votes to four of the Republicans.

While college statistics of this kind cannot be exact, yet errors largely offset each other, and the steady drift of the older undergraduates from the Republican party is clearly demonstrated. The figures have also further meanings. In 1870, when the class statistics first began at Yale, there were only 518 undergraduates in the academic department; in 1891 there are 832. Yet, in spite of this increase, which has been pretty steady during the interval, the Republican "vote" of Senior year shows an absolute loss for the last ten years, as compared with the years preceding since 1870, while the Democratic gain of 54.7 per cent is very far from equalizing the whole "vote" to the ratio of gain in the whole number of academic students. Or, to state the case in figures, while the total Democratic and Republican "vote" in the ten Senior Classes for the first ten years cited was 949, it was for the second ten years 993, showing an increase of but 44, or about 4.6 per cent. The figures of membership for the graduating classes during the same two periods were respectively 1,191 and 1,401, or a gain of about 17.6 per cent. Thus the Democratic and Republican "vote" combined has not kept pace with the increase of numbers in the graduating classes, and the difference must be made up in part at least of those who refuse to go into the class statistics as members of either of the two leading parties. How weakly the Republican party is represented nowadays in this non-party element we all are aware, and if it could be worked into the figures, they would make the evidence of Republican decadence as proved by the Yale class statistics much more impressive. Probably they would show that the Republicans have hardly at present any majority at all, as was the case, we believe, when the general canvass at Harvard University was made during the Presidential campaign of 1888.

Take that Harvard canvass and join it with the figures we have given at Yale, and the testimony is certainly most telling as to the rapid decline of the old "party of moral ideas" among the young men at our two leading universities, where the opponents of the party twenty years ago did not number probably 10 per cent. of the two student constituencies. Add the palpable change of sentiment among the members of the two University faculties, as well as the wholesale secessions among the "thinking voters" who are graduates, and we get further evidence fit for the Republican party to view with the most prayerful solicitude. It was not long ago that Mr. Clarkson, the Lord High Executioner of fourth-class postmasters, spoke his lament over the entrance of Democratic literature into Republican homes. If he will turn his eye on our colleges, he will find a kindred theme for a fresh and more sorrowful Jeremiad.

"TACT" IN THEOLOGY.

If Pascal were alive, he would find material for a new series of "Provincial Letters" in the phases of our latest theological controversies. Conveniently ambiguous words, like his *pouvoir prochain*, made at one time the test of orthodoxy, at another a cover for heretical opinions, would meet him at every turn. And the elusive and conflicting views of our modern Sorbonne, better able, like its seventeenth-century prototype, to "find monks than reasons," would call for the full exercise of the detective qualities of his analytic intellect. One phrase in particular would, we are sure, call forth a delightful letter. We refer to the current saying that a man needs "tact" in holding and uttering questionable theological opinions. If Prof. Briggs had only had "tact," so has groaned more than one of his friends, if he had not been so blunt and pugnacious, he might have held his horrifying doctrines, and fifty others worse, and no one would have troubled him. And then they have mentioned this and the other leader of the Church, living or dead, either one of whom, they assert, would have had enough of this most desirable "tact" to run the rapids in perfect safety.

Now, it is to be remarked that this quality is a newly discovered requisite in a religious leader. Doubtless the venerated reformers of other days would have got on much better if they had known about it. With a due amount of this "tact," Calvin would not have had to flee from Paris for his life on account of his radical utterances. And everybody knows how deplorably wanting in it Luther was—the reckless, world-defying Teuton. And even the one whom both Luther and Calvin called Master was terribly indiscreet, rashly denounced the current theology of his day as a mass of unreasonable tradition, and acted so that his alarmed friends thought he was "beside himself." Still, changed times may justify the honor paid to this new characteristic, and it is only fair to ask what it really is, and what it has accomplished in these days of its prevalence.

It turns out, however, that this lauded quality of the modern theologian is shown by examination to be only the thing which already had the appropriate name of trimming. What is really meant by this necessary "tact" is holding one opinion in private and another in public, saying one thing to young men in a seminary and quite another to the General Assembly, and deftly alternating between the courage and cowardice of one's convictions. Moreover, the conspicuous examples of "tact" to which reference is made, are men who really lost the best influence of their lives by being trimmers. They won great standing and had honors heaped high upon them, of course; that is what trimming is for. But they never resolutely grappled with questions on which men were dividing. At crises they flinched or dodged. Like Orville Dewey in the civil war, they could not "take a part." And thus their example simply amounts to this, that the safe way to hold heretical views is to hold them in secret. If it is a question of transmuting opinion into life and influence, these men are cited with irrelevance.

The truth is, this praise of "tact" in theology is a part of the spirit of luxury which has invaded the Church just as it has the rest of society. The churches have had their eyes fixed on outward prosperity. They have had vast sums to dispose of in pushing their denominational propaganda. They have been racing with each other for

the control of the expanding West. Reports of churches organized and buildings erected and missionaries sent out and converts gained and legacies received have been the main thing of interest in ecclesiastical gatherings. Over and over again have prominent men in the churches risen to denounce doctrinal agitation, on the express ground that it interfered with the great "practical work" of the age. That is to say, nothing in the nature of inquiry after the truth must be allowed to disturb us. Here we want to build a cathedral, there endow a college, yonder erect a great denominational building, and we cannot stop to listen to theories.

Fortunately, men's minds cannot be for ever repressed in that way. Investigation is the most "practical" thing in the world, and truth the most useful. And so, when the proper time comes, a church or a society that has long been saying to itself, "Thou hast much goods laid up for many years, eat, drink, and—act with 'tact,'" finds that it has been living in a fool's paradise. One right prophetic voice is enough to dispel the temporary delusion, and recall men to that pursuit of the truth which is at once their noblest and most unavoidable function.

"THE PRINCE OF WALES'S SET."

THE attack made by Sir Edward Clarke, the Solicitor-General, on Monday in court on the Prince of Wales is something unprecedented in either legal or political annals in England. It will be interesting to see whether Lord Salisbury will keep him in office after so bold a departure from established forensic usage. If Sir Edward should suffer in this way for his temerity, it will illustrate anew the inconvenience of having the law officers of the Crown retain their private practice, but it will also probably make him a hero and a martyr in the eyes of the Radicals. The risk he is running is certainly very great, for no English barrister's ambition is limited to the acquisition of a large practice. Success at the English bar is not success in the highest sense of the word unless it is marked by official promotion, through the Solicitor-Generalship and the Attorney-Generalship, to the Lord Chancellorship or other high judicial office—such as the Lord Chief Justiceship or one of the Lord Justiceships of Appeal. This promotion is, of course, in the gift of the Ministry of the day. Whatever the future may have in store in the way of ministerial indifference to royal susceptibilities, no Minister of either party has hitherto shown himself ready to disregard absolutely the personal objection of the Crown to a particular appointment. So that Sir Edward has literally taken his professional life in his hands in making the *retour offensif* directed against the Prince and his friends the Wilsons, with which he enlivened the proceedings on Monday.

That there was great danger of some such social earthquake has long been plain to everybody who has watched the Prince's career ever since he was first brought into court twenty years ago in the Mordaunt divorce case. It was then clear enough that the materials of great scandal were rapidly accumulating about him, and that he would, unless he wholly changed his ways, become more and more dependent on the discretion of his friends to escape some damaging explosion as the years went on. But he could not change his ways. Neither his education, nor his mental powers, nor his place in the British hierarchy offered him assistance in abandoning the life of "a man of pleasure" which the English political and social conditions imposed on him almost as soon as he reached his majority. In fact, the hereditary monarchy in England at present provides no serious pursuit for the heir to the throne. The example set by his father, even when very young, of trying to teach English statesmen how to govern England, he could not follow, even if he had had his father's mental equipment. It would, in his father's case, have excited deep popular resentment had it been publicly known even between 1850 and 1860. Between 1880 and 1890 it would have been out of the question. The course of English politics during the last thirty years would have made the Prince of Wales's rôle purely ceremonial, even if the usages of constitutional monarchy and the Queen's continued health and activity did not do it.

A life of amusement, surrounded by idle men and women, was what circumstances marked out for him, and unfortunately his tastes fell in with his necessity. More unfortunately still, he became the most prominent figure in English society just as it was beginning to feel the effect of the great economic changes of the last thirty years. He has found himself beset, ever since his first youth, by a growing body of people like his friends the Wilsons, newly enriched in trade or commerce, and eager to get into court society, and to pay for it in cash or its equivalent in good living and good shooting and comfortable country quarters. These people have for years been making a dead set on him and his aristocratic companions, and they have for the last ten years captured them with increasing facility, owing to the impoverishment of the old landed gentry. It is the Wilson genus who now offer the best table, the best wines, the best preserves and deer forests, and can stand the heaviest losses at the card-table, and the Prince has fallen a victim to their fascinations. Given his easy temper, great love of good living and fun, and the conquest was easy.

The results have been pitiful. The conservative portion of the English public, and especially the Nonconformists, have long been pained by the rumors which have been afloat about the Prince's ways of passing his leisure hours, and about the kind of people he helps "to get into society," but they have gone on hoping for better things. This hopefulness about him, even when he has passed into the fifties, probably nobody but a "loyal Englishman" can understand fully. But no proper judgment can be passed on their connivance in or condonation of his weakness without remembering that, even if the belief in the divine right of kings be dead in England, the association of the monarch, and of his family, with eight hundred years of liberty and glory, is still strong in the English imagination. The blood of Alfred the Great runs in the Prince's veins, and some one of his kith and kin has sat on the throne not only ever since England became great, but ever since it became England. The sternest English Republican is moved, and not ignobly moved, by considerations of this sort, and no right-minded man can help feeling some sympathy with those who are pained and shamed by finding that the heir to all these great memories goes about from one rich man's house to another, carrying with him a gambling "lay-out," and urging his hosts and their friends to play for high stakes games of chance which are forbidden by law even at the clubs and hotels. To be sure, they know that Satan finds some mischief still for idle hands to do, but they fervently wish he would make an exception in favor of the heir to the English throne.

The Wilsons, on whom Sir Edward Clarke has turned so savagely, are really no more to blame than probably fifty other families of similar antecedents whom the Prince has honored with his visits. In fact, they are probably less to blame, for theirs is very likely the only house in which the Prince has broken through the host's rule against baccarat. Moreover, if current reports have even slight foundation, very few baccarat parties at English country houses fail to contain at least one member on whom some suspicion of cheating occasionally rests. The temptation to the poor young men and the wicked old women who help to make them up, must every now and then be overwhelming. The mistake of the Wilsons was in allowing themselves to be thrown into a state of wild excitement by the chance of catching a Colonel in the Guards *en flagrant délit*. The occasion was for them a great one, and they either lost their heads over it, or else, as Sir Edward Clarke insinuates, had taken too much champagne at "a long dinner" at which they celebrated the victory of the Prince's horse at the Doncaster races.

If they had been older, or longer in the "Prince's set," they would have insisted on stopping the play the minute suspicion was uttered, and have got the whole party out of the house with as little noise as possible. Their procrastination, and especially their watching their own guest, of which they now seem ashamed, but which seems proved, furnished a terrible weapon to Cumming when he determined to sell his life dearly. One other weapon, hardly less effective, has been put into his hands by the written promise of secrecy. Two of the signers, the Prince and Gen. Owen Williams, are in the army as well as Cumming. When, therefore, Sir Charles Russell warned the jury that, even if they gave Cumming a verdict, the military authorities would be compelled to take the matter up, and perhaps strike his name from the army list, his counsel retorted with terrible force that the Prince and Gen. Williams would

in that case be in the same boat with him, because, in the eye of a court-martial, concealing the fact that a brother officer has been charged with dishonorable conduct makes a man *particeps criminis*. On the whole, the case furnishes one of the most interesting social and political studies in English annals. Cumming is ruined by the verdict, but he is not the only sufferer.

THOMAS PAINE'S IMPRISONMENT AND WASHINGTON.

NEW YORK, June 4, 1891.

"LEST I should forget it," writes Gouverneur Morris to Jefferson, "I must mention that Thomas Paine is in prison." The Americans in Paris, whom, as Joel Barlow says, Paine had often befriended, were not likely to forget that he was in prison. Morris was applied to, but seems to have been content that those who had been looking up to Paine as their minister should have a lesson. Jefferson had retired from the Cabinet, but Morris supposed him still there when he wrote about Paine. "I incline to think," he says (January 21, 1794), "that if he is quiet in prison he may have the good luck to be forgotten, whereas, should he be brought much into notice, the long-suspended axe might fall on him. I believe he thinks that I ought to claim him as an American citizen; but considering his birth, his naturalization in this country, and the place he filled, I doubt much the right, and I am sure that the claim would be, for the present, at least inexpedient and ineffectual."

In this announcement, which Morris barely remembered to make, he forgot to state that Paine had been imprisoned as a "foreigner." He had twice taken the oath of allegiance to the United States, had been outlawed in England for writing the 'Rights of Man,' had been invited as a foreigner to assist in founding a French Republic; his citizenship there was the honorary one conferred by the same decree on Washington; he was not "naturalized," had taken no oath of any kind; and his helping to frame a Constitution for France in a popular convention, where no Government existed, did not make him so much a French subject as Morris had become, before his appointment, by framing an official manifesto for the King. In saying that Paine, if quiet, was likely to be forgotten, Morris is conscious that the French Ministry had no charge against him, and the intimation that the axe had long been suspended over him is disproved by the fact that Barrère had shortly before consulted him on American affairs. That any reclamation he was likely to make, with such impressions, would be "inexpedient and ineffectual," Morris felt naturally "sure," and his casual note would be apt to prevent Jefferson from an interference that might bring down the axe on his friend. The next letter of Morris to Jefferson is dated March 6, 1794:

"Major Jackson—who, by the by, has not given me a letter from you which he says was merely introductory, but left it with the Comité de Sûreté Générale, as a kind of letter of credence—Major Jackson, relying on his great influence with the leaders here, stepped forward to get Mr. Paine out of jail, and with several other Americans [there were eighteen, all then in Paris] has presented a petition [to the Convention] to that effect, which was referred to that Committee and the Comité de Salut Public. This last, I understand, slighted the application as totally irregular; and some time afterwards Mr. Paine wrote me a note, desiring I would claim him as an American, which I accordingly did, though contrary to my judgment, for reasons mentioned in my last. The Minister's letter to me of the 1st Ventose, of which I enclose a copy, contains the answer to my reclamation. I sent a copy to Mr. Paine, who prepared a long answer and sent it to me by an Englishman, whom I did not know. I told him, as Mr. Paine's friend, that my present opinion was similar to that of the Minister, but I might, perhaps, see occasion to change it, and in that case, if Mr. Paine wished it, I would go on with the claim, but that it would be well for him to consider the result; that if the Government meant to release him, they had already a sufficient ground; but if not, I could only push them to bring on his trial for the crimes imputed to him; seeing that whether he be considered as a Frenchman, or as an American, he must be amenable to the tribunals of France for his conduct while he was a Frenchman, and he may see in the fate of the Brissotins that to which he is exposed.

Morris speaks of "crimes imputed to him," though none was alleged except his being a "foreigner"; the hint, however, was enough to frighten Paine's friends and prevent their pressing his demand for a trial, which would have revealed then what the French archives now reveal—that Paine's papers were searched and pronounced innocent, and that no accusation was ever brought against him except that of Morris. The phrase "conduct while he was a Frenchman" is self-contradictory; had Paine ever been a Frenchman Morris could not have "reclaimed" him. And here rises the main point in the above letter of March 6. Morris says he had reclaimed Paine as an American. Of this reclamation no copy was sent to our Government and none to Paine. In the previous September (23d) Morris had notified Jefferson that he would not in future send copies of his various applications on account of the postage it would involve. Although his application to the French Minister, in the Paine matter, was only eight sentences, the economical resolution was adhered to. Washington and Randolph (who had succeeded Jefferson) had thus no opportunity of knowing just what Morris had written. My readers will be the first to discover Morris's idea of claiming a countryman. The letter (dated February 14) was written, I may remind the reader, to M. Deforgues, Minister of Foreign Affairs, who had received from Morris his complaints of Paine's influence, and had signified to Morris that "our only aim has been to maintain between the two nations the most perfect harmony," and that steps about to be taken would confirm this.

"SIR,—Thomas Payne has just applied to me, for me to claim him as a Citizen of the United States. These (I believe) are the facts which relate to him: He was born in England. Having become a citizen of the United States, he acquired great celebrity there through his revolutionary writings. In consequence, he was adopted as French Citizen, and then elected Member of the Convention. His behaviour since this epoch is out of my jurisdiction. I am ignorant of the reason for his present detention in the Luxembourg prison, but I beg you, Sir, if there be reasons which prevent his liberation, and which are unknown to me, be so good as to inform me of them, so that I may communicate them to the Government of the United States. I have the honour to be, sir, your very humble servant,

"GOUV. MORRIS."

Five days later, February 19, was written the French Minister's reply:

"In your letter of the 26th of last month [Pluviose] you reclaim the liberty of Thomas Payne, as an American Citizen. Born in England, this co-deputy has become successively an American and a French Citizen. In accepting this last title, and in occupying a place in the Legislative Corps, he submitted himself to the laws of the Republic, and has renounced the protection which the right of the people and treaties concluded with the United States could have assured him.

"I am ignorant of the motives of his detention, but I must presume they are well founded. I shall nevertheless submit the demand you have addressed me to the Committee of Public Safety, and I shall lose no time in letting you know its decision."

Postal economy did not prevent Morris from forwarding to Philadelphia this reply of M. Deforgues, obviously written for transmission. It seems impossible that without the aid of Morris the Frenchman could have discovered in his note the reclamation of Paine's liberty "as an American citizen" which his reply certifies. Morris's disclaimer of jurisdiction over Paine is complete. His volunteered certificate of the prisoner's French citizenship is complete. He is even careful to spell Paine's name in the French fashion, "Payne." He merely, and with cold formality, asks the reasons for the detention, which, of course, were entirely within French jurisdiction, whatever Paine's citizenship. He makes the French Minister's mind easy on this point by merely requesting of his goodness information to send his Government. The Minister need expect no further action on his part. That the reply of M. Deforgues was collusive is suggested not only by its certifying a reclamation not made, but in speaking of Paine as occupying a place in the Legislative Corps. No unaided French Minister could have described the Convention as a "Corps Législatif." The phrase is calculated for Philadelphia, where it might be supposed that the French Constitution, already adopted (August, 1793), had by that time resulted in an organized government, office in which would involve an oath of allegiance. The unreality of the Minister's reply to the note of Morris, then in Paris (though he lived at Sainport, five hours away), is further shown by the fact that the speedy further information he promises was never sent nor demanded.

"I applied to Mr. Morris," Paine wrote to Madison long after, "but I know not what he wrote to the french minister; whatever it was he concealed it from me." Morris sent the prisoner the Minister's refusal, but Paine's careful disproof of its positions was never sent to M. Deforgues, nor to Philadelphia, but was found by Jared Sparks buried away in Morris's papers. Sparks prudently withholds Morris's "application," which, he says, "it must be confessed was neither pressing in its terms, nor cogent in its arguments"; while he concurs with Paine's argument, which is given. (Life of G. Morris, i, p. 418). The case had been so arranged by Morris that, even had it been submitted to his Government for action, no reply could have come until the latter part of the year. But it was not so submitted. His real surrender of Paine kept secret, he declares to the Secretary of State, March 6 (a delay of eighteen days after Deforgues's reply), that he has claimed "Paine" as an American, and encloses the Minister's false assertion of the same. This letter of March 6 reached Philadelphia late in June, when Washington was at Mount Vernon. On June 25 the Secretary of State writes to Washington that he has received a letter from Morris, of March 6, saying "that he has demanded Paine as an American citizen, but that the Minister holds him to be amenable to the French laws." Washington and Randolph had no reason to doubt the bona-fide character of the reclamation, but in the instructions of Monroe, just starting for France to supersede Morris, care was enjoined to obtain redress for "injuries to the persons of our citizens." And on July 30 was written to Monroe a letter of which Washington's summary (Sparks x, p. 474) says: "We have heard with regret that several of our citizens have been thrown into prison in France, from a suspicion of criminal attempts

against the Government. If they are guilty we are extremely sorry for it; if innocent, we must protect them. Collect intelligence, and act promptly and decisively. Let your path, however, be clear. Archibald Hunter and Shubael Allen are two of the sufferers." That Paine is not mentioned could only be because of Morris's supposed reclamation; for when Monroe did reclaim Paine as an American citizen, the prison-door opening at the word, his action was warmly approved by the President, in a letter of March 8, 1795.

This official reclamation was all that the French Ministers had waited for. In his letter of March 6 Morris had stated, concerning the application of the Americans in Paris to the National Convention for Paine's release, that they had been referred to two committees, one of which "slighted the application as totally irregular." This, again, was misleading. The President of the Convention had addressed the Americans with a warm eulogy on Paine's works, but said that both America and France were in alliance against England, reminded them that Paine was born in England, and deplored that this "apostle of liberty" had not understood rightly the revolution that regenerated France. They were referred to the two committees, and that of Public Safety told them "that their reclamation of Paine was only the act of individuals, without any authority from the American Government." This, Morris reports to his Government as "slighted the application as totally irregular," suppressing the fact that the matter had been virtually referred by the Committee to himself. By pretending that afterwards he had officially reclaimed Paine, and been refused, he prevented all attempts to move the American Government; and as no order came from Philadelphia, and no further mention of the matter was made by Morris, the Ministry, after allowing full time for the President to intervene, came to the natural conclusion that the execution of Paine would be agreeable to Washington. The Committee of Public Safety determined imprisonments and executions. It was controlled at this time by Robespierre. Barrère, who was on it, afterwards apologized to Paine for signing the warrant, saying "he felt himself in danger, and was obliged to do it." Why then did Robespierre resolve on Paine's execution? M. Masson, historian of the French Department of Foreign Affairs during the Revolution, says (p. 275) that Robespierre was particularly anxious to recover for the republic the initiative of the alliance with the United States which was credited to the executed King; and "although their Minister, Gouverneur Morris, was justly suspected, and the American republic was at this time aiming only to utilize the condition of its ally, the French republic cleared it at a cheap rate of its debts contracted with the King." There is reason to believe that Morris would have taken Paine's place in prison had it not been for Robespierre's desire to accommodate an ally which, despite French remonstrances, insisted on keeping him there as its representative. Genêt, who had so annoyed Washington, had been demanded for punishment by France, and, as he could not be got, his friend Paine, whom Morris had connected with Genêt's offences, seemed a fair victim to offer in atonement. Robespierre then wrote the death-warrant "in the interests of America as much as of France." The execution was escaped by the usual chalk mark being accidentally made, in the night, on the door of Paine's cell when it was open and flat against the wall; when closed the mark was on the inside, and at daybreak the destroyer passed by. Paine was ill of a fever at the time, and probably the physician, who was most attentive, was with him. Or there may have been connivance, for Paine remembered the extreme kindness of all around him, including his jailer, and the lamplighter, who incurred a risk in taking a letter to Monroe. A few days later Robespierre was executed.

Monroe reached Paris August 3, but shared no better fate at the hands of Morris than the other Americans. Morris postponed the duty of arranging for his successor's reception so long that Monroe addressed himself directly to the Convention, which responded at once, and received him on August 28. It was the belief of Paine that Morris himself was all along in danger, and it is true that he preserved his official character as long as he could while preparing to leave the country. M. Masson, in his History already quoted, says that Morris pursued the unparalleled course of never presenting or receiving any letters of recall at all. He also, after Monroe's arrival, made the most of Washington's private letter declaring continued confidence in him—a letter which enabled him to enjoy a fine career amid the European courts. It took Monroe some time to undo all the knots tied by his predecessor around Paine. The Robespierrians, who still controlled the Committee of Public Safety, withheld from Monroe the sham reclamation, and intimated that nothing could be done without "instructions." Of course, our Government, assured that Paine had been demanded and refused, had given no instructions concerning him. Morris was still in Paris to assure Monroe, as he had assured Jefferson, that Paine had been naturalized in France, and it required a statement from Paine like that which Morris had suppressed to disprove this. At length, however, the Robespierrians were removed from the committees. On the 5th of November Monroe wrote to the President of the Committee of General Security; on the same evening that Committee and the Public Safety Committee, in joint session, read his letter proving Paine an American citizen; on the morning of the 6th the prisoner became a guest in Monroe's house. From December 28, 1793, to November 6, 1794, Paine had been imprisoned entirely out of respect to the supposed wish of the United States. No offence against France of any kind was ever charged, and there was no hour in which a word from his Government would not have released him.

The suppression by Morris and Deforgues of the sham reclamation had far effects. On September 20, 1795, Paine wrote a brief letter to Washington, meant as a demand for explanation: "I cannot understand your silence upon this subject upon any other ground than as connivance at my imprisonment; and this is the manner it is understood here, and will be understood in America, unless you will give me authority for contradicting it." Unfortunately one or two sentences of the letter were angry, and Washington did not reply. Paine's anger was not without justification, for he had letters of warm friendship from Washington, highly appreciating his services to America; and Washington's refusal to answer the angry note was not unnatural, for he never dreamed that Paine had not been fairly reclaimed by his Minister, soon after the imprisonment. This silence was followed by the long and bitter letter to Washington of August 3, 1796, which, while it injured Paine in America, has caused many of his adherents to denounce Washington for cruelty and treachery. Hitherto, such facts as had appeared have been such as might have affected the reputation of Washington more seriously but for the unpopularity of the author of the 'Age of Reason.'

As Paine and Gouverneur Morris began their respective labors in Europe, so they continued. Gouverneur Morris, who wrote a manifesto for Louis XVI., went over to England, and there wrote another for Louis XVIII., assuming the throne of France; the two royal manifestoes by this American Minister may be read in his Life by Sparks. Paine on his liberation was invited back to his seat in the Convention, and went on trying to build the Republic.

MONCURE D. CONWAY.

A RAILWAY CELEBRATION IN ASIA MINOR.

BILEDJIK, ANATOLIA, May 21, 1891.

A CEREMONY took place here yesterday that was very much out of the common for this part of the world, and as I was the only representative of Anglo-Saxondom present and participating, it seems fitting that I should give some account of it to American readers. It was a celebration of the completion of the Anatolian Railway to this place, which is about 200 miles east of Constantinople. Biledjik is the cradle of the Ottoman power, for near here was born the first Othman, son of Orthogrul, in the year 1259, and here took place the first crystallization of one of the most masterful races the world has ever seen.

The railway is an extension of the old Ismid (Nicomedia) line. The work is now going forward to Angora, some 500 miles east of Constantinople, under the auspices of a German syndicate, of which the Deutsche Bank of Berlin is the leading member. The syndicate bought the Ismid line and made a contract with the Turkish Government to extend it to Angora on or before October, 1892. The terms of the concession are that the syndicate shall own and operate the line for ninety-nine years under a fixed maximum tariff of charges, the Government guaranteeing an annual revenue of 15,000 francs *gross* per kilometre. The completed portion of the line already earns more than the guarantee. At the end of the ninety-nine years the whole property passes to the Government free of cost. As the early completion of the line is now assured, people are already talking of its extension to Bagdad, 1,000 miles beyond Angora, but no plans have been made beyond the latter point.

It was my good fortune to travel from Berlin to Constantinople in company with Herr Schrader, the representative of the railway syndicate, who is also a distinguished member of the German Reichstag. It was at his invitation that I joined the party which left Constantinople by special train for this place on Tuesday morning. The train consisted of three parlor-cars, one of which was a dining-car, two ordinary first-class cars of the European type, and one observation car attached to the rear of the train. The turn-out was not so gorgeous as that which took President Harrison on his ten-thousand-mile tour, but it was ample for the intended journey. The party consisted of two Turkish pashas of the highest rank, one of whom is the Minister of Public Works, a number of subordinates wearing the fez, some of whom were of German birth, twenty or thirty German gentlemen who had received Herr Schrader's invitation, two German ladies, residents of Constantinople, and the writer of this correspondence. The train hands were all Turks, including the engine-driver. These functionaries all wore the fez, together with blue coats and white trousers,

but the conductor of the train wore a stovepipe hat, a dress coat, and black trousers—in short, full evening dress. The pashas and their entourage wore uniforms corresponding to their military rank, and all of them spoke French; some of them spoke German also.

The Anatolian land for about 150 miles is as beautiful, fertile, and well tilled as any country I have ever seen. It is well wooded and watered, and has excellent roads—much better than American country roads in general. But the habitations of the people are wretched, consisting for the most part of low, straw-thatched hovels, fit only for swine. In the larger towns the houses rise to the dignity of two, three, and even four stories, but they are unpainted, tumble-down structures, and have a gaping and jejune look in marked contrast to the smiling aspect of the surrounding natural world. The domestic animals, on the other hand, are sleek and well cared for. Herds of handsome, long-haired goats browse on the hills. Cows, bullocks, and buffaloes are seen everywhere and occasionally a camel.

The donkey is the ubiquitous beast of burden. There is no kind of movable property that he does not carry to and fro in the streets and up and down the mountains. If you want meat, you buy it from the back of a donkey; if you want water, you pour it from his back; if you want wood, you get it by the same conveyance. If you have to build a house, the donkey will bring on his back all the bricks and stone and mortar and lumber you require, and will afterwards bring the furniture. If you are building an Alpine railway, this little creature will carry the sand to mix with your cement up a zigzag path two thousand feet high from the streamlet at the base of the mountain, and if water is scarce, he will carry that also; all of which we saw at or near this place. One donkey train that I met was carrying kerosene oil in tin cans marked, "Double Refined Petroleum, Batoum." American petroleum destined for this place would not come by the way of Batum, so it occurred to me that Russian petroleum destined for Biledjik and the vicinity was marked with English characters, to which the natives are accustomed; this being a slight deception which may not involve any pecuniary disadvantage to them.

The principal natural productions of the country are wheat, barley, wool, silk, and the opium poppy. Some tobacco is grown, but this is not the chief seat of that branch of Turkish industry. Vineyards are numerous, and the wine produced is of good quality. Much of it is exported to France, and is there transformed into Bordeaux claret by some slight and not deleterious changes. Very likely it comes back here and is supplied to the hotels and restaurants of Constantinople. The Mussulman population in the rural districts never touch wine or any form of alcoholic drink. But the Mussulman population, I should judge, is not the most numerous part of the inhabitants hereabouts—the Greeks and Armenians preponderating. They live together in perfect harmony, so far as one can see, and I am assured that religious intolerance does not exist. Bigotry there is undoubtedly on both sides, or rather on all sides, but not intolerance. The Greek type of physiognomy is strongly marked, and is easily recognized by any one familiar with ancient sculpture. I saw a girl in the Greek quarter of Stamboul the other day whose face might have served as a model for the Venus of Milo. She was buying a piece of meat from the back of a donkey, and she gave me a glance as I passed that brought back dreams of Anacreon from my college days.

The last fifty miles of our journey was through a mountainous district, which included one precipitous defile of a very picturesque character. The road rises at a pretty heavy grade, following the windings of a stream, of slaty color, like those of the Alps and of the Rocky Mountains. There are numerous short tunnels and high bridges, the latter of iron or of stone exclusively. When we arrived at Biledjik station we were met by carriages, which took us to the town, which is about two miles distant, and at a still greater elevation. I should say that we ascended between one and two thousand feet in this winding but excellent carriage drive. Here we found a smart Turkish town planted on the mountain ridges, the houses rising one above the other, and the streets narrow and hummocky, like those of Stamboul. At the end of one of these streets we were received at the headquarters of the railway construction forces, where we were regaled with Strassburg beer and Gruyère cheese, and music from a Berlin piano. We were next escorted to the Town Hall, where we received the usual treat of coffee served in tiny cups, after which we were severally presented to the chief functionary of the place, who invited us to inspect the manufactures of Biledjik. These consisted chiefly of upholstery goods, of Oriental designs, extremely beautiful and very durable as well. There are many luxurious houses in America whose chairs and sofas are covered with the fabrics of Biledjik or other towns of Asia Minor, the owners probably thinking that they have come from Paris or Brussels.

After some time spent in this way we were taken back to the valley, where we passed the night in houses erected by the railway people to serve as models and examples for the inhabitants of the country, the object being to stimulate their wants. The first want to be stimulated here is that of decent lodgings. Before retiring I had the curiosity to look through the grounds of the Biledjik railway station to see what sort of traffic the line had developed. To my surprise I found hundreds of tons of wheat piled up in sacks and covered with tarpaulins. I had forgotten that this is the native country of the wheat plant. Thirty or forty yoke of buffaloes and bullocks were lying on the ground, beside their carts, chewing their cuds. Some of the drivers were sleeping in the open air on the sacks. The next day we saw hundreds more of these teams coming along the valley road from the upper country similarly laden. If this is done in the green tree, what shall be done in the dry? Will not Asia Minor, when provided with railways, become a formidable competitor of America in the wheat markets of the world? Of this I think there can be no doubt.

The next morning we were out early, prepared for a walk and an inspection of railway-building in the mountains of Asia Minor. I will acknowledge that if I had known beforehand what it meant, I should have declined my share of it. An Alpine journey of six kilometres along a goat path, not wholly free from danger, and under a blazing sun, is not suited to my time of life—at least I supposed so, but I find myself none the worse for it. Herr Schrader's inspection of the work in hand was not by any means a formality. Everything visible was examined, so far as this could be done without instruments of precision. All the tunnel work and bridge work was closely inspected, and the German engineers interrogated upon every essential point. The structure seemed to me to be as solid and thorough as possible, while the difficulties of engineering are as great as any that I have ever observed except some sections of the Canadian Pacific Railway and of the higher Swiss lines.

The skilled workmen are mostly Italians, the common laborers being natives of the country. I asked one of the engineers how the latter compared with German laborers of the same class. "Better," he replied; "they don't drink, don't shirk, don't strike. They are as strong as Europeans and as quick to learn. We have no fault to find with them. They are happy and contented because they are getting good wages, steady work, and sure pay." There are 5,000 of these men now employed between Biledjik and Angora, all the sections of the line being under simultaneous construction.

Our journey of inspection lasted three hours, and was concluded at another Turkish town called Kupplu, or Kubla. I adopted the latter name for private use, in honor of the Khan who did in Xanadu a stately pleasure-dome decree. I was told by one of the German wearers of the fez that it would be impossible to write the name of the town in exact English. Therefore Kubla will answer as well as anything. The resources of Kubla had been drawn upon to prepare a banquet for us. It was given in a large wooden building tastefully decorated with the foliage of the country. The tables were arranged in the form of a parallelogram. The Turkish Minister of Public Works took the head of the table. The menu was as follows:

Cold meats, including fresh lobster from the Bosphorus.	Beer from Marseilles.
Fâté de foie gras.	
Fish, boiled.	Rhine wines of several sorts.
Chicken fricassé.	
Roast turkey.	Giesshübler water.
Green peas.	
Roast lamb.	Bordeaux wines.
Asparagus.	
Champagne.	[This was served as a separate course as a signal for toasts.]
Ice cream.	
Coffee.	

It will be noticed that, although the Turks in general do not drink wine, they provide it liberally for their guests. They make an exception in favor of champagne when the Sultan's health is proposed. At all events *our* Turks did, one of the Pashas leading off and himself proposing the toast, which he responded to in the German language. There were half-a-dozen speeches made, most of them in German, one being in French and one in Turkish. The dinner lasted two hours, and was "a grand success." The theme of all the discourse was the regeneration of Turkey by railways, which the Minister assured us was one of the things nearest the Sultan's heart. And well it may be, for if Turkey can have a few years of peace and internal development, her strength will be greatly augmented. A gentleman who knows the country said to me that if this development had been begun twenty-five years ago and steadily prosecuted, as it will now be prosecuted, Turkey would be able to defend herself against Russia single-handed. Even as things now are, the country will cut no mean figure in the next European conflict, if Constantinople is the objective point, as most people think it will be. I read in a Paris newspaper, the other day, a long and seductive article, showing how much it would be for Turkey's interest to remain neutral in the next clash of arms. Turkey, this writer said, could put 500,000 excellent and well-armed soldiers in the field. These would guarantee her against attack as long as she remained neutral. By remaining neutral she would win the friendship of Russia, etc., etc. The Turkish statesmen may be trusted to know on which side their bread is buttered,

when the time comes. They want peace, but they know that it is to be had only by the utmost preparation for war. The present Sultan is so far progressive that he gives his confidence and support to a wise and progressive Prime Minister, Kiamil Pasha, whose efforts for the internal development of Turkey are worthy of the highest praise.

What Turkey needs most of all and finds most difficult to get is civil-service reform. Her natural resources are great, and capital will be found to develop them as fast as security and the regular administration of law are afforded. Her common people have lost none of their old-time vigor, courage, and alertness. The "sick man" is not so sick as Czar Nicholas imagined forty years ago, but the internal government of the country is still shockingly bad—perhaps no worse, however, than that of Russia. What difficulties stand in the way of civil-service reform we in America know full well. How much greater must they be in a country which has never been trained to self-government, does not know what it means, and which has no organized public opinion. Cutting off the heads of corrupt officials would avail nothing without a supply of honest ones to draw upon. The only salvation of Turkey is education. It was education that built up Bulgaria, and this was afforded by the (American) Robert College, which looks down upon the waters of the Bosphorus. There are now hundreds of schools in the Turkish Empire that owe their origin to American missionary zeal. The Turkish Government has been stimulated by the example, and now schools are abundant in Constantinople for both boys and girls. What they may be doing elsewhere I am not informed.

But this letter is not intended as an essay on Turkey in general. The railway enterprise now on foot, which will soon be completed to the ancient battle-ground of Bajazet and Tamerlane, is a great civilizer in itself. Those who may look twenty-five years hence upon the country it traverses will see a wonderful transformation. HORACE WHITE.

GENERAL MARBOT.

PARIS, May 28, 1891.

GENERAL MARBOT was one of the minor stars of the Napoleonic time; he often approached the great Emperor, he served on the staff of five of his marshals, Bernadotte, Augereau, Murat, Lannes, and Masséna. I knew that he had written memoirs, for I had often heard stories which had been read in the original manuscript by the Duc d'Aumale. Marshal Canrobert was also one of the happy few who knew these curious memoirs. They are now published, somewhat to my surprise, for I thought that they never would be, and that they would be read only in the two copies which exist in manuscript. King Louis Philippe surrounded his children, who were all destined for the army, with the generals who had served in the campaigns of Napoleon, with the survivors of the Grande Armée; and Marbot, who was for eleven years the aide-de-camp of the eldest of his sons, the Duc d'Orléans, assumed in their eyes almost epic proportions. It is not surprising when we read now what these men did between 1800 and 1815; their history is like a dream, it is an Odyssey and an Iliad at the same time. They will some day, when history becomes a mere legend, appear like the heroes of the Round Table, like the famous *preux* of Charlemagne.

Marbot was born on the 18th of August, 1782, at the little castle of Larivière, where lived his father on the banks of the Dordogne, on the frontier of Limousin and Quercy (now the Department of Corrèze). His family, though it bore no title nor any *particule*, was noble—that is to say, lived nobly, which at the time meant that it lived on its own revenue, without exercising any industry. Not far from the Marbots lived a family called De Certain, which counted Saint-Roch among its ancestors. Marshal Canrobert, the only remaining marshal in the French Army with Marshal MacMahon, is issued from these Certains; his name is really De Certain de Canrobert, though he always had himself called simply Canrobert. (His only daughter was married not long ago, and she was called in the *faire-part* Mademoiselle de Certain de Canrobert.) Canrobert was the name of a small estate belonging to the family of Certain.

Marbot was very young when the Revolution broke out. His father became a member of the Legislative Assembly, but the greater part of his relations emigrated. While his father was in the army in the Pyrenees, his mother took him to Rennes, where he remained four years. His father, having been put at the head of the army at Toulouse, sent for him and placed him in the school at Sorèze, the only great military school which the Revolutionary Government had preserved. During his short visit to his father, he saw his father's aides-de-camp Augereau and Lannes, who were both destined to become marshals.

"Augereau, after having emerged from the prisons of the Inquisition at Lisbon, had just fought in La Vendée, where he had been noticed for his courage and his facility in handling troops. He was a very good tactician, having learned the science in Prussia, where he had long served in the footguards of the Great Frederick. He was called the Great Prussian. He had an irreproachable military *tenue*, always *tiré à quatre épingles*, powdered, a long queue, great top boots very shiny, a very martial bearing. . . . Lieut. Lannes was a lively young Gascon, witty, without education or training, but desirous of learning at a time when nobody was."

The school at Sorèze had been founded after the Jesuits had been turned out of France. The Jesuits had always claimed the privilege of educating the French youth; the Benedictines wished to prove that they could be good educators. Sorèze became very prosperous; the Benedictines were so popular that when all the property of the Convent was sold, the principal, Dom Ferlus, was allowed by his neighbors to buy Sorèze and its immense estates for a nominal sum, and all went on as before. The monks dressed like laymen, and the name of *citizen* replaced the name of *Dom*. Dom Ferlus even affected some revolutionary zeal. "The walls were covered with republican sentences. It was forbidden to pronounce the word *monsieur*. The boys went to commons or to walk singing the 'Marseillaise' or other republican hymns." Sorèze had been from the beginning a military school at which horsemanship, the art of fortification, and drilling were taught. The boys became very enthusiastic on hearing the account of the victories of the republican armies.

Marbot left Sorèze at the age of sixteen, and joined his father in Paris, where he commanded the Seventeenth Military Division. In 1799 the Republic was still in existence; there was a Directory of five men, a Council of Ancients, and a Council of Five Hundred. Gen. Marbot received many people; his son made the acquaintance of Gen. Bernadotte, of Joseph and Lucien Bonaparte, of Mme. Bonaparte, etc. Everybody felt that a change was imminent. Sieyès was looking for a general who could take in hand the reins of government. Bonaparte seemed marked by destiny, but he was at the time in Egypt; Masséna was a good soldier, but no politician; Moreau was lazy; Sieyès determined on choosing Bonaparte. He sounded Gen. Marbot, but received no encouragement; Marbot resigned the command of the military division of Paris, and asked for an active division. He was sent to the army of Italy.

The destiny of young Marbot was then fixed; his father made him a hussar in a regiment which formed part of the division that he was to command in Italy. Young Marbot was very proud of wearing for the first time, on the 3d of September, 1799, the uniform of the famous hussars of Berchiny. The journey was made without any other incident than the meeting of Marbot and Gen. Bonaparte at Lyons. Bonaparte was coming from Egypt unexpectedly, having been recalled by a letter from Sieyès. The meeting of the two generals was cold. Marbot was leaving Paris because he would not be the instrument of a *coup d'état;* Bonaparte was eager to make this *coup d'état*. The hussars of Berchiny, now called the First Hussars, wore the queue, two long tresses of hair falling on both sides of the face, and long moustaches. Young Marbot had the face of a girl; he was obliged to wear a false queue, false tresses, and to paint two long moustaches on his face with the blacking which served for the boots. He had also to fight a duel, in order to conform to the rules of the regiment. But he did not wait long to see war in earnest. His father was under Masséna during the famous siege of Genoa. Young Marbot saw all the horrors of this siege, and he saw his father wounded and dying of typhus fever. He lived several years, he says, during the two mortal months of the siege. The heroic resistance of Masséna allowed Bonaparte to cross the Alps and to arrive in Italy, where he fell on the rear of the Austrian army. He did not arrive in time to save Masséna, but Masséna had resisted long enough to enable him to win the battle of Marengo.

Marbot and another officer were sent from Genoa to Bonaparte and joined him in Milan. The First Consul spoke to young Marbot of the loss he had sustained during the siege. "He promised to be a father to me, and he kept his word." Marbot went with him to Montebello and afterwards to Marengo. The French were on the point of being beaten, "and they probably would have been if the 29,000 men of the corps of Ott [who had besieged Genoa] had arrived in time on the field of action. The First Consul, who was in constant dread of seeing them appear, was very sad, and only became gay again when our cavalry and the infantry of Gen. Desaix, whose death he was still ignorant of, decided the victory by breaking through the Austrian grenadiers of Gen. Zach." Marbot was afterwards aide-de-camp *à la suite* of Gen. Bernadotte. He does not give a very flattering portrait of the man who was afterwards to mount the throne of Sweden. Bernadotte formed in Tours the reserve of the army of Portugal, which country, helped by England, had declared war on Spain. Marbot left the staff of Bernadotte and joined a regiment in the army of Portugal. He went from Nantes to Bordeaux and to Salamanca, where he remained several months till the Prince of Peace, who had called the French into Spain, became alarmed by their presence and concluded a treaty of peace with Portugal, without consulting the French Consul. He succeeded in having this treaty ratified by the Ambassador of France, Lucien Bonaparte. The First Consul was very angry, and this was the beginning of his misunderstanding with his brother Lucien.

The French Army recrossed the Pyrenees, and Marbot was sent to Brittany. He gives some curious details on a military conspiracy which is called the conspiracy of Rennes. The real chiefs of it were Bernadotte and Moreau, both jealous of the high position which had been attained by the First Consul and by the small place which he had given to them in the conduct of the public affairs; but they kept in the background—the generals and colonels of the army of Brittany took the lead. Several regiments were to make a pronunciamiento in Rennes, and all the divisions were to follow. An accident caused the police of the First Consul to become cognizant of the conspiracy; some arrests were made, and the pronunciamiento did not take place. The First Consul sent the discontented regiments to San Domingo, where almost all the men died of yellow fever. Marbot was appointed aide-de-camp to Gen. Augereau, and what he tells of the early history of this general is certainly as extraordinary as any novel. Pierre Augereau was born in Paris, in 1757, his father being a fruiterer. He entered at the age of seventeen the regiment of carbineers of Monsieur, and became a non-commissioned officer. He had to fight several duels, as duels were at that time a mania in all regiments. Some of the regiments had traditional rivalries, which had from time to time to be satisfied in this way. There was an old feud of this sort between the gendarmes of Lunéville and the carbineers. A duel had to be fought, and ten of the best swordsmen of the carbineers were chosen; they drew lots, and out came the name of a non-commissioned officer named Donnadieu; Augereau observed that Donnadieu was a married man with five children, and was allowed to take his place. His adversary was a professional duellist; he had killed a few days before two sergeants of the Gardes Françaises. The provocation took place in a café. Augereau had his cup before him. The gendarme came in and sat on the little table, turning his back on Augereau. Augereau took his coffee-cup and emptied it on the gendarme's uniform. The gendarme, on the way to the place of combat, asked him: "Where do you wish to be buried; in town or in the country?" "In the country," said Augereau; "I have always liked fresh air." Augereau kept very calm during the duel; his adversary became more and more enraged, till finally he made a false movement. Augereau passed his sword through him, and said: "You shall be buried in the country."

It would be difficult to imagine a more checkered life than that of Augereau. One of the officers struck him; he killed him in self-defence, fled, went to Geneva, to Constantinople, to the Crimea. He served in the army of Suvaroff, was wounded in the assault on Ismail, served afterwards in the guards of the Great Frederic, became a dancing and a fencing master in Dresden, and returned to France after the general pardon given to all deserters on the occasion of the marriage of Louis XVI. He recovered his grade in the French Army, was sent to Naples as instructor, married the daughter of a Greek merchant, fled with her to Lisbon, was thrown into the prisons of the Inquisition, was set at liberty and returned to France, was appointed captain, and served in Brittany and in Italy, and became a general.

Correspondence.

OF CONSEQUENCE, 'CONSEQUENTLY.'

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: My letter in No. 1349 contains a statement on which I wish to make a remark. I there express a strong suspicion that Boswell, in reporting the conversation of Dr. Johnson, should not have represented him as saying "*of* consequence," instead of "*by* consequence." But a mislaid memorandum, just found, refers me to the following passage in a letter from Dr. Johnson to Boswell, dated April 8, 1780: "Do not lose sight of her; your countenance may be of great credit, and *of consequence* of great advantage to her." Not impossibly, there ought to be a comma after "consequence," in which case it would be one with "importance"; but this is not at all probable. More likely, Boswell put "of" for "by." Passing by numerous far earlier writers, I am aware that the "*of* consequence" in question was used by Cowper, Thomas Tyrwhitt, and Southey, before 1800; that it has, since then, been used by Sir James Mackintosh, James Mill, Sir Walter Scott, Bentham, William Godwin, etc., etc.; and that it abounds in the pages of Goldsmith, among Dr. Johnson's contemporaries. For something like a century, or upwards, I may add, it has, apparently, been more freely favoured by Scotch writers than by English. At present it is a vulgarism. —Your obedient servant, F. H.

Marlesford, England, May 20, 1891.

THE OBJECTIVE POINT.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: In conversation yesterday with perhaps the best-known member of Congress from Massachusetts, I was bitterly reproached with devotion to English political methods, and exhorted to return to the true American way. In reply I urged the distinction between principles and methods. The *principle* of personal responsibility and leadership is no more distinctively English than it is Dutch or Japanese. The method of applying that principle which I advocate is just as different from the English and just as much American as any of the political expedients employed by Mr. ——.

The Marquis of Salisbury has been making a speech at Glasgow, in which he said that Parliament has two functions—that of doing business and that of making ministries—and lamented that its action upon the former was always governed by its effect upon the latter. Now Congress would, or need, have no more power in making the Cabinet having seats on the floor than it has now, except indirectly through an appeal to the people, and it would be quite as likely to hurt as help its case by factious opposition to business measures supported by the Government. The Cabinet would hold a more independent and dignified position than the British Ministry, and it is precisely for that reason that Congress refuses to listen to any such proposition. Though each member, in fact, represents only a single district of a single State, he thinks he represents the people of the United States just as much as the President or the Cabinet, and don't want to see around him in Congress any but those who fully share his sentiments.

I cannot let this occasion pass without quoting again from your last week's issue. Speaking of the Farmers' Alliance and similar popular movements, you say:

"They grope about like lost travellers in a thick forest, give us laughable expositions of political economy, satirize history as to money questions, and make their platforms the oddest jumble of good and bad 'issues.' . . . But was anything very different to be expected from a class of voters isolated from contact with affairs, not given to reading, and who for a quarter of a century have been more stirred by sentimental memories of the war than by the crushing material burdens of a war tariff?"

I go further and say that you cannot expect and will not get anything different from any class of voters, the most competent of business and professional men in cities, so long as they are left to frame their "issues" in mass meeting. You can get only the same result from Congress itself, so long as that body consists of 330 precisely equal members without official guide or leaders of any kind, though that result may of course be modified by skilled manipulators on behalf of private interests. There must be some high officials whom the nation can look to as its agents, and personally responsible not to Congress, as the British Ministry is to Parliament, but to the people at large, who shall be ready to receive all such propositions and put them in a shape either to stand the test of public cross-examination or to be exposed and overthrown by it. Mr. Gladstone once expressed this by saying that he was like a cloud, drawing ideas like moisture from the people in the form of vapor and returning them in the form of rain. G. B.

Boston, June 6, 1891.

Notes.

G. P. Putnam's Sons will publish directly 'Church and Creed,' three sermons by the Rev. R. Heber Newton. They have also in press the third volume of the Talleyrand Memoirs and 'The Living World: Whence It Came, and Whither It is Drifting,' by Prof. H. W. Conn of Wesleyan University.

Henry Holt & Co. announce a 'History of the Politics of the State of New York,' by Prof. Charles H. Levermore of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology—a work which promises much by its title, and ought to provoke a series on the same line for each of the States, though not a made-to-order series. They have also in press 'On the Stage—and Off,' by Jerome K. Jerome.

Mr. Geo. O. Seilhamer, 112 North Twelfth Street, Philadelphia, will speedily publish the third volume of his four-volume 'History of the American Theatre,' entitled 'New Foundations.'

Benj. R. Tucker, Boston, has nearly ready 'What's Bred in the Bone,' a novel by Grant Allen; and a translation of the late Karl Heinzen's 'Rights of Women and the Sexual Relations.

J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia, have nearly ready the seventh volume of 'Chambers's Encyclopædia,' which carries the work to the title Pearson.

Charles E. Merrill & Co. have postponed publication of the two volumes of Ruskin's Poems until after July 1, in order to take advantage of the new Copyright Law. The poems are chronologically arranged, and dated by the author's age.

'Browning as a Philosophical and Religious Teacher' is the subject of a work by Prof. Jones of University College, which will be issued by Macmillan & Co.

The Historical Printing Club, 97 Clark Street, Brooklyn, issue in a limited edition 'Wills of George Washington and his Immediate Ancestors,' with much related matter.

T. Y. Crowell & Co. have just completed a new edition of Dickens's Complete Works in fifteen and thirty volumes, illustrated after Phiz, Chruikshank, etc., but having also "65 new cuts from etchings from Pailthorpe contained in no other edition." Either sets or single volumes may be purchased.

Dickens literature is enriched by the publication of a revised and enlarged edition of a book issued privately in 1883, 'The Childhood and

Youth of Charles Dickens,' with retrospective notes and elucidations from his books and letters, by Robert Langton (Scribners). The author has been an indefatigable inquirer into the early life of Dickens, and has succeeded in tracing the movements and dwelling-places of the family, the schools and early London life of the novelist, the servants, obscure companions, and in general all the youthful surroundings amid which Dickens grew up; and the result of his labors is to correct Forster's 'Life' in several details, to increase our knowledge of Dickens's originals, and to identify many of the descriptions of places and the names in the works. He divides the subject into three convenient parts: first he narrates the life of Dickens up to the date of his beginning to write; secondly, he describes Gad's Hill; and thirdly, he passes each of the works in review to determine anything autobiographical in its pages. There is a full index, and the pages are plentifully besprinkled with illustrations of the scenes, buildings, curiosities, etc., natural to such a volume.

A selection from the poems and prose writings of Leigh Hunt, in the beautiful though too small type of the Temple Library (London: J. M. Dent & Co.; New York: Macmillan), is edited by Reginald Brinsley Johnson and adorned with a portrait and small etchings which add to its attractiveness. The introduction is by the hand of an admirer of Hunt, and sufficient in information, but it might well have been more critical and have taken more the character of a literary portrait. The selection is very good, but Hunt wrote with much the same style and matter always, and hence selection does him little service. In poetry one sees almost too plainly how very thin his talent was, and how very irritating to a man of taste his defects in composition were. The verses are really most valuable for the light they throw on Keats's first style. In prose there is little that deserves to survive. Neither Hunt nor Hazlitt reached the excellence and charm that keep an essayist alive in literature, and they were distanced by Lamb, who remains, both in the critical essay of literary taste and in the light social essay, the only master of his time. No one, however, who loves books will begrudge space on his shelves for these two pretty volumes in memory of such a friend of books and authors as Hunt.

The second volume of the new Cambridge Shakespeare (Macmillan), reëdited by Mr. Wright, requires only the mention that so beautiful and cheaply issued an edition deserves in order to recommend it to the public as much as it is already recommended by its own merit to scholars. It will continue to be issued one volume each quarter, and any one who wishes a library Shakspere cannot do better than purchase at this easy rate.

Perhaps the most interesting feature of the second and last volume of the new edition of Dr. W. Smith's 'Dictionary of Antiquities,' just issued (Boston: Little, Brown & Co.), is the ten-page Appendix, in which the fresh doctrine afforded by the newly discovered Aristotle papyrus is set forth so far as it corrects or confirms statements made in the body of the work. The material is discussed under about fifty subjects, alphabetically, and the names of H. Hager, W. Wayte, and G. E. Marindin are sufficient vouchers for the sagacity and discretion with which the revision has been made.

Mr. John R. Howard has taken from the volume of 'Patriotic Addresses by Henry Ward Beecher in America and England from 1850 to 1855,' published four years ago, his own prefatory review of Mr. Beecher's life, and made a separate volume of it—'Henry Ward Beecher: A Study of his Personality, Career, and Influence in Public Affairs' (Fords, Howard & Hulbert). Several portraits are inserted.

We are glad to observe that a twenty-five-cent edition of Mr. Henry George's 'Protection or Free Trade?' has been put on the market (New York: Henry George & Co., 42 University Place). It would be hard to name a work better adapted to serve as an introduction to the controversy.

A grandniece of James G. Birney has offered a prize of one hundred dollars for the best contribution to American history by a resident student of the Johns Hopkins University. The competing manuscripts must be submitted to Prof. H. B. Adams on or before May 1, 1892.

The current *University Circular* of the same institution contains an extended analysis of the important historical collection lately bestowed by Col. John Thomas Scharf. Though it is richest and most extensive in the Southern field, the New York and Pennsylvania sections are extremely valuable.

In the June *Forum* Mr. Henry Holt forecasts the operation of the new Copyright Law. He thinks that when the habit of paying foreign authors for their books is revived, it will extend even to works which they do not copyright, as was the practice in the period from about 1860 to 1876. There will be some books that will not pay for type-setting here that will tempt the pirates, but they will, in Mr. Holt's judgment, be so few that the worst element in the publishing trade will be driven out of business. He is even more sanguine than this, for he expects the new law to revive the book-buying habit, and to divert the American citizen from the great shops and the news-stands to the bookstores. We are going to pay more money for good books instead of paying less money for bad pamphlets. And, after all, although the price of first editions will be higher, the books will be made better; and books that prove popular will be furnished at popular prices.

A timely paper on "International Liabilities for Mob Injuries," by Prof. E. W. Huffcutt of the Law Faculty of Indiana University, will appear in the July *Annals* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science.

University Extension will be the title of the new journal devoted to the movement which goes by that name. Its headquarters are with the American Society at No. 1602 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia.

Pantobiblion is a new monthly magazine which cannot be overlooked by a certain class of students and workers. It is an "international bibliographical review of the world's scientific literature," edited (apparently from St. Petersburg) by A. Kersha, and published in various places (New York: D. Appleton & Co.). The first section is an elaborate classified register of new books; the second, brief critical notices, generally in the language of the book itself—and some fifteen languages are thus involved; the third, tables of contents of current scientific periodical literature, which will hereafter be followed by critical reviews of leading articles and by a scientific miscellany. This is a very remarkable programme, and as a co-operative scheme a great curiosity. The English portion, apart from the division of words, is generally very correctly printed.

We have received from E. Rouveyre, Paris, the April and May issues of the 'Petit Manuel du Bibliophile et du Libraire,' of which we have already spoken as a collector's guide to the current value of old and new books, engravings, etc. The first volume will be complete in two more numbers.

Sun and Shade for June (New York: Photo-Gravure Co.) furnishes plates above the average in interest and execution. We remark portraits from life of Miss Marlowe, the actress, and of Mr. R. Swain Gifford, together with one of the latter's characteristic paintings, "The Glen"; a view of the *Tribune* and *World* Buildings from the top of the *Times* Building; Meissonier's "1807," etc.

Our recent mention of a setting to music of a poem by Whittier has brought us the reminder of a much earlier instance, viz., of his "Laus Deo." The composer was Mr. F. Boott, and the publishers Oliver Ditson & Co., in 1868.

That clever woman, the wife of Count L. N. Tolstoi, the author, recently made a successful business trip to St. Petersburg. She secured an audience with the Emperor, who was extremely amiable to her, and promised to protect her husband from all the annoyances to which the Committee of Censors has been subjecting him.

Capt. Stairs, one of Mr. Stanley's officers in his last expedition, and an American by birth, is about to return to Africa in the interests of the Anglo-Belgian Katanga Company. This has been organized for the purpose of occupying Katanga, a native kingdom lying in the southeastern corner of the vast territory included in the Congo Free State. It is a part of the high plateau which forms the watershed between the Congo and the Zambesi, and its especial value consists in its copper, which is said to be very abundant. Mr. F. S. Arnot, who established a mission in the kingdom five years ago, describes the malachite as being found in large quantities on the tops of certain bare, rugged hills. The natives dig little round shafts seldom deeper than fifteen or twenty feet. Traders come for the copper, and also for salt, in which the country is also very rich, from the east and west coasts and from as far north as Uganda. Dr. Livingstone, who died not far from its southeastern frontier, refers to it in his 'Last Journals' as a gold-producing country. It is understood that two other Belgian expeditions are on the way to the same region, into which, until very recently, Europeans could not enter without great difficulty, only two having succeeded up to the time of Mr. Arnot's visit in 1886.

The summer session of the School of Applied Ethics will be held at Plymouth, Mass., beginning on July 1. We have already called attention to it as quite the most promising of such gatherings. It will have three departments—of Economics (in charge of Prof. H. C. Adams), History of Religions (in charge of Prof. C. H. Toy), and Ethics (in charge of Prof. Felix Adler). In this last the Indian question will be discussed under several heads by Prof. J. B. Thayer and Mr. Herbert Welsh. Communications should be addressed to Prof. Adams, at 1602 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia.

The sum of nine thousand dollars is needed to secure the purchase (at $80,000) of the Morse collection of Japanese pottery, now on deposit at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, for that institution. There is but one judgment of the rank of this collection, in comparison with any and all those of the great Continental museums, or with those of the British Museum and South Kensington combined. Its historical and artistic merits are alike extraordinary, and it would be a great pity if it should leave the country, or should even not be retained where it now is. Subscriptions may be sent to Mr. Henry L. Pierce, 159 State Street, Boston.

—A history of the island of Antigua, in the West Indies, is now in preparation by Mr. Vere Langford Oliver, an English gentleman of independent fortune, who has for some time past been engaged upon his hobby of tracing out the pedigrees of some two hundred and thirty families connected with that island. As many of our American families are sprung from early settlers in the West Indies, not a few persons will find in the forthcoming work materials for genealogies. The Olivers themselves, of whom the author is one, were not only of Antigua, but also of Dorchester, Mass. In like manner the Prynns are also of Connecticut, the Redwoods of Rhode Island, and the Royalls of Massachusetts. The Winthrops of New England of course take their place. Mr. Oliver's researches have been to him a labor of love. Beginning by looking up his own pedigree, he went on to trace those of the families with whom the Olivers were allied. Fascinated by the pursuit, the love of his subject grew upon him, until his inquiries extended to the history of Antigua in general. Meanwhile, the papers of the Public Record Office, London, the wills in the Probate Registry at Somerset House, and the stores of the British Museum have all been made to contribute to the elucidation of the history of the old English colony. Not content with this, however, Mr. Oliver, in 1889, must needs leave his luxurious home, Whitmore Lodge, at Sunninghill, in Berkshire, and proceed to Antigua itself, where he spent some months, making, with the help of his wife, an enthusiastic collaborator, some thousands of extracts from the wills and other records of the island. The work will appear in crown folio. The pedigrees will be arranged alphabetically. The edition will be strictly limited to 250 copies, all numbered and signed, price £3 3s. each. Special interleaved copies will be issued at £3 10s. each. A list of subscribers will be printed in the work. Mr. Oliver, it should be added, would be glad to receive from any Americans interested in the History genealogical notes and impressions of seals or book-plates referring to any of the families of which his book makes mention. An original list of the English colonists who, after the Treaty of Breda, were transported with all their slaves to Antigua from Surinam—which latter colony, it will be remembered, was then given up to the Dutch in exchange for New York—was recently found by Mr. Oliver in the Public Record Office, bound up with papers dated 1729. With these documents were also found two original papers dated 1636, including a list of persons bound for the Caribbee Islands, and a letter describing the miserable condition of the colonists.

—Athletics at Cornell seem to be in a bad way financially, and Prof. Wilder offers, in the Ithaca *Journal* of June 4, to head a subscription list with $50 towards extinguishing the debts of the football team, baseball nine, and navy. He accompanies this tender, however, with conditions which involve an interdiction of intercollegiate contests for three years. His grounds for such a proposal are spread over five columns of the *Journal*, and will well repay perusal by all who have the welfare of our colleges at heart. He cites a large amount of testimony in accord with the view, long held in these columns, that the craze for athletics subverts the end for which colleges exist, and is attended by numerous well-defined evils of greater or less degree. President Eliot is, of course, one of his chief witnesses. Prof. Wilder's own observation, however, has great weight, as when he records the fact that "during the present term the baseball nine have been absent for about one-fifth of the time of instruction, besides taking part at the college in fourteen match games with nines from abroad." And every one knows that this humiliating picture is true not of Cornell alone: "During the college year just closing, the two papers that are supposed to represent the purely literary element (as distinguished from the *Crank*, the organ of the departments of applied science) have been occupied largely by athletic chronicles, by appeals for attendance upon the games and for subscriptions, spiced in the Daily with denunciations of the unresponsive, and innuendoes or open complaints against other institutions." And on the delicate subject of the extent to which boys make choice of a college by reference to its athletic standing, Prof. Wilder remarks that, with a few exceptions, "so far as order, scholarship, and reputation are concerned, it would have been well for Cornell to pay the tuition at any other institution of such as have come or remained here wholly or mainly on account of intercollegiate athletic contests."

—A late number of the *Zeitschrift für Philosophie und die philosophische Kritik* devotes more than a third of its pages to the philosophical and ethical views of H. Bender, in the form of a long article entitled "On the Nature of Morality and the Natural Process of Development of Ethical Thought," and of a very laudatory review of a published work by the same writer, 'Towards the Solution of the Metaphysical Problem.' H. Bender is a woman, and her Christian name is Hedwig. She pursued her philosophical studies entirely without any of the inspiration that comes from fellow-students or from teachers, and even without the knowledge of her own family. How little is known of her personality appears from the fact that the reviewer of her book refers to her by the masculine pronoun, in spite of the fact that a portion of her book originally appeared in the pages of this same journal in 1884 and 1885. Her philosophical position consists, according to her reviewer, in an attempt to draw the atomistic theory and a reformation of Kant's doctrine of the ideality of space and time into the service of a doctrine of the unity of substance, which involves a return to Spinoza.

—The most delightful autobiographies are often those of persons who have led quiet and comparatively uneventful lives. A striking illustration of this fact is furnished by the recently published 'Lebenserinnerungen' of Wilhelm Lübke (Berlin: Fontane), a volume of reminiscences extending over a period of some thirty years, and giving charming glimpses into the artistic and literary circles of Germany at a time when the fatherland was known chiefly as the home of poets and philosophers, and had not yet appeared upon the scene as a united nation and the leading political power in Europe. Lübke was born at Dortmund in Westphalia on January 17, 1826. His father was a common-school master, who rose to this position from the still lower estate of a weaver, and whose career is admirably sketched in an introductory chapter entitled "Aus dem Leben eines Volks-Schullehrers." Dortmund, whose origin is lost in legend, was a city in the days of Charlemagne; in the Middle Ages it was one of the most impregnable of fortresses (*so fast as Dürtem* became a proverb), and played an important part as a member of the Hanseatic League and the chief seat of the famous Vehmic tribunals. Its architecture, antiquities, and historical associations exerted a strong influence upon young Lübke, and turned his attention to the line of scholarly research in which he has acquired so great distinction. This tendency was developed and confirmed by his intercourse with Kinkel at Bonn and through his subsequent intimacy with Burkhard, Kugler, Schnaase, and Waagen in Berlin. There, too, he became acquainted with Friedrich Eggers, editor of the *Deutsche Kunstblatt*, in which his earliest articles were published. In 1857 he was appointed to a chair in the Berlin Academy of Architecture and in 1861 to a professorship in the Polytechnicum at Zurich. Meanwhile he had visited different parts of Germany and travelled extensively in Italy, France, Belgium, and England, and embodied the results of his studies in an outline of the history of art and two works on the history of architecture and sculpture from the earliest times to the present day, besides several monographs on kindred topics. The record of these journeys is very pleasant and instructive reading, and brings one in contact with many interesting persons. Lübke's 'Reminiscences' come down only to 1861, and comprise what might be called his *Lehrjahre* and *Wanderjahre*.

—On May 17 the Academy of Lausanne in Switzerland was christened a University, an event that was celebrated by three days of general festivity. Nevertheless the Universi y exists as yet only on paper. The Academy of Lausanne, or *Schola lausannensis*, as it was first called, was founded in 1537 by the Bernese Government in the interests of the Reformation and for the purpose of educating young men for the ministry. It was originally a mere school of theology, and retained this character essentially until 1837, when the faculties of law and of philosophy were established. During the first two centuries of its existence it did not confine itself to instruction, but exercised important administrative functions. It appointed and ordained preachers of the Gospel, and was keen-sighted in detecting the slightest aberrations from orthodoxy; it was invested with the censorship of the press, and performed the duties of this office with the severity of a Spanish inquisitor. In 1698 it put the writings of Machiavelli, Hobbes, and Spinoza on its Index prohibitory, which might now be consulted as a catalogue of the best books of that time. After its reorganization in 1837 it had seventeen professorships and an annual appropriation of 60,000 francs. It has numbered a few distinguished men among its professors, but they have been chiefly foreigners. In 1871 a Russian named Rumine died at Lausanne and bequeathed to the city 1,500,000 francs for the erection of a public building, the nature of which was to be determined by a committee consisting of five professors of the Academy and five members of the Municipal Council, who, in accordance with the will of the testator, were to meet and decide this question fifteen years after his decease. This meeting was held in 1886. The committee agreed to use the money, which had meanwhile increased to 3,000,000 francs, to construct a suitable edifice for the Academy, and to convey it to the Cantonal Government on condition that the latter should endow some additional professorships and, by virtue of a new charter, transform the Academy into a University. This metamorphosis has now been legally effected, but has produced no actual change in the character or educational equipments of the institution. The foundations of the new building have not yet been laid, and even when it is completed, the so-called University will be nothing but the old Academy more elegantly and more comfortably housed.

—An unmistakable proof of the prosperity of Egypt is the increase in the number of and attendance upon the Government schools. In 1887 there were twelve schools, with 1,919 pupils, only half of whom paid fees, to the amount of £9,000. In 1890 the schools had increased to 47, the pupils to 7,307, of whom 62 per cent. paid nearly £20,000. These results are the more satisfactory as attendance is not compulsory, and, until recently, teachers were accustomed to bribe children to come to school in order to claim the Government grant. The new Director-General of Education is Artin Pasha, who was Under-Secretary in the late Ministry of Riaz Pasha, and acquired an excellent reputation in his department; but the principal credit is due to the Chief Inspector, Mr. Douglas Dunlop, who is aided by a staff of about thirty European teachers, sixteen of whom are English. In addition to Arabic, each pupil is required to learn, at his option, either English or French, not merely as a linguistic study, but mainly as a medium of instruction. In 1889 86 per cent. of the pupils chose French, but last year the proportion fell to 77 per cent. This predominance of the French is owing to the singular fact that English is not yet recognized as one of the official languages. All the great Powers have signified their willingness to accept it as such, but France naturally interposes a hindrance. As the matter now stands, a knowledge of the French language is essential to obtain a Government position. Of the foreign schools in Egypt the French are by far the best, the chief of which, according to the London *Times's* correspondent, are the Jesuit colleges —establishments of a high order with a large attendance. There are also good Italian and German schools giving a somewhat advanced education. In the schools connected with the American missions Arabic is used as the medium of instruction. But the three or four English schools are small, and provide only an elementary education. To six Egyptians who are studying in England, there are one hundred in France, and a Government training-college exists in Cairo under French management.

WAGNER'S LETTERS TO DRESDEN FRIENDS.

Richard Wagner's Letters to Theodor Uhlig, Wilhelm Fischer, and Ferdinand Heine. Translated, with a Preface, by J. S. Shedlock. Charles Scribner's Sons. Pp. 512.

THE modern interest in personality is illustrated by the fact that some of Wagner's best essays, which have been in print three or four decades, have never been translated into English, while his letters to Liszt, with Liszt's answers, had hardly left the printer's hands before the late Dr. Hueffer set to work and produced an excellent English version. The same has been the case with the new collection of letters to Wagner's Dresden friends, the translation having been in the no less able hands of Mr. Shedlock. A comparison of the German edition with the English does not redound to the credit of the former. The eminent publishers, Breitkopf & Härtel, who have made a fortune out of Wagner's works, deemed it sufficient to place these letters in the market, with good type and paper, it is true, but without running-titles, index, or a word regarding the friends to whom Wagner addressed them. Mr. Shedlock, on the contrary, has made an excellent index for his volume, which doubles its value, and in a seven-page preface he gives such details regarding Uhlig, Fischer, and Heine as are likely to interest readers of these letters. Those who wish for further information may be referred to the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, January 21, 1853, for a long obituary notice of Uhlig, and to the number for December 2, 1859, of the same periodical for a most sympathetic article by Wagner on Fischer —an article which should have been reprinted in the 'Collected Works,' because, even if it contains nothing of artistic value, it reveals the true nobility of Wagner's character, showing him in an attitude which he would probably have maintained towards all had they met him as Fischer did and as his genius deserved.

"How he took care of me!" Wagner writes in this article on Fischer. "When the utterly unexpected happened, like a miracle, and my operas, which hitherto had hardly got beyond the Dresden district, began to make their way throughout Germany, his anxiety for me gradually changed into activity, and where I, the youth, was helpless, he, the vigorous old man, took upon himself all my troubles, kept an eye on the copies and arrangements of my scores, wrote letters, made up packages, urged on some, held back others—all in order that I might live in peace and devote myself entirely to my work and my art."

It is amusing to compare Wagner's tone towards Fischer in his first letters and in some of the later ones. The first is dated 1841, begins with "Most honored sir," and ends with "Your deeply obliged servant." Wagner was in Paris at the time, but his "Rienzi" had just been accepted for performance at the Dresden opera, where Fischer was chorus-master and stage-manager, so that it was of importance to win his good will and help secure a correct performance of the opera. Wagner soon discovered that he had found not only a well-wisher, but an enthusiastic friend, in Fischer—a friend with whom he could joke and scold, and to whose sympathetic ear he could confess all his joys and sorrows, without artificial restraints. So the formal *Sie* is soon exchanged for the friendly *Du*, and the former "honored sir" is subsequently apostrophized as *Theaterjokel*, or even as a *Herrgottssakramenter!*

Similar changes are noticeable in the letters to his two other Dresden friends and coadjutors, Theodor Uhlig and Ferdinand Heine. To Heine only 26 of the 177 letters in this collection are addressed, and Mr. Shedlock surmises plausibly that many may have got lost. Heine was a comedian, a designer of costumes at the Dresden Court Theatre, and father of the Wilhelm Heine who accompanied Commodore Perry on his expedition to Japan and China, and who subsequently wrote several well-known works of travel. Ninety-two of the letters are addressed to Uhlig, who, even more than Fischer, helped the exiled Wagner in arranging his operatic and other business matters in Germany, there being hardly a letter in which some message of this sort is not involved. Uhlig was himself a composer, who, in his early youth, wrote almost a hundred vocal and instrumental pieces. He was at first an opponent of Wagner's, and even wrote a musical burlesque of his new style. He was first induced to change his mind on hearing Wagner conduct Beethoven's Ninth Symphony, and his conversion in course of time became so complete that he wrote, shortly before his death: "I sympathize with Wagner from the bottom of my heart, so thoroughly that for me the rest of the musical world, with very few exceptions, hardly exists." It may be imagined of what value such friends were to the exiled composer, who could not have ventured on German soil without risking his freedom, if not his life.

The most remarkable effect of Wagner's music on Uhlig was that it made him so dissatisfied with his own efforts at composition that he ceased from them. He tried to increase his scant income by playing in an orchestra, and Wagner playfully addresses him in one letter as a *schauspielmusikvorgeigender Mensch* — a "theatre-music-fiddling-fellow." The excellent vocal score of "Lohengrin" which Uhlig made, and which is equal to Bülow's "Tristan" and Tausig's "Meistersinger," shows what a thorough musician he was, and how useful he must have been to Wagner in attending to the alterations he made in the scores of his operas as they were produced in the German theatres. For, contrary to the general opinion, Wagner was constantly revising the scores of his earlier operas, and at one time he even entertained the project of entirely rescoring the "Flying Dutchman." In view of the superb improvements introduced in "Tannhäuser" by the Paris version, the abandonment of this plan is to be regretted.

There was another and still more important way in which Uhlig could show his friendly interest in Wagner. He wrote musical criticisms for various papers, and his pen was ever ready to fight courageously for the new cause. This partly accounts for the fact that he got the lion's share of the letters; for Wagner, at this time, felt constantly urged to give hints, both theoretical and practical, which Uhlig religiously worked up in his articles. To this circumstance these letters owe their greatest interest, for here Wagner sometimes goes to the heart of an artistic question with a directness which could hardly be expected in his more formal essays. The most radical of Uhlig's papers appeared in Brendel's *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, in company with similar ones in Wagner's behalf by Robert Franz, Raff, Liszt, and Bülow, who were many years ahead of the critical rabble in recognizing Wagner's genius, in confirmation of Schumann's dictum that criticism always lags behind the times unless it emanates from creative minds—which is only another way of saying that it takes genius to appreciate genius.

An interesting illustration of the way in which Wagner suggested new critical points of view to Uhlig is given in the fifty-first letter to him:

"On the occasion of the pianoforte score, I have again looked a little at the music of 'Lohengrin.' Would it not interest you, since you always write things of the kind, to discuss the thematic web, and show how the path I have struck out must lead to ever-fresh developments of form? Amongst other things, this came into my mind in the first scene of the second act. Just at the beginning of the second scene of this act—when *Elsa* steps on to the balcony—it struck me how in the prelude for wind instruments, in the seventh, eighth, and ninth bars, where *Elsa* appears by night, a theme is heard for the first time which, later on, when *Elsa* advances toward the church, in bright daylight and full splendor, is presented in complete development, broad and bright. Thereupon it became evident to me that my themes always originate coherently and with the character of plastic phenomena. Perhaps you can express this better than I."

There is such an abundance of interesting biographic and artistic matter in these letters that it is difficult to single out any one topic for special consideration. Perhaps our readers will thank us most for focussing the light that is thrown by various letters on Wagner's skill and method as a conductor, in which capacity he is less generally known than as a composer, reformer, and essayist. It is a fact that the chief difficulty against which Wagner had to contend was not that of raising the public to a higher level of understanding, but of finding

singers, players, and especially conductors who could adequately interpret his operas. Whenever they were properly performed, under his own guidance or that of Liszt or a few other competent conductors, they were received with enthusiasm, while at other places they were temporary failures. A striking instance was the performance of the "Meistersinger" overture in Leipzig under Wagner's direction, when it was encored, while the same piece, repeated some time later under another conductor at the same place, was hissed. Wagner knew very well how his operas were being butchered during the time of his exile, at most of the German opera-houses, and this kept him on live coals, and greatly added to the nervousness from which he suffered, especially as most of the first criticisms of his works were based on such wretched performances, and were, therefore, almost necessarily unfavorable. Our admiration of Wagner's personality constantly grows as we see in these letters how, although greatly in need of money for his own support and that of his (first) wife's parents, he refuses over and over again to grant permission for the performance of one of his operas to the managers of opera-houses where he knows the conditions are unfavorable. This point is very forcibly brought out in one of his letters to Heine:

"The small attention which G. paid to all my hints and directions appears to have made your hair stand on end! And yet Papa Fischer blames me so much for my guide to 'Tannhäuser'—he always imagines it to be my sole concern to see my operas performed, and that it is, *therefore*, 'unwise' to make so many out-of-the-way demands!! I have indeed good ground for shame to have been misunderstood on the most important points even by you and him. I care ABSOLUTELY NOTHING about my things BEING GIVEN; I am only anxious that they should be SO GIVEN as I intended; he who will not and cannot do that, let him leave them alone. That is my whole meaning — and has Fischer not *yet* found that out? O, you hardened sinner!!— *Na*, greet him heartily."

During his sojourn as an exile at Zürich, Wagner was constantly importuned to direct operatic or concert enterprises, and several times he allowed himself to be persuaded for a short time. In several of his letters to Uhlig he carefully describes his method, which enabled him to produce the effects that were so much admired in his performances. Before rehearsing a piece he would explain its poetic subject to the musicians to enable them to reproduce it not as one would repeat a verse in an unknown language, but as an actor speaks a line of which he fully understands the emotional import: "Most striking, in the first place, was the effect of my method upon the executants themselves; even the most ordinary dance musicians I have here in Zürich coached up to performances of which neither the public nor themselves had before the slightest anticipation." So much did the musicians like this procedure that "at the first rehearsal of the 'Tannhäuser' overture . . . the orchestra begged me to give them an explanation of the contents after the fashion of the 'Coriolan' overture, because then they would be able to 'play better.'" The audience was also provided with such an explanation on the programme, and the result is thus described by Wagner:

"The performance of the 'Tannhäuser' overture has now taken place; it surpassed all my expectations, for it really went admirably. You can best judge of this by its effect, which was *terrific*. I do not speak of the burst of applause which immediately followed it, but of the symptoms of that effect which only came gradually to my knowledge. The women, in particular, were turned inside out; the impression made on them was so strong that they had to take refuge in sobs and weeping. Even the rehearsals were crowded, and marvellous were the accounts given to me of the first effect, which expressed itself chiefly as profound sorrowfulness; only after this had found relief in tears came the agreeable feeling of the highest, exuberant joy. Certainly this effect was only made possible by my explanation of the subject-matter of the overture; but—though my own work again made a most powerful impression on me—I was quite astounded at this unusually drastic operation. . . . After what I have accomplished with it here, I begin to set some store by this piece of music. I really cannot think of any other tone-poem capable of exercising a like powerful effect on sensitive, intelligent natures. But the concert-hall is its place, and not the theatre, where it is a mere prelude to the opera. There I should propose to give only the first *tempo* of the overture; the rest—in the fortunate event of its being understood—is too much before the drama; in the opposite event, too little."

But it was not only by explaining the emotional contents of concert pieces that Wagner made his musicians so effective. Here is another glimpse of his method: "The 'Egmont' *entr' acte* I had practised with the oboist, in my own room, as if he were a solo singer; the fellow could not contain himself for joy at what he at last produced." For the performance of the "Flying Dutchman" in Zürich Wagner went so far as to complete the orchestra to the necessary dimensions by importing some musicians at his own expense. During rehearsals and performances he threw his whole soul into his work to such an extent that it took him weeks to recover. Thus after the "Dutchman" performances just referred to he wrote: "I cannot pick up again; my nerves are much relaxed, and I suffer from sleeplessness. Only once again in my life can I sacrifice myself by preparing another performance; if I ever get so far, it will be with my 'Siegfried.' Till then I must keep away altogether from undertakings of the sort, and after 'Siegfried' I shall stop." From this point of view Wagner's exile in Switzerland must doubtless be regarded as a blessing; for had he remained in the post of a German court conductor, his arduous duties would have used up all his energy, and prevented him from creating those later colossal music dramas which breathe the free and bracing air of Switzerland.

RECENT NOVELS.

In the Valley. By Harold Frederic. Charles Scribner's Sons.

Colonel Carter of Cartersville. By F. Hopkinson Smith. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

Mine Own People. By Rudyard Kipling. U. S. Book Company.

Gallegher, and Other Stories. By Richard Harding Davis. Charles Scribner's Sons.

Stories of Old New Spain. By Thomas A. Janvier. D. Appleton & Co.

A New England Nun, and Other Stories. By Mary E. Wilkins. Harper & Brothers.

The Rudder Grangers Abroad, and Other Stories. By Frank R. Stockton. Charles Scribner's Sons.

Fourteen to One. By Elizabeth Stuart Phelps. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

MR. HAROLD FREDERIC is to be congratulated on having worked a fresh field for a novel, and upon having made not only a new, but also a most successful venture. The story of the early Dutch settlers in the Mohawk Valley, and their part in our Revolution, has an especial interest for New Yorkers, and if Mr. Frederic had not dedicated his book to Horatio Seymour, it would have been suitable to do so to the members of the Holland Society of this city. Their Dutch blood should amble with pleasure at Maj. Dowd Mauverensen's strictures upon the "Boston talkers" who have inflated themselves into fame, and upon the English, "the blood-letting islanders" who were murdering one another by "tens of thousands all over England, nominally for a York or a Lancaster, but truly from the utter wantonness of the butcher's instinct, the while we Dutch were discovering oil-painting and perfecting the noble craft of printing with types." These are only outbursts, however, The book is a well-composed picture of Revolutionary times in the Dutch homes of the Mohawk Valley, at the Patroon's manor house in Albany, and on the field of battle among bullets and tomahawks. An excellent balance has been held between the lights and shadows of this composition, and a clever vein runs through it all of the honest Dutch Major's own personality, his fixity, his faithfulness, his round-eyed attitude towards the tangles of this mortal life. His love story is a very pretty one, and in fine it must be said that the book may boast the non-negative merit in an historic novel of being nowhere a bore.

'Colonel Carter of Cartersville' is a clever and engaging little volume, describing, with a touch both humorous and loving, an unreconstructed Virginia gentleman and the friends he endeared himself to, from his lawyer to his colored servant. We have all met many Virginia types in print, but this one has a distinct difference from the rest in that he is brought down to date and is beheld floating in rosy steam clouds of railroad schemes. The impossibility of adjusting the strait raiment of commerce to the untrammelled spirit of a Southern chevalier leads to a hundred comicalities, which are never far from the pathetic and which are excellently told.

We would not hear Mr. Rudyard Kipling's enemy say that his "own people" are orang-outangs and elephants. Yet these are among the most impressive of the group which he introduces to us as his kindred, and there is indeed a certain truth not comic herein. To Mr. Kipling not only nothing human, but nothing is alien. Since this young author first appeared, opinion about him has ranged from abhorrence to idolatry. We believe that to such as have read him most, the young luminary will most clearly appear a meteor with staying power. No doubt we hail his stories largely first for their blessed objectivity. They are really stories and not microscopy. And next, the sensation of never being kept waiting an instant for our sensation is keenly refreshing, and furnishes the leading external charm of Mr. Kipling's tales. The charm of India is indisputable also, but if there had been no India, another country would have seemed as charming. Private Mulvaney and the most winning of elephants, Moti Suj, are citizens of the world, and we shall all know them in heaven. Mr. Kipling has a few pungent words to say in autograph about his previous unauthorized American publishers; and, that nothing may be lacking to make us comfortable, there is a critical introduction by Mr. Henry James. If it be low, as Ruskin says, to run after the better expression of one's own views, let Mr. Kipling's adherents beware of this introduction. It will be only too satisfying to those base minds which delight in finding their delight set forth for them, as here, with a perfection all Mr. James's own, and with an enthusiasm which we have never known this writer previously to bestow on an Anglo-Saxon.

Mr. Davis's stories are also of the people and for the people; and their swift, concentrated style makes them grateful reading. Rarely failing in all their wide range to touch the original, they tell of types of humanity which would be recognized as familiar friends the world over. The local coloring is mainly that of New York, but coloring is subordinated to the drawing of the figures. Mr. Davis's Fifth Avenue sketches are as unaffected as those of Cherry Street, and while finding them all among the best stories of the year, we confess to a partiality for those which immortalize Van Bibber the dandy, who goes rowing in Central Park with children from the tenement-houses, and lends his aid to elopements and to deserving burglars; never, even under the most trying circumstances, losing the air of wearing an orchid in his buttonhole.

After the bee-line style of these two story-tellers, Mr. Janvier's poetic descriptions and well-ordered narrative breathe of an earlier school and takes one almost as far away in time as in place. His dark Mexicans, gentle priests, and Virgin-praying maidens are portrayed with graceful charm. If there is a slight suggestion of opera about them, it is dispelled in such of the stories as deal with the later period, when the railroad-building Americanos bore down upon the new Spain of Mexico and laid waste its fields. The mining and engineering desperado is graphically projected into the midst of the Mexican atmosphere, nor do either his manners or his morals appear to the disadvantage of the conquered race. Altogether, the author has made a new combination of figures and landscape, and has done it with sympathetic skill.

Miss Wilkins's new volume is in the vein of her earlier one, and goes far to prove it inexhaustible. The poor, dingy old New England women have lost none of their bleakness, the young ones nothing of their pathetic attempt at youth under difficulties. The kitchen operations go on as before, and over all this dismal life float rosy clouds of faith, loyalty, and heroism, without which one would feel that nothing was left but suicide. The delicacy of Miss Wilkins's hand never fails, any more than does her fertility of resource in incident. With all the monotony of entourage, a tender surprise is in every story. It is not strange that this patient monotony, these stories of self-immolation, warm the cockles of the hearts of New Englanders the world over, and prompt the feeling that martyrdom has first found its fitting garments in faded gingham.

Mr. Stockton's new book contains two delightful sea stories. Our old friends of Rudder Grange, too, are sure of a welcome from an affectionate public. Pomona's marriage has not staled her infinite variety. We cannot, however, find her visit to the Earl particularly amusing, and one or two of the stories weirdly suggest what would have happened in literature if Jacob Abbott had taken to humor.

Elizabeth Stuart Phelps's volume of stories contains some remarkable work. The sketches of clerical life bear comparison with George Eliot's on the same theme. Her war and post-war stories are also full of vitality and a throbbing energy which well suits their subject, but which in other fields not infrequently becomes a hectic flame, consuming writer and reader alike. The intensity, let it be said, never becomes morally morbid, but there is a touch of "scarlet lilies" in Miss Phelps's manner which at times threatens literary poison.

A Commentary on the Campaign and Battle of Manassas of July, 1861, together with a summary of the art of war. By Gen. G. T. Beauregard. G. P. Putnam's Sons. 12mo, pp. xiv, 187.

THIS is a continuation of the controversy over the question, Who was in responsible command on the Confederate side in the first battle of Bull Run? Like all controversies, it shows a tendency to more biting personalities as it progresses. A difference of opinion as to the relative positions of Generals Johnston and Beauregard in the first important battle of the war, was manifested in their official reports of the engagement. The subject was discussed in publications of third persons in more or less close relations to the principals, and some feeling of irritation no doubt existed between the generals themselves before they personally took up the pen. In his 'Narrative,' published in 1874, the late Gen. Johnston, in giving his reminiscences of that campaign, emphasized some facts which indicated that he did not regard himself as having abdicated any of the responsibilities or duties of the commander of the Confederate troops assembled on the battlefield behind Bull Run, but that Gen. Beauregard was, in fact as well as in theory, his subordinate. The latter replied in a paper published first in the *Century Magazine*, and which in its final shape is one of the chapters of 'Battles and Leaders of the Civil War' as published by the Century Co. To this Gen. Johnston rejoined in another chapter of the same book, and now follows the present publication by Gen. Beauregard. Former phases of the controversy were complicated by points of difference between the two generals and Jefferson Davis, but these cut no figure now.

We cannot help feeling that Gen. Beauregard has made a mistake in adding to the literature of the dispute. The facts were pretty well discussed before, and the basis for an impartial historical judgment was as well laid as it is likely to be. Anything that may seem to be gained by fuller array of testimony is likely to be offset by the ill effect of increased acerbity and the indulgence in criticisms of his opponent in which the critic seems to suffer a loss of dignity. The general reputation of two so prominent officers in the Confederate army will not be greatly changed by the debate. We think the judgment of history in the matter is likely to be adverse to any claim in behalf of Gen. Beauregard that he bore the responsibilities or exercised the powers of general-in-chief on the battle-field in question. A few undisputed facts seem to be decisive of this.

Gen. Johnston's rank was superior to that of Gen. Beauregard, and upon his joining the latter upon the 20th of July he had issued a formal order assuming command of the joint forces. He remained upon the field during the engagement, was in the mêlée in the crisis of the action, was most of the time personally accompanied by Beauregard, and no order of the latter appears to have been issued without being explicitly or implicitly approved by him. To a military critic this should seem to be enough, unless some formal and definitive declination of the command were shown. None such appears, but, on the contrary, it is impossible to read Gen. Beauregard's own story without seeing that, however Gen. Johnston may have accepted his suggestions, he did so in a way to assume as full responsibility for them, when accepted, as if he had originated them.

The Confederate army at that day had no unit of organization larger than a brigade. Beauregard had been in independent command of some of these, and Johnston of others. Beauregard had been encamped near the field of battle and had studied its topography. Johnston had come suddenly from the Shenandoah Valley and had no time to study the situation at Manassas. He accepted Beauregard's military capacity as equal to his own, and seems, in true *camaraderie*, to have tried to make the position of the second in command as useful and as honorable as he could. He accepted his suggestions of a plan of attack without any signs of jealousy or reserve, and ordered that the plan should be executed. This order was in writing. To say that a commanding general abdicates his command by ordering the execution of a detailed plan submitted by another, is a plain contradiction in terms. He demonstrates, on the other hand, that he is in command by making the order. The merit of suggestion belongs to Beauregard, the full responsibility of commanding it rests with Johnston.

Circumstances made the plan impracticable, for, on the morning of the 21st, MacDowell's army was not in the position which the plan assumed. A modification of it was submitted to Johnston, who directed that this be executed. Again he proved himself to be in command. The modification was not acted upon from failure of orders to reach the proper brigade commanders, and so Beauregard's provision as to the battle became useless through no fault of his, and his suggestions thus far had no effect but to evoke the authority of the general-in-chief as shown in the orders mentioned.

The two generals spent the morning together waiting in vain for evidence that the initiative determined on was in progress. MacDowell's attack from the direction of Sudley Springs, though distant, forced itself upon their attention. It needed no suggestion that it should be met, though the vivacity and fertility of Beauregard's brain is good guaranty that none of the phenomena of the day lacked suggestive and profitable discussion. Johnston ordered the moving of reinforcements towards the actual scene of battle, suspended other plans, and galloped to the sound of the guns. Beauregard waited only to despatch some detailed orders, and then followed his chief. Johnston personally gave fresh directions to his chief of artillery as to hurrying some batteries towards the famous hill above Young's Branch.

On the field, when the overpowered brigades of Evans, Bee, and Bonham were retreating in confusion, both Johnston and Beauregard showed the personal qualities of brilliant soldiers in rallying and reforming their broken troops. At Beauregard's earnest instance, Johnston, reluctant to part from actual contact with the fighting line, gave to his subordinate the command of the brigades actually engaged, and retired a little, to the Lewis house, to coördinate and hasten the movements on the larger field. Gen. Beauregard has injured his own case more than another could do, by repeating the assertion that in the above incident "Gen. Johnston performed, at his (B.'s) suggestion and request and at the post indicated by him, the service for which he most needed his assistance" (p. 92). That no doubt may remain that he intends to say that Gen. Johnston was acting in fact as his subordinate, he adds (p. 95), "Had Gen. Beauregard's chief of staff, Col. Jordan, been on the field with him instead of Gen. Johnston, he would have sent him to perform that same duty, as, under the circumstances, he would have ordered Gen. Johnston to it, had the latter been his junior." The impartial reader will be pretty sure to regard this as a *reductio ad absurdum*.

In his official report, Gen. Beauregard had said of this that he had secured Gen. Johnston's reluctant consent by urging that "one of us must do so, and it was *properly his place*." Treated as a loyal suggestion that the general-in-chief should withdraw from the unnecessary exposure of the fighting line to perform the more responsible duties of general direction of the army, it would be an act exciting our sympathy, as in another famous case when the line itself shouted, "Go back, General Lee!" but the chivalry and the loyalty change to blind egoism if we add, "because you are in fact my chief of staff!" There is little hazard in saying that if that explanation had been added at the time, Gen. Beauregard would have been the man to leave the front. History will be more kind to the latter than he is to himself, and will say that the gloss now given is an illusion born in later years.

The continued discussion has justified Gen. Johnston's original report as both true and generous. He treats Gen. Beauregard as his equal: he goes even beyond the necessary in attributing to him many suggestions; he gives full credit to the importance of the duty performed on the fighting line. He reserves to himself the responsibility for the actual decision as to strategy and tactics when the suggestions of the junior have been received, and this supreme duty of the general-in-chief he is shown to have exercised by Gen. Beauregard's own statements. No doubt occasions have arisen when famous officers have waived their rank and served under a junior—the instances enumerated by Gen. Beauregard illustrate this; but the rule, to which these are the exceptions, is that the ranking officer shall command. The exceptions exist only by the spontaneous act of self-abnegation of him who has the right to lead. He is the only judge of the duty or of the propriety of waiving his right. He cannot do it without knowing that he has done so, and it savors no little of the ridiculous for the subordinate to argue that it was done, while the superior both then and ever afterwards asserted the contrary, and, by the testimony of the subordinate himself, commanded the things that were actually done at each successive step in a great day of battle.

Through Russia on a Mustang. By Thomas Stevens. Cassell Publishing Co.

Mr. Stevens issues in book form the letters which he sent from Russia to the N. Y. *World* during the summer of 1890, with the addition of sixteen illustrations from photographs taken by himself. The pictures do not add greatly to the interest, since, although well chosen, they have been reproduced by a process which leaves them pale and milky in tone. The real attraction of the book lies in the author's description of his ride from Moscow to the Black Sea. The introductory chapter on St. Petersburg errs in the direction of most accounts from hasty travellers who visit foreign capitals in the "dead season," and indulge in general remarks upon the customs of all seasons, and upon classes who are absent. An instance in point is the dogmatic statement that "an American or European who visits St. Petersburg or Moscow in the winter can stand the cold better than a resident. He can stand it outdoors with thinner clothes on," etc. This hearsay evidence holds good only with regard to the first winter's residence. If the disdainful foreigner survive that, he will feel the cold much more keenly than Russians during the succeeding winters. If the author had remained a few days in St. Petersburg, he would have learned the reason for the wearing of overcoats in summer also, by cabmen and others. Equally unreliable are his statements concerning the pickles and teeth of Russian women, and a "cavalcade" of priests.

After an account of a brief trip to a village near the capital, we are introduced to his preparations for the horseback journey. In view of his frank admissions regarding the defects of the mustang which were not mentioned to him when he bought the animal from the Carver-Whitney "Wild America" show, and which he intended to conceal on selling him, his strictures on Russian horse-dealers for their grasping disposition are decidedly amusing. He secures a companion and interpreter in the person of a student from a commercial school (not a "university"—there is but one in Moscow, which is not devoid of numbered houses as stated), and sets out. The diary of his experiences, few of them startling, flows on easily and with general success except when Mr. Stevens attempts to philosophize, as on the subject of the Russian policy which is intended to keep foreign goods out of the market altogether by means of a prohibitory tariff. "Cheap clothing for the welfare of the masses is, of course, not for a moment to be considered in a country where the interests of the people are made subservient to that of the State," he writes—which may mislead some people into thinking that it is a book of American travels. The reader will find the chapter on Count Tolstoi and the account of an interview with the Governor at Ekaterinoslav the most engaging parts of the narrative; but he must be warned against accepting the Russian words used by the author as a basis for study of the language, *karpooses* for *arbuzi* (watermelons) being a fair specimen of their accuracy. One singular accusation brought against the peasants is, that they are too lazy to cook. This judgment is pronounced because they refused to cook chickens for the American, and proposed to boil eggs in the samovar. A very small amount of reflection would have shown him that it would have required hours of time and more wood than the chicken was worth to heat their oven for that purpose alone, and that eggs can easily be boiled by steam in the samovar without touching the water for the tea. Moreover, at that particular season of the year, before the new grain is harvested, the poor peasants have very little to cook or to eat for themselves.

A very great deal of the information concerning the ideas, customs, and superstitions of the people, which refers to other seasons than that at which the author's trip was made, is taken from various books. While valuable in itself, it is out of place here, to a certain degree, since it interferes with the sequence of the story, and cannot, in the nature of the case, be presented in as satisfactory a manner as in the original sources, where this whole branch of folk-lore can be studied in an exhaustive manner by such persons as affect that line of literature. Obviously, also, only the merest fraction of Mr. Stevens's information upon the Orthodox Church and the priests can be considered as obtained at first hand, and, consequently, authoritative as the record of personal investigation. With these exceptions, which the reader will readily discriminate for himself in more detail, and overlooking defects of style such as the use of "the writer" and "I" in the same sentence, we can say that Mr. Stevens has succeeded in making a very entertaining book.

Trade Unionism, New and Old. By George Howell, M.P. [Social Questions of To-day.] London: Methuen & Co. 1891.

Mr. Howell declares that this book is in no sense a reproduction of his recent work, 'The Conflicts of Capital and Labor,' or an epitome of its contents. In a narrow sense this may be true, but, with one exception, everything that is here contained may be found in the larger volume, which, moreover, seems to us to be more carefully written. The exception, however, is of so much importance as to command attention, as it treats of the rise of a new spirit among English laborers. Hitherto the aims of the trade-unions have been in the main legitimate and laudable, being chiefly the securing of liberty to combine for the support of their members while sick and out of work, and the provision of burial funds. But at the Trade Union Congress of 1890 certain resolutions were adopted which show that these aims have become subordinate to others of a widely different character.

The nature of the change will be best understood from the resolutions themselves. The first declared that as men were often thrown out of work "by the ever-changing methods of manufacture," Parliament should empower "each municipality or county council to establish workshops and factories under municipal control, where such persons shall be put to useful employment, . . . and that trade-union wages be paid." The other resolution was to the effect that Parliament should "reduce the working hours in all trades to eight per day, or to a maximum of forty-eight hours per week." The language of the bill introduced into Parliament in accordance with this resolution is noteworthy enough to be quoted. The chief provision reads as follows:

"§1. On and after the first day of January, 1892, no person shall work, or cause or suffer any other person to work, on sea or land, in any capacity, under any contract or agreement, or articles for hire of labor, or for personal service on sea or land (except in case of accident), for more than eight hours in any one day of twenty-four hours, or for more than forty-eight hours in any week."

It is not probable that Parliament will at present comply with these resolutions, but the startling feature of the situation is, that the trade-unions, if they are to enter the political arena, will hold the balance of power, and the existing parties will be tempted to bid for their votes. There is much dispute as to the number of members represented at this Congress, the official report making the number 1,800,000, which Mr. Howell would reduce by more than one-half; but at the lowest figure the total is weighty enough. Mr. Howell—to whom the resolutions are extremely offensive—endeavors to minimize the significance of this action, urging that the socialistic element brought out its full strength, while the conservative forces were without leadership. He points out also that the vote on the eight-hours resolution showed 193 in its favor, 155 opposed, and 109 abstentions. But where such a principle is involved, abstention must be considered approval.

Many of the most important unions have repudiated the action of the Congress, many were not represented at the Congress, and many will be divided. The old laborers in the cause, like Mr. Howell, are distressed by the working of the new leaven, and none of the workingmen's representatives would consent to introduce the Eight-Hours Bill in Parliament. The Socialists have not won yet, and they will meet with a stubborn opposition; but they have made such advances that the

future action of the Trade-Union Congresses will have momentous significance.

Essays on French Novelists. By George Saintsbury. Charles Scribner's Sons. 1891.

MR. SAINTSBURY collects in this volume the series of papers on French novelists contributed by him to the *Fortnightly Review* in 1878, together with a few others of different dates on the same general subjects. The essays are upon Hamilton, Le Sage, the Novel of Sensibility, Bernard, Dumas, Gautier, Sandeau, Feuillet, Flaubert, Mürger, Cherbuliez; and there is a general introductory deliverance. Mr. Saintsbury's manner of treatment is well known to our readers, but its great disadvantage of inevitable dulness is less felt in this volume than in that of the English essays lately noticed by us, because there is in the development of the French novel a story which gives some element of wider interest than belongs to the ordinary piecemeal book review in which Mr. Saintsbury delights. His knowledge of the special topic, so far as it depends on omnivorous reading of the literature involved, is thorough, and his distinctions, if they lack fineness, are as plain as the nose on a man's face. He is very blunt in speech and much given to freeing his mind; and in treating the French novel both qualities serve him well. He thinks the literary art of the French novel has been overrated, and says so; as to its superiority in "passion," he declares that "there is of passion itself more in a page, nay in a paragraph, of 'Esmond' than in all French fiction save 'Manon Lescaut,' 'La Nouvelle Héloïse,' and 'La Morte Amoureuse.'" With the complaint about "candor" he has no sympathy at all. He believes that Romanticism in some form will surely follow the present decadence of the realistic novel, and he hopes he may live long enough to read the new Scott and Dumas.

When a man professes this creed in fiction, it is plain that we have to deal with a critic and not a theorist. And in fact Mr. Saintsbury's characterization of each novelist is strong, and in our opinion his general judgments are singularly temperate and sound. The view of the French novel given by all the papers in connection is a broad and enlightening one, it is historical as well as æsthetic, and it is without that caressing touch, that finessing, that evasion of the plain truth of the matter, which has made our criticism of French literature in the current novel a literary immorality.

Elementary Science Lessons. By W. Hewitt. Longmans.

Autobiography of the Earth. By the Rev. H. N. Hutchinson. Appletons.

MR. W. HEWITT, science demonstrator for the Liverpool School Board, has drawn up a little book as an introduction to scientific studies for the youngest scholars. The physical properties of substances are chiefly considered; hard and soft, transparent and opaque, elastic and brittle bodies are all experimented upon in a simple way, and elementary generalizations are naturally reached. The scheme of the book is excellent. There can be no question that a child would be logically trained if all his studies were pursued on as logical a scheme as this; but for teachers who can really lead their classes through such a course, the book is over-minute in its instructions. Perhaps, at the outset of the introduction of scientific methods into schools of low grades, it may be necessary to show teachers of less experience how those of greater carry on the work, and thus for a time, as in the beginning of the kindergarten method, much specification may be allowed; but this stage should soon pass and leave the teachers free to invent, each for himself, the one method of the many possible methods that is best adapted to his class. The object of Hewitt's lessons is to give a knowledge of the common physical properties of matter, and to explain by means of likeness and contrast the use of these properties in classifying and identifying substances. "The children are to be told nothing which they may reasonably be expected to find out for themselves. They are rather to be brought as much as possible into the attitude of discoverers." This is excellent, and if realized will be invaluable to every scholar all through his after life; but most children will have unconsciously made many of the discoveries here set forth before they have reached the class-room. The teacher must therefore look to it that the work does not become petty and stale. It does not appear to be directly stated, but it should be understood, that such a book as this is best used simply as a guide for the teacher, not as a text for the scholars. *Their* text should be simply the materials for the experiments and the suggestions of the teacher.

If a scholar grew up on instruction of Mr. Hewitt's kind, well given, he would not, in later years, bring forth a book like Mr. Hutchinson's 'Autobiography of the Earth,' a popular account of geological history; he might, indeed, be somewhat impatient with it. The author and the book are both English, and the book contains so little that is pertinent to the geology of this country that we wonder at its republication here. It contains a straightforward account of English geology, correct as far as our knowledge of that small country goes, but hardly broad enough to deserve so large a title as the 'Autobiography of the *Earth*.' The form of statement is not calculated to inspire individual observation; there is little consideration of the evidence that leads to conclusions; geological argument is insufficiently illustrated. We question if any sportsman who, as the author supposes, might be interested in the "rock or boulder on which he rests for a mid-day repast," and who would like to understand a little of its previous history, will gain the understanding from these chapters. He may come to believe that the boulder is described somewhere in the book, but as it is not labelled, and as the book does not tell him how to identify it, he will have to remain in curious ignorance. The author does not appear to have been a teacher; he doses his readers with the information that he has gained and which they ought to wish to know, but many of the facts to which he gives much attention will never be met with by the sportsman, and the questions that the sportsman will most likely ask are not answered. It is not the kind of popular geology that we hope yet to see some day, and in this country it can have little value except to those who plan a geological walk through England. Even for these there are better books.

The Science of Fairy Tales: An Inquiry into Fairy Mythology. By E. S. Hartland, F.S.A. [Contemporary Science Series.] Scribner & Welford. 1891. 8vo, pp. viii., 365.

WHEN we consider how recently fairy tales were thought to have fulfilled their function when they had entertained for an hour the denizens of the nursery, it seems strange to find a volume devoted to them in the "Contemporary Science Series," and that there is such a thing as the science of fairy tales. It would have been very instructive had Mr. Hartland told us in a preface or opening chapter how this scientific view came to be evolved, for the present theory was not the first in the field, and something is to be said for the two others which it has displaced. Mr. Hartland, however, gives us no history of the study of fairy tales, mentions but incidentally any other theory than his own, and does not even present his own theory in an orderly and systematic manner, but allows the reader to arrange the material and draw his own general conclusions. In other words, Mr. Hartland's book is a series of studies not so much on fairy tales as on tales about fairies, which is quite a different thing, although it is justified by the sub-title of the book.

These studies (excluding two introductory chapters on "The Art of Story-Telling" and "Savage Ideas") are five in number, and deal with "Fairy Births and Human Midwives," "Robberies from Fairyland," "Changelings," "The Supernatural Lapse of Time in Fairyland," and "Swan-Maidens." All but the last deal more or less exclusively with the first of the two classes into which the author divides all fairy tales, the class of "stories which relate to definite supernatural beings or definite orders of supernatural beings, held really to exist, and the scenes of which are usually laid in some specified locality." This class the author terms *sagas* (they are really, as we have said above, stories about fairies). The last study alone deals with the fairy-tale proper, the *Märchen*, which is told simply for amusement, does not embody incidents now believed to be true, is imaginative and marvellous, unhistorical and unlocal, and ends happily.

Mr. Hartland's theory, which he propounds as the science of fairy tales, is the one now generally accepted, and which has often been examined in these columns in reviews of the different works of Mr. Andrew Lang, to whom belongs the credit of the first orderly exposition of it in recent times. It sees in popular tales the survival of savage beliefs and customs. Mr. Hartland presents it in a number of essays dealing with certain topics of fairy mythology, which are illustrated by copious references to similar beliefs, mostly among the European Aryans. The author's learning is extensive, and his manner interesting, while his inferences are generally correct. He does not, of course, pretend to be exhaustive, and sometimes overlooks an interesting illustration; as, for example, in the chapter on "Fairy Births and Human Midwives," he dwells on the curious fact that human visitors to Fairyland must not eat there, but does not cite the frequent feature in popular tales of husband forgetting bride when he partakes of food on his return home (see Köhler in 'Orient und Occident,' ii., p. 103, note to Campbell's 'Battle of the Birds,' i., p. 25, and Webster's 'Basque Legends,' p. 108). In the chapter on "Swan Maidens," p. 281, occurs an interesting example of the complex nature of folk-tales, and of the influence exerted upon them by literary or cultured sources. In an Esthonian tale cited from Jannsen, a fairy child (a nightmare) is obliged to remain with a family she has visited, and grows up and marries the son. One day in church she bursts out laughing during the sermon, and tells how she saw stretched on the wall of the church a horse-skin, on which the Evil One was writing the names of all those who slept or chattered in church, and

paid no heed to God's Word. The skin was at last full of names, and, in order to find room for more, the Devil had to pull it with his teeth, so as to stretch it further. In so doing he bumped his head against the wall and made a wry face, whereat she who saw it laughed. This is a well-known mediæval monkish legend, which was frequently told from the pulpit as an awful warning (see Crane's edition of the 'Exempla of Jacques de Vitry,' p. 100, and note p. 231).

It is to be hoped that Mr. Hartland may be induced some time to give us another and enlarged edition of his interesting work, more systematically put together and with a wider range of illustrations. The new science of folk-tales rests upon the fact of the substantial likeness of popular tales in all lands and among all peoples, which can apparently be explained only upon the theory of their survival from times of savagery, and it is particularly important to prove this by examples taken from the tales or customs of savages of the past or present.

Libelli de lite imperatorum et pontificum saeculi xi. Ex Monumentis Germaniae Historicis. Edidit Kuno Francke. Hanover: Hahn. 1891.

THE most recent addition to that vast treasury of German historical material, the 'Monumenta Germaniæ Historica,' has an especial interest as being the work of a scholar who has, since his connection with the 'Monumenta,' become one of us, Prof. Kuno Francke of Harvard University. The texts which he has prepared are four pamphlets relating to the furious conflict between Papacy and Empire in the eleventh century. They are (1) a letter of Archbishop Gebhard of Salzburg to the Bishop of Metz; (2) a letter by a certain Wenricus, a clergyman of Treves, in the name of the Bishop of Verdun, addressed to Pope Gregory VII.; (3) a long treatise by the monk Manegold of Lautenbach in reply to the letter of Wenricus, and defending the cause of the Papacy as vigorously as the former had that of the King; (4) a very short anonymous treatise 'De discordia Papæ et Regis.' Each document is preceded by a short introduction, giving an account of the manuscripts upon which the edition is based and a very brief description of the author. The edition is done with the utmost care, and is adorned with very beautiful facsimile reproductions of specimen pages from the originals.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Aitken, Edith. Elementary Text-Book of Botany. Longmans, Green & Co. $1.50.
Bean, F. Pudney and Walp. John W. Lovell Co.
Bouchot, H. De la Reliure: Exemples à imiter ou à rejecter. Paris: E. Rouveyre.
Cauer, F. Hat Aristoteles die Schrift vom Staate der Athener geschrieben? Stuttgart: G. J. Göschen.
Coulanges, F. de. The Origin of Property in Land. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co.
Delpit, A. His Two Loves. St. Paul: The Price-McGill Publishing Co. 50 cents.
Farnell, G. S. Greek Lyric Poetry. Longmans, Green & Co. $5.
George, H. Protection or Free Trade? Henry George & Co. 25 cents.
Hall, Eugene J. Masters and Men. Chicago: Charles H. Sergel & Co.
Hanscom, Elizabeth D. Lamb's Essays. Boston: D. Lothrop Co. $1.25.
Hartzell, J. H. Application and Achievement. G. P. Putnam's Sons.
Hewitt, W. Elementary Science Lessons. Longmans, Green & Co. 50 cents.
Hillern, W. Höher als die Kirche. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co. 15 cents.
Howard, J. R. Henry Ward Beecher: A Study. Fords, Howard & Hulbert. 75 cents.
Howells, W. D. April Hopes Harper & Bros.
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The Week.

THE long and apologetic statement which the Comptroller of the Currency has prepared for the public as well as for the Investigating Committee, concerning his relations with the Keystone Bank, does not by any means go to the bottom of the mystery surrounding the scandal, but it does furnish a considerable amount of information which may be of service in bringing out the whole truth later. It furnishes specific dates for certain important developments in the bank's career, and it puts the responsibility for keeping the bank open for seventy-four days after its insolvent condition was known almost entirely upon the National Bank Examiner, Mr. Drew. Concerning the delay in appointing a receiver, Mr. Lacey makes a fairly satisfactory statement, saying the bank was really in Drew's hands, that the delay was not unusual, and that the situation of affairs was not changed by the delay. The astonishing feature of the statement is that both Drew and Lacey should have believed that Marsh, after having confessed that he had been forging and cheating for a series of years, could, by showing repentance and willingness to aid, be converted into an honest man and safe President of the very bank he had helped to plunder.

John Bardsley, the dishonest City Treasurer of Philadelphia, who sunk $930,000 of State funds and $600,000 of city funds in the Keystone Bank, and $200,000 of city funds in the Spring Garden Bank, has pleaded guilty to three indictments, containing seventeen separate counts, and his counsel announces that he is preparing a complete statement for him, which will be read in court when Bardsley comes before it for sentence on June 23. Whether this statement will prove to be a full confession, remains to be seen. If it does, it is safe to say it will be the most interesting document published in Philadelphia for many a day. Every day's developments about the Keystone Bank management add to the already overwhelming proof that there was extraordinary rottenness there for months before it was closed, and that a large number of people were thoroughly cognizant of the fact. The Assistant Cashier, Charles Lawrence, testified last week that as early as December 2 of last year he announced in the directors' room of the bank, in the presence of five of the directors, that the indebtedness of the bank amounted to a million dollars. He said, also, that he and the fugitive President Marsh used every effort to deceive the Bank Examiner, who was at the bank nearly every day; that Lucas, the dead President, who stole nearly a million of the bank's funds, began his thieving ten years ago, and asked Lawrence at the time to make alterations in the books to conceal it; that the amount increased steadily till it reached $300,000, and he had to conceal the loss of that sum in his ledger; that Lucas simply drew checks for what he wanted, and, as he had no money to his personal account, they were paid with the bank's money; that in all $320,000 or $330,000 of the bank's money was paid to him in this way, and either its loss was concealed on the books or the books were mutilated to prevent the Bank Examiner from discovering the loss. Lucas is the man with whom good, pious Mr. Wanamaker entered into the "blind pool" in Reading stock, and who furnished Mr. Wanamaker with 2,515 fraudulent shares of Keystone stock upon which to raise money for their joint speculation.

Is there nothing disgraceful or dishonorable in the record of Wanamaker's intimate association with two swindlers? One of them is dead and can tell no tales, like Quay's wicked partner in the Treasury thefts, and the other is a fugitive, and Wanamaker's brother is on his bail bond. Do Mr. Wanamaker's defenders really congratulate themselves that he has not broken into a bank with a crowbar? When the newspapers of Philadelphia gloss over such transactions as his, and pronounce glib confession of them complete vindication, they become a party to them, and are as culpable as he is. Mark well the fact that the newspapers which are doing this are the same ones that were advocating Delamater's election last year, and mark well, also, that no whisper of the rottenness of the Keystone Bank was allowed to get out till after Delamater's defeat. When the plan to put him in charge of the State Government had failed, and not before, Wanamaker began to get his money out of the Keystone Bank, Marsh made up his mind to confess and run away, and the Bank Examiner began to find defects in the bank's accounts which compelled him to make report of them at Washington. The press which is now endorsing Wanamaker's performances was doing its utmost to put the State Treasury behind the rotten bank, and conceal the thefts from its funds which Bardsley has been forced, through the failure of Delamater's election, to confess.

The Pennsylvania Supreme Court has decided that the Governor has the right to fill the vacancy in the City Treasurership of Philadelphia caused by Bardsley's resignation, and consequently that the office shall be occupied by the man of Mr. Pattison's choice, instead of a man elected by the distrusted City Councils. Everybody knows that the Governor will insist upon the most rigid investigation and the most thorough exposure of all the facts, while everybody suspects that the local ring would do its best to suppress the truth and prevent any further revelations. The incident furnishes fresh evidence of the great advantage to the State of Mr. Pattison's election. If the Republican Machine had made Delamater Governor, and there had been any hint of the Philadelphia bank rottenness, the whole power of the State Government would have been exerted to hush up the scandal and protect the rascals.

President Harrison has given further evidence of his unusual skill in making judicial appointments by his action in constituting the new Court of Private Land Claims. This court consists of five members, and all of the five appear to be men of excellent standing in their respective States. Better still, Mr. Harrison has recognized the proprieties by dividing the places between the two parties and the two sections, two of the five offices being given to Democrats and two of the judges being taken from the South. It is a great pleasure to be able to bestow such unqualified praise upon the President's judicial appointments. The mystery is that a man who shows such excellent judgment in this direction should be capable at the same time of appointing Tanners and Raums.

The remarkably fair Reapportionment Bill which has been so long and bitterly contested before the Massachusetts Legislature was finally passed to be enacted last week. The minority of the Republicans, who resisted the greatest pressure to change a non-partisan measure into the worst sort of a gerrymander, deserve the heartiest praise. Massachusetts is the State which gave the country the name that is now universally applied to the unfair division of a commonwealth into districts, when Elbridge Gerry pushed through his famous scheme in 1812; and it is really only doing penance for an old offence against justice when it now passes a measure that challenges the admiration of the nation for its reasonableness. The only discreditable feature of the incident is the fact that Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge, "the Scholar in Politics," used all his influence to defeat this uncommon exhibition of fair play. Only a few months ago, however, Mr. Lodge was urging that Congress should assume the power of dividing all the States of the Union into Congressional districts. The chief argument which he urged in favor of the innovation was that the Legislatures were almost certain to show partisanship in the matter and substitute reckless gerrymandering for fair districting, and that Congress was the only body which could be trusted to be sternly unpartisan in the premises. Yet after vainly urging that Congress should reapportion Massachusetts on the ground that the Massachusetts lawmakers could not be trusted to do the right thing, he returned to his State only to appear at the Capitol as a lobbyist against a measure which every-

body conceded to be strictly non-partisan, and in favor of substituting a scheme which the Republican Chairman of the Committee having the matter in charge pronounced "the most outrageous gerrymander ever proposed"!

Mr. Roosevelt has been doing excellent service in bringing the assailants of the Custom-house civil-service examinations to book, and making the Republican Association of the Twenty-third District, which has been very noisy in this field of late, prove its charges of unfairness and unpracticalness. We need hardly say that, in spite of every accommodation on Mr. Roosevelt's part, all attempts to prove the charges have failed. There never has been anything tangible behind these attacks except a general, but deeply rooted, feeling that there must be something wrong about a system which admits Democrats to office under a Republican administration. How long the party will put up with this judicial-mindedness on the part of Mr. Roosevelt remains to be seen. There is already considerable hostility to him, which is likely to grow as we get nearer to the Presidential election. Until now he has been able to repel the enemy by occasional hearty denunciation of the Mugwumps, which always soothes discontented regulars; but the effect of this will probably wear out after a while. Still, he can always make the denunciation a little stronger, which we advise him to do if it will save his influence in the party, for the influence is excellent and the Mugwumps do not mind. We wish his friend up in Massachusetts, Mr. Cabot Lodge, would follow his example, by walking in the ways of righteousness and cursing Mugwumps at the same time. Far from this, Lodge indulges in the most unholy tricks, and abuses the Mugwumps besides, which is wicked excess.

Reports from Kansas and Nebraska agree that the Alliance movement is beginning to lose strength. No less than twenty-five sub-alliances in Kansas have already repudiated the third-party action of the Cincinnati Convention. In one case, and that too in a county which has been considered a stronghold of the "People's party," a resolution was adopted unanimously declaring that, as the South was not represented in the late Cincinnati Convention, and as the third party threatens to disrupt the Republican party to the benefit of the Democratic party, "we abandon the third party to return to our past affiliations." Ex-Congressman Dorsey of Nebraska reports that in his State also the farmers are losing their interest in the Alliance. It is significant that the falling away from the Alliance accompanies a prospect of excellent crops this year. It shows that the movement of last year was largely an outbreak of discontent over the hard times caused by poor crops. It was noted last fall that in many places where the season was not a bad one, the men who made the most noise at Alliance meetings were farmers who neglected their farms, while neighbors who did not waste their time sitting about grocery stores and bewailing the outrages committed by "the Money Power" got along all right.

"Labor" has been making another of its extraordinary demands. A chief ground of offence against the Indians has always been that they were a lazy set, who would never do a stroke of work if they could help it. Of late years successful attempts have been made to educate the younger members of the race into the idea that they ought to support themselves. One of the schools maintained by the Government is situated at Genoa, Neb., and some of the Indians attending it are working in the sugar-beet fields of that State. Thereupon a meeting of "workingmen" is called which passes resolutions protesting against such industry on the part of the Indians, and petitioning the Government to prohibit it. Moreover, the politician who is Superintendent of the School is so much impressed by the importance of this demonstration by "Labor," that he recommends the Indian Commissioner to comply with the demand. The Commissioner has administered a proper rebuke to the Superintendent, but the incident must set the red men wondering what sort of a thing this civilization, of which they have heard so much, really is.

The recently formed Tax-Reform Association has set before itself an excellent work in the matter of educating the public on the subject of State taxation. This is absolutely necessary before we can have anything like real reform in our methods of raising State and municipal revenues. We notice that the chief plank in its platform is that "real estate should bear the principal burden of taxation." This is what real estate now does in this city, and we presume there would not be much difficulty in making it bear the whole municipal burden in all our large cities, because in all of them real-estate owners have something in the nature of a monopoly. But when it comes to farming lands, the problem changes. Owners of land used for agricultural purposes have no monopoly. They are exposed to keen competition in the sale of their products in nearly every State in the Union, owing to the present extraordinary and increasing cheapness of transportation. They are, therefore, not able to diffuse the taxes that fall on them in the first instance, as urban landowners are. The city real-estate owner can certainly, in most situations, insert his taxes in his rental, or in his prices of goods, but the farmer cannot so easily insert them in his cattle or grain. This is the main difficulty in the way of the Tax-Reformers, and the one to which they should address themselves most sedulously.

The severe comments of the Court of Appeals on the performances of the members of the bar who make frivolous applications for writs of habeas corpus in order to delay the execution of criminals, or, in other words, to hinder the administration of justice, will be read with much comfort by an afflicted public. The point in these remarks, however, which contains most comfort, is the suggestion that the Supreme Court should discipline the offenders. Let us hope that the Supreme Court may be induced to act on it. The theory on which the public puts up with the bar is, that the lawyers are officers of the courts and equally concerned with the judges in the proper and orderly administration of justice. To have the bar's privileges converted, as they have been in these murder cases, into weapons of opposition to the law, into instruments for making the law contemptible and securing impunity for crime, is more than any civilized community can bear very long. So we trust the Supreme Court will use any powers it possesses to fill the lives of these habeas-corpus tricksters with some kind of terror.

The Merzbacher defalcation in the New York Life Insurance Company has turned public attention to the financial management and expenses of life-insurance companies. The officers of that company seem to have involved themselves in a series of unpleasant contradictions regarding the Merzbacher matter, both as regards their responsibility to the public therefor and as to the manner in which the loss is to be made good. It is stated that the defalcation, amounting to about $370,000, can be easily made up by Merzbacher in a few years out of his commissions. This implies very large annual payments to this agent, and it is a fair question to ask whether all agents of the company are not paid proportionately large commissions. Stories have from time to time reached the public ear of large salaries to officers both high and low, of repeated gifts or bonuses to favored individuals, and in general of liberal, not to say extravagant, expenditures of the policy-holders' money in all directions. To this we may now add, it seems, enormous commissions for securing business. It is not clear where in the accounts of the New York Life, as presented to the State Superintendent, this defalcation was carried, or whether the loss was allowed for at all. Is it possible that the system of accounts demanded by the State from our life-insurance companies is really inadequate, and that the investigations are either too formal or are not made public in enough detail? For we must remember not only that honest management is necessary, but also that it is important to correct unbusinesslike methods if any exist, to the end that the policy-holders may obtain their insurance at the lowest price consistent with safety. If we assume that insurance companies are quasi-public bodies, and therefore properly subject to State inspection, it is not too much to expect that the business management as well as the safe keeping of the money held in trust should receive the attention of the State and of the public.

The Pilot Chart of the Federal Hydrographic Office for June, giving the marine record for May, has an exceptional interest for transatlantic voyagers at this period of the year, when the number of outgoing passengers to Europe and the flow of icebergs on the ocean are usually both at their height. Last year at about this time the amount of ice at or near the Grand Bank surpassed, if we are not mistaken, all previous hydrographic records. It reached eastward to long. 35° W. and southward to latitude 40° N., covering roughly an ocean area of several hundred thousand square miles. The bergs last year were not only many in number, but of uncommon size, and during April and May there were twenty-four collisions with vessels, notably those of the *Normannia* and the *Thingvalla*. So remarkable was the iceberg season of 1890 that the Hydrographic Office printed at the end of the year a set of supplementary charts to show it. This year, by contrast, the ice-flow is trifling. It reaches southward to about lat. 42° N., or two degrees north of last year's limit, while its eastward limit is some 400 miles west of last year's. It is "stringy" in shape, and its area probably less than 100,000 square miles, or a small fraction of what it was a year ago. In this month's report the keeper of the Belle Isle light-house is quoted as saying that "if there is any heavy ice to the southward off the Bank it must have passed this coast a long distance off, as only one iceberg has been seen during the entire winter"; although last year the east coast of Newfoundland, and of Labrador also, was at times almost unapproachable on account of ice.

These remarkable variations in the southward flow of arctic ice give an interest to the expedition to North Greenland on which Lieut. Peary and his party started on Saturday week. It will be remembered that the charting of the west coast of North Greenland, as seen from the elevation of the ice-cap of the western interior, is one of the objects of his novel and venturous journey. Looking off on the waters, he may also be able to determine something as to the southward movement of the bergs of the northern arctic regions and to what extent they come from upper waters hitherto unseen. Gen. Greely has asserted that a very large part of the ice-flow comes from a region above Baffin's Bay, and on this point Lieut. Peary may be able to give us new light, particularly should he be able to reach Greenland's "furthest North." Of the places of origin of the ice as a whole and the speed of its southward flow we now know positively almost nothing, the only clue to the latter being the eight months' trip on an ice floe of the wrecked party from the *Polaris*, who, after drifting from upper Baffin's Bay to Labrador, were rescued in the spring of 1873. The law of the ice flow, if once ascertained, may manifestly have a most important bearing on future arctic exploration in the selection of seasons when relatively little ice will be encountered. The unavoidable ignorance on this point has hitherto baffled many arctic explorers, and, what is much more important, reduced materially the catch of the sealers and whale-fishers.

The Prince of Wales does not seem to be nearly out of his troubles. The New York *Sun*, which seemed last week to be prepared to stand by him, abandoned him on Sunday to his fate, and the censure of the Tory press in England is even more severe than that of the Liberals. This, we suspect, is in part a bit of preparation for the general election, for the middle and working classes, not unnaturally, are always disposed to hold the Conservatives responsible for "scandals in high life," as the chief figures in them are usually members of the party. The middle and working classes, too, are now a very formidable factor in a general election, and a clean sweep of the Tory party from power, as a condoner of princely immorality, would be a very serious thing. But the party is between the devil and the deep sea, for a condemnation of the Prince of Wales is, of course, inevitably more or less of a blow to that now very sickly thing, "the monarchical principle." Any arrangement which compels people to support in luxury, at great expense, for fifty years, an idle, somewhat vicious, and by no means gifted man, in order to have an heir ready for an office which has only nominal duties, can ill bear discussion or criticism in our day. The times are wonderfully changed since Leigh Hunt was sent to jail for speaking disrespectfully of the Prince of Wales who was afterwards George IV. George IV., however, escaped one source of embarrassment which for his grandnephew is very serious. He introduced very common people into "society," but he did it because he liked them. The present Prince of Wales labors under the somewhat ludicrous imputation of undertaking it for cash, and of being importuned for the return of the money on the ground of failure to perform the contract. There is nothing like this in the history of monarchy, but it is what might have been foreseen when a commercial democracy was suddenly brought into contact with a mediæval social hierarchy.

The annual report of Sir Evelyn Baring, just presented to Parliament, though chiefly upon the finances of Egypt, contains an interesting account of the progress made during the eight years of English control in that country. In 1883 insolvency was imminent; now a financial equilibrium has been secured, the surplus of revenue over expenses for 1890 having been £600,000, while the reserve fund amounts to £1,745,000. While few direct taxes have been abolished, owing chiefly to the opposition of the French, the condition of the fellaheen has greatly improved. They are no longer subjected to the slavery of the *corvée*, that system "of forced, unpaid, and unfed labor by which the irrigation works of the country were maintained." The use of the koorbash has been prohibited, and with the lash has passed away "a whole system of brutality and physical intimidation." There has been a distinct diminution of administrative corruption, the enemy of all genuine progress in a country where hitherto bribes were unblushingly exacted by every official, high or low. A reform of the judicial system has been instituted in spite of the determined opposition of many Egyptians of the highest rank, and promises to be far-reaching in its beneficial effects. This is a record of which England may well be proud.

As might have been expected, Chancellor von Caprivi refused on Thursday to present to the Lower House of the Prussian Diet the material upon which he based his extraordinary speech of June 1st. Contrary to the general expectation that the Government would propose to the Federal Council a temporary suspension or reduction of the grain duties, Caprivi, in defiance of monster petitions pointing out the existence of actual agricultural distress, in opposition even to some of the stanchest protectionists and most devoted adherents of Bismarck's agrarian policy, such as Von Kardorff and Von Hammerstein, announced that the Government had decided to uphold the present duties. He denied that the prices of cereals were abnormally high, maintained that Austria, Russia, North America, and India were fully able to meet Germany's increased need of grain, and demonstrated, in the usual approved way, that a reduction would certainly benefit the foreign producer, while it was very doubtful whether the German consumer would profit by it. His argument culminated in the declaration that a 50 per cent. reduction in duties would in any case hardly affect the price or the weight of bread, as it would make rye only two or three pfennigs per kilogramme cheaper—a dictum which will henceforth take rank in economic discussion with Mr. Evarts's little three-cent joke. Naturally enough, Herr von Caprivi now shrinks from the consequences of his own speech, and refuses to divulge the names of the "experts" who furnished him with the data for his arguments. The vehemence with which Herr Rickert, as the spokesman of the Freisinnige party, turned in Thursday's debate against the Chancellor, and the taunt of Herr Richter that the Government withheld its documents because it was ashamed of them, must have convinced Caprivi that the policy of taking the wind out of Bismarck's sails, by temporarily adopting his economic vagaries, is not likely to prove successful. It is more than possible that the dissensions already existing in the Cabinet regarding the agricultural question will become more pronounced as the combined attacks of the National Liberals, Progressists, and Social Democrats reveal the strength of the opposition in the Reichstag to the present duties; and Herr Miquel, the Minister of Finance, in particular, who is opposed to their retention, may be compelled to withdraw in spite of William's *sic volo*.

THE CHILIAN SITUATION.

THE Chilian Congressional Junta have issued a manifesto describing the political situation in Chili as seen from their point of view. It adds nothing of much importance to the statement made some time ago in the New York *Tribune* by Don Ricardo Trumbull, the Congressional envoy now in this country. Nor, happily, do we need it in order to be able to pass judgment on the conduct of President Balmaceda. His own message to his Congress now sitting, dated April 20, contains as complete an indictment against him as his worst enemy could draw up. He admits that he had a long quarrel with the Chilian Legislature, owing to their distrust of him; that for reasons which seemed good to them they refused to support Cabinets appointed by him, and it must be remembered that Chilian Cabinets are of the French and English type, and have seats in the Chambers, and are dependent for their existence on a Parliamentary majority. He admits that Congress emphasized its disapprobation of him by refusing to make the annual appropriations for the army and navy, and he admits that when this was done, he dispersed the Congress by armed force, closed the higher courts, locked up the judges who decided against him, and proceeded to carry on the Government as a self-appointed dictator, and plunged his country into civil war.

Now this is his own story. It lies before us. We are adding nothing to it and taking nothing from it. It is on this that he must submit himself to the judgment of the civilized world, and especially to the judgment of the friends of parliamentary government. The American public certainly ought to have no difficulty in making up its mind about the rights and wrongs of the matter even on Balmaceda's showing. But it ought not to be dependent upon Balmaceda's showing, or on that of the Congressionalists either. We ought to have at this moment in Chili as our representative a first class man, known and trusted by the country, whose reports would furnish guidance both for the Administration and for public opinion. Considering the efforts we have been making of late years to acquire moral influence over the South American republics, to enter into closer commercial relations with them, and to get them to live under our hegemony as regards Europe, there is something grotesque in the fact that our representative in Chili—the chief of these republics—just now is a barely naturalized "Blaine Irishman," of whom the country had only heard as a British political refugee until he was appointed to the Chilian Mission.

We have already in these columns pointed out the parallel between the existing crisis in Chili and that which would have arisen in this country had Andrew Johnson appealed to force against Congress in 1867, as he very likely would have done had he had a regular army like that of Chili under his command. The Chilian regular army is composed of semi-civilized half-breeds or Indians, very ignorant, very obedient, and very brave—just the material, in fact, for a *coup d'état* at the hands of an unscrupulous executive. It is a great misfortune, as we all recognize here, for a parliamentary country to be obliged to keep on foot a standing army of any kind. It would hardly be tolerated in England were not so much of it needed for foreign service, and had it not been firmly placed in subordination to the civil power by a series of successful struggles with the Crown. As it is, its maintenance is dependent strictly on the annual passage of the Mutiny Act by Parliament. Did that act, for any reason, fail to pass, there would not be a lawful soldier in England the day after Parliament adjourned. We have the same rule here. Our little force would cease to exist if Congress, for any reason, made no appropriation for it.

In all constitutional countries this power of the Legislature over the army is recognized as the most important guarantee of public liberty. Considering the composition of the Chilian army, it is of more importance perhaps in Chili than in any other republic. The army there is a more dangerous weapon in the hands of the Executive than anywhere else. The Chilian Congress was, therefore, exercising a most important right when it refused to a President whom it distrusted the command of a large military or naval force, by failing to make the annual appropriations. For the American public to deny this power to the legislature of a sister republic, would be to express contempt for constitutional government. For the failure of the Chilian Congress to make such appropriations, Balmaceda was not responsible. The duty of a constitutional Executive under such circumstances is to appeal to the courts or to the voters. It is the voters who are charged with the duty of punishing a Congress which fails in its duty. The doctrine that Balamaceda enunciates, that when Congress fails to pass such acts as the Executive thinks it ought to pass, he may use the troops to disperse it, is, of course, to convert republican government into a farce.

We do not think so clear a case for American sympathy and forbearance, we will not say assistance, has arisen on this continent since the establishment of our Government. It is clearer by far than that furnished by the original revolt of the Spanish colonies against the mother country, because no man was then able to foresee what sort of political organization the success of the revolt would produce. Chili has been the best of all the governments which it did produce, the most peaceful, orderly, and free. Considering the kind of population it has had to deal with, its history has been very remarkable. This usurpation of Balmaceda's, however, is making a fearful breach in the traditions of peaceful progress. The one cheering sign in the gloom of the situation is the firm resistance with which he is meeting. Could he have successfully and quietly perpetrated his crime, it would be useless to look for constitutional government in Chili for a century to come. The country would have lived for an indefinite period under a veiled despotism like that of the Third Napoleon.

The *Tribune*, we presume under official inspiration, takes this view of the situation in Chili:

> "The appeal of the Chilian insurgents to the European Powers for recognition as belligerents is grounded upon *de facto* occupation of four provinces, the support of the navy, and the authority of the Congress elected in 1888. In reply the Balmaceda Government can make out a strong case for its own superior position and resources. It has undisputed possession of the capital and the principal port, the army has not swerved in allegiance to it, the majority of the provinces are controlled by it, and a new Congress has been brought into existence. Balmaceda's dictatorship now has legislative warrant in the action of the Congress recently elected. While he was deposed by the majority of the preceding Congress, the proceedings were irregular and did not have the validity of a constitutional impeachment. His action in prolonging the credits for the military budget which the Chambers had declined to vote was unquestionally illegal, but the new Congress has virtually condoned the offence under the plea of necessity, and armed him with supreme powers for suppressing the revolt. Strong as may be the sympathies of foreign Powers for the insurgent cause, they will hardly be justified in granting the demand for recognition of belligerent rights."

The answer to this is, that this description of the position of Balmaceda would, barring the fact that the last Congress is in the field against him, have applied exactly to Louis Napoleon's position after 1851. The trouble in all cases, since the dawn of history, in which revolutions have been made by self-constituted dictators, is that "the army did not swerve in its allegiance to them." This is what enabled Cæsar to overturn the Roman Republic, Cromwell to suppress the Long Parliament, Napoleon I. to execute the Dixhuit Brumaire, and his nephew to effect the *coup d'état* of 1851. This, too, is the reason why, as we have said, all friends of parliamentary government dread standing armies in a parliamentary country. They know that if the Executive should take it into his head to commit treason, the army would probably stand by him. The United States is therefore the last country in the world to accept from a man like Balmaceda his undisputed control of such a force as the Chilian army as an excuse for his continuing criminal resistance to the only lawfully elected Legislature of the country, and as a reason for sympathizing with him or countenancing him. It is very like accepting as a sufficient defence from a burglar the fact that he had successfully "squared" the police.

That Balmaceda has now a Congress competent to forgive his treason and arm him with legal authority to carry on the Government of the country in his own way, is equally untenable. Louis Napoleon also had a legislature after his overthrow of the French Republic, but it was not competent to pass an act of indemnity or pardon his crimes. No Congress in Chili can be a legal Congress which is elected solely in districts governed by martial law, administered by a usurper, with the courts closed and the press muzzled. It would be a crying shame and disgrace if any serious American statesman gave a moment's countenance to such a view. Everything done under, for, or by Balmaceda since he dispersed the Legislature is null and void, and can have no justification except such as force can give. What terms the Congressionalists

should offer him must of course be shaped in part by their own prospects and in part by the condition of the country. But if they can negotiate with him on equal terms, they ought not, in the interest of free government, to offer him anything but permission to go abroad after his baggage has been thoroughly searched. It will be a great misfortune if we use any influence we possess to minimize in South America the guilt of a military *coup d'état*. We owe it to the cause of good republican government all over the world to set our faces like flint against the view that a President who uses the regular army to disperse the Legislature and close the courts, deserves anything but a fair trial, and punishment neither cruel nor unusual.

GENUINE AND BOGUS BALLOT REFORM.

THE Illinois Legislature has passed a ballot-reform bill which is a desirable measure, so far as we can judge from the brief outlines of it which have been published. It will undoubtedly be signed by the Governor and become a law, raising the number of States which have such laws at present to twenty-eight. If the Pennsylvania bill receives Gov. Pattison's approval, the number will be twenty-nine, but we trust that he will refuse to sign it. If "Matt" Quay and Gov. Hill had concocted it together, it could hardly be a more thoroughly partisan measure than it is. We have obtained a copy of it, and find on examination that it is the worst bill of the kind yet passed. If it were to become a law, it would have no parallel in badness except in the New York law as it stands to-day after the amendments of the last Legislature. It requires such a large number of signatures for independent nominations, and fixes the time for filing nominations so far in advance of election—fifty-six days for regular nominations for State officers, and forty-nine for independent—as to be practically prohibitive of all third-party nominations.

Not content with these obstacles to such nominations, the framers of the bill, while making provision that regular party nominations shall be arranged in groups under the party names on the ballot, have inserted a special provision that all other nominations shall be arranged in alphabetical order under the offices for which they are nominated. The object of this unfair arrangement of the ballot is, of course, to make it very easy for the voter to find the regular tickets, and very difficult to find the independent or other third-party nominations. Another defect of the bill is the lack of any limit upon the number of ballots a voter can obtain in case he spoils a ballot in the marking of it. The ordinary limit is three. Under the Pennsylvania bill he can get as many as he desires, provided he returns each spoiled one, and by wilfully spoiling a large number a malicious voter might seriously impede the election. These are merely sample provisions of a thoroughly worthless bill.

This conduct of the Pennsylvania Republican Legislature towards ballot reform, taken in connection with that of the members of both parties in the late New York Legislature and with that of the Republicans of the late California Legislature, reveals the new line of opposition which the politicians have adopted towards the reform. Not daring longer to resist the popular demand for it, they pretend to grant it while insidiously making alterations which completely pervert it. The first point of attack was the vital one of the system, that is, the one placing independent nominations on an equal footing with those of the regular parties. This is the feature of the Australian method which has been most hateful of all to the politicians, for it deprives them of their exclusive control of the ballots and strikes a death-blow at their caucuses and primaries. In New York, California, and Pennsylvania, the attack was made in much the same manner. In California the number of signatures necessary for independent nominations was placed at 5 per cent. of the total vote, and the period for filing nominations fixed at 30 days before election. In New York, where maximum numbers and not percentages are required, the numbers were so increased as to make an aggregate of 10,000 signatures necessary to secure the nomination of a complete State ticket, and at the same time provisions were adopted which render separate independent nominations, or incomplete tickets, practically useless. In Pennsylvania the higher percentage plan was adopted, with the additional obstacles commented upon above.

It will be practically impossible under each of these three measures—treating the Pennsylvania bill as if it were a law like the other two—to get any kind of an independent ticket into the field for a State election. Prohibition and other third parties will have extreme difficulty in doing so in California and Pennsylvania, but in New York they can have a full ticket so long as they are able to poll 1 per cent. of the total vote in the preceding election. There can be no doubt that in both California and Pennsylvania the design of the law is to drive these third-party tickets out of the field. Neither can there be any doubt that in New York the design of the amendments adopted at the last session of the Legislature is to make independent nominations, including municipal-reform tickets, practically impossible. In fact, the Tammany organs are already openly chuckling over precisely this effect of the amendments, and calling attention to the "hole" in which they put reformers of all kinds. Thus ballot reform becomes the ideal system for machine politics. Under the old system the politicians had complete control of the printing and distributing of the ballots, and had to pay for the privilege. They could make the distribution of independent ballots extremely difficult, but could not absolutely prevent it. Now, under the perverted ballot-reform system of New York, California, and Pennsylvania, they can have their own ballots printed and distributed at the public expense, while all independent ballots are practically prohibited by law from getting into the polling places. It is small wonder they chuckle over such a complete perversion of the reform as this is.

Fortunately they have only three out of 29 States in which to do this chuckling. Of the 26 other States—including Illinois, whose bill is certain to be a law—24 have excellent laws, and two, New Jersey, and Connecticut, have poor ones; but neither of these two discriminates against independent nominations, their defects being in other directions. The reform has made enormous progress during the present year, for no less than fifteen legislatures have passed bills since January last, and all these, except in California and Pennsylvania, are thorough-going applications of the Australian system. The politicians have begun their trickery too late to accomplish much, but in every State in which they have succeeded with it, the task of undoing their mischief ought to be begun at once.

THE STATISTICS OF DIVORCE.

THE increasing frequency of divorce in the United States has for some time caused uneasiness among reflecting persons, and has recently been made the subject of investigation by Government. The report upon this subject made two years since by the Commissioner of Labor has just received a critical examination at the hands of Mr. W. F. Willcox of Cornell University, the results of which are published as the first number of a series of studies edited by the political-science faculty of Columbia College. These results, although principally negative in character, are worked out with much care, and are a valuable corrective to the somewhat crude and hasty generalizations of the Commissioner of Labor. In the United States, it appears, there were granted in 1885 some 23,472 divorces, a number greater than is reported from all the rest of Christendom, and probably greater than the number actually granted there. The attempt to determine the rate of increase, however, is beset with difficulties. Many records were destroyed by fire in the court-houses in Chicago and Cincinnati, and the casualties of this kind are nearly one hundred in number. The census of 1870 is admitted to be inaccurate, and that of 1890 is at least questionable. But assuming the average annual increase of population to be 2½ per cent., we find the average increase of divorces to be more than twice as great. Computing the number of married couples at about 19 per cent. of the population, there were, in 1870, 155 divorces to every 100,000 couples, and in 1880 there were 203. In 1870 about 3½ per cent. of the marriages were terminated by divorce, in 1880 about 4.8, and in 1890 probably 6.2.

When we consider the large proportion of negroes in our population, and reflect that prior to their emancipation they had little occasion for divorce proceedings, it might seem probable that the increase in the divorce-rate was due to the changed status of the blacks. Unfortunately the court records do not indicate the color of the parties to

suits; but Mr. Willcox endeavors to supply the deficiency by classifying the counties of seven fairly typical Southern States according to the proportion of negroes to whites in 1880. In all these States except Georgia, the counties with over 35 per cent. of negroes show an increase greater than the average increase of the country; while the counties having less than 17 per cent. of negroes show an increase less than the average. On the other hand, it seems that the divorce-rate is in most States less in the counties with the largest negro population than in the others. But owing to the notorious underestimate of the colored population in 1870, these calculations are of little value. The opinion is said to prevail in the Southern States that divorce there is almost confined to the negroes, an opinion corroborated by the clerks of the courts; and unless more satisfactory figures can be had than Mr. Willcox produces, this judgment must be accepted.

A further argument in support of this in some respects encouraging conclusion is to be found in the rate of increase of the several States for the decade 1870–1880. The rate for the whole country being thirty-one, it is found that nearly all the States north of Mason and Dixon's line and east of the Mississippi have a less rate than this, while North Carolina, Louisiana, Arkansas, Florida, Texas, Mississippi, Alabama, Colorado, and Dakota have rates of 100 and over, and this increase in the Southern States is, owing to the errors of the census of 1870, probably even larger. But it must not be inferred from this that the divorce-rate in the Southern States, as yet, approaches that of the Northern States. In 1870 this was, as above stated, for the United States, 155 for every 100,000 couples, a rate reached by not a single Southern State and exceeded by twenty-one Northern States. In 1880 the rate for the country had risen to 203, and four Southern States surpassed this—Missouri with 216, Texas with 263, Arkansas with 270, and Florida with 287. But this unsavory preëminence was shared with twenty-two Northern States, including all New England except Massachusetts. Among these States the rate rises from Wisconsin, with 218, to Colorado, with 781. Mr. Willcox endeavors to maintain that divorce is distributed along geographical lines, being most common on the Pacific and least common on the Atlantic. But he is obliged to make so many exceptions that the generalization has little value.

Some encouragement may perhaps be derived from the fact that the duration of marriages before divorce shows a tendency to increase, being on an average nine months greater in 1886 than in 1871. One-half of all the divorces are granted within six or seven years of the marriages. The figures yield no satisfactory answer to the question as to the comparative frequency of divorce among natives and foreigners, nor can we do more than assume from the analogy of Switzerland that divorce is four times as common among Protestants as Catholics. A childless marriage is possibly three or four times as likely to end with divorce as one which results in children. Nearly two-thirds of the divorces are granted upon the application of wives, but nothing is known as to the remarriage of divorced persons, and, so far as we can judge, all the calculations may be seriously affected by the repeated divorces sometimes procured by the same individual.

The opinion has been advanced that most divorces are obtained with a view to new marriages, and Mr. E. J. Phelps goes so far as to declare that if divorced persons were not allowed to marry, "nine-tenths, perhaps ninety-nine-hundredths, of the divorce cases would at once disappear." We are entirely without evidence upon the subject of remarriage in the United States, but M. Bertillon has examined the marriage returns of Switzerland with results which are thought by Mr. Willcox to prove that divorces are not obtained for the purpose supposed, at least to any great extent. The Swiss tables show that of 1,000 widowers marrying within ten years of their bereavement, 323 will marry in less than a year, 260 in a year, and 136 in two years. Of 1,000 divorced men, 300 will marry in less than a year, 255 in a year, and 151 in two years. Of widows the corresponding numbers are 95, 264, 152. Of divorced women, 194, 282, 166.

Mr. Willcox also calls attention to the fact that in Belgium, where the provisions of the Code Napoléon have always allowed divorce by mutual consent as well as separation, the number of both divorces and separations in 1872–81 was 24 to every 100,000 couples, while in France, where no divorce was allowed, the number of separations was 33. Furthermore, as bearing upon the contention that we should have a uniform law of divorce in the United States, Mr. Willcox remarks that the passage of such a law in Switzerland was proved by ten years' experience to have had very little effect upon the divorce-rates of the different cantons, one of them having forty-nine times as much divorce as another.

As to restraints upon divorce caused by the expense of legal proceedings, it is hardly necessary to say that the morals of the people are not likely to be improved by such means. The example of Bavaria shows that legal restraints upon improvident marriages simply multiply illegitimate births, and in general it may be said that legislation can promote morality only when it is in harmony with a substantially unanimous public opinion—which would perhaps be as effective without legislation as with it. The increase of divorces in this country is due partly to the increased resort to legal remedies of all kinds, to the general uneasiness and discontent with the existing constitution of society, to the decay in the belief in immortality and future punishment, to the great development of means of travel and the migratory habits arising therefrom, to the enlarged consciousness of their rights, begetting an increased independence of spirit, among women, and to the real increase of their independence due to new opportunities of self-support. Many a man who would have formerly remained with his wife now deserts her because the railroads enable him to remove himself thousands of miles before his absence will be noticed. Many a woman who would have clung to a worthless husband from dread of starvation did she leave him, now reasons that she can make a better living by freeing herself from a tiresome encumbrance and going to work in a shop or factory.

Mr. Willcox argues forcibly that divorce laws can hardly be expected to control such tendencies as these, but he has little to suggest by way of remedy except education and change of heart. So long as public opinion is indifferent to the prevalence of divorce, it will continue to prevail and to increase.

THE SALON IN THE CHAMPS-ÉLYSÉES.

PARIS, May, 1891.

WHATEVER innovations are made in the art world of England, no matter how many the Grosvenor Galleries and New English Art Clubs formed by rebellious factions, the Royal Academy goes on in its old way, unmoved and indifferent. But it is another thing in Paris. There it was only last year that the Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts, exhibiting in the Champ de Mars, was the result of a schism in the Société des Artistes Français, but already the new exhibition has had its influence on the old Salon. The difference in the management of this year's show in the Palais de l'Industrie is marked. There has been a decrease of almost 800 in the number of pictures, of more than 900 in the sculptures accepted. The large hallway, as you go up stairs from the main entrance, is decorated with tapestries instead of the usual canvases; several of the galleries are closed altogether, in others the paintings hang but two deep, while one room, as at the Palais des Beaux-Arts, has been set aside for a Salon de Repos, where there are many easy chairs and tables covered with books and papers. In fully one-half the balcony absolutely nothing is to be seen.

This change is a decided improvement for the visitor, but it has caused much ill-feeling among the artists who have found themselves rejected from both salons. The immediate consequence is the formation of still a third association, the Société du Palais des Arts Libéraux, which will hold its exhibition in June. The malcontents are contending that when once a man has become a member of the Société des Artistes Français (and a four-years' exhibition in the Salon they think should entitle to membership), he must always be allowed to show at least one picture. Every one who has been in London and seen the atrocities on the line at Burlington House knows what this would lead to. It is just such a claim that is now recognized to be the worst form of corruption in the corrupt Royal Academy.

But many as are the modifications in the management of the show in the Palais de l'Industrie, there is none in the character of the canvases exhibited. All that is most alive, most modern, most original in contemporary art was last year carried off to the Champ de Mars and has remained there. Academic conventionality is the order of the day in the Champs-Élysées. It is true that, coming straight from the London exhibitions, the average attained seems remarkably high. Good drawing and technical knowledge are the rule and not the exception. The amateur does not prevail. But above the general average few rise to sound draughtsmanship and technique, few add that individuality, that vitality which

alone can give style and distinction to the artist's work. If for English shows pictures are produced to suit the British public, for the old Salon they are painted to appeal to the jury who award the medals, and not to record the painter's impressions or to express his own conception of the beauty of color and form. The influence of the jury, therefore, is that which is most keenly felt; the Salon in the Champs-Élysées has no place for men who have something new to say or a new way in which to say it.

The enormous canvases, never seen anywhere else, are typical examples of Salon aims and methods. This year the most conspicuous are "La Mort de Babylone," by M. Rochegrosse, a "Mort de Sardanapale," by M. Louis Chalon, M. J. P. Laurens's "La Vcûte d'Acier," and M. Henri Martin's "Chacun sa Chimère," of which French papers and critics have had much to say. I know of not a single Englishman who has the artistic knowledge or power to produce one of these compositions. But they are either cold and colorless in their academic correctness, or in them the finer artistic qualities are sacrificed to size and theatrical effect. The most striking pictures in the exhibition, they are not truly decorative or pictorial—despite their lavish display of well-drawn figures—as are the large, stately palaces and groups of Veronese, or even the coarse splendor of Rubens, though Laurens's "Vcûte d'Acier" has been done expressly to decorate the Paris Hôtel de Ville for which so many leading French artists are now working. Really better are paintings like M. Micheléna's "Penthésilée" and M. Checa's "Attila" (Checa, however, has been seen to far greater advantage), in which the painter has succeeded in suggesting, with tremendous vigor, the action and movement he was striving for; or like M. Gervais's "Les Saintes Maries," with the lagunes of Provence, their intense brilliancy and hot distances rendered so truthfully that they help one to forget that the three naked women in the foreground, whom M. Gervais, for the sake of a title, calls the three saints of the Provençal legend, are but the merest academical studies.

No less academic or official is the interest attached to the work of those painters of established reputation who have remained faithful to the Société des Artistes Français. Seldom has M. Bonnat's draughtmanship been more masterly than in his young, muscular Samson struggling with the lion. Seldom has M. Henner's strange, unwholesome color-scheme been more powerful than in his "Christ Mort" and "Madeleine." But in each it is academical rather than artistic accomplishment which the painter displays; there may be less learning of the schools in one of M. Degas's little naked washerwomen, or M. Besnard's marvellous color arrangements, but there is more art. Mere learning becomes absolutely tedious when it finds expression in the empty pretentiousness of M. Bouguereau or the inevitable lion and desert of M. Gérôme, on the one hand, or in too obvious story-telling on the other, as in "Le Pardon de Kergoat," by M. Jules Breton, with all the detail of figures and costumes aggressively prominent; or the frigidly composed "Fin d'un Roman," by M. Luminais; or Munkácsy's "Lair Favori," its composition and grouping equally aggressive, while it is without that richness and depth of color which so often distinguishes his canvases. Anecdote, usually supposed to be the special property of the British artist, has always held a prominent place in the Salon. But the Frenchman knows how to tell his story in paint better and with more feeling for the medium used in the telling than the Englishman. If he understands his trade at all, he does not degenerate into painted photography, the snare which this year in England seems to have entrapped the Newlyn men. There are painted photographs on the walls of the Palais de l'Industrie, but they have not been sent by men of standing in the artistic world. If one takes a picture like "À l'Asile de Nuit," by M. Geoffroi, with every figure unmistakably a study from life, or a charity school by Mr. Walter Gay, or a very clever milliner's workroom by the Italian Menta, and compares it with Mr. Stanhope Forbes's "Salvation Army" in the Royal Academy (of which I spoke in a recent letter), the entire group arranged as if for the camera, then the difference of treatment is at once appreciated. But though the French artist at the Champs-Élysées is more convincing, he still, as a rule, makes his story of greater importance than its artistic expression; and once the literary, or whatever you may choose to call it, meaning of a picture overshadows its merely sensuous beauty, its value artistically is lessened.

Men like Manet and M. Boldini, M. Roll and Mr. Sargent have so accustomed us to look for a new artistic experiment—the setting forth of a new artistic problem—in every portrait painted, that the old-fashioned conventional portrait now seems dull and tiresome beyond measure. Unfortunately, this old-fashioned convention has not been outgrown by the "Artistes Français," who still paint their sitters as if light and atmosphere were not, and as if to show men and women in natural positions or in their ordinary surroundings were the unpardonable sin in art. M. Benjamin-Constant would be quite at home in Burlington House. M. Munkácsy's drawing-room background is vulgar in its elaboration of elegance. M. Bonnat can hardly be equalled in the rendering of gorgeous millinery, but this is not the one end of the portrait-painter. Better far is a very curious group of a provincial municipal council by M. E. Buland, unpleasant as are its shortcomings. It is hard, and that the men are all sitting for their portraits is too evident. But the character in the faces of the Mayor at the head of the table, of the officials around it, of the gendarmes in full uniform, and the careful but unobtrusive accessories—the printed announcements, the flag, the eagle—are not only delightfully but most artistically rendered; while the chances are, that, toned down by time, the picture as a whole will lose much of its present hardness. It is worth pointing out that two of the other most notable portraits come from Great Britain. They are both by Mr. Guthrie, the young Scotch artist who has lately been so prominent in English galleries, and one in particular, of a man on horseback, gives with success the very essential atmospheric qualities so little understood by the average Salon portrait-painter; but the absence of light in the picture makes it seem likely that much of it was painted in the studio.

In landscape the Champs-Élysées Salon makes a braver showing. The influence of Claude Monet is apparent, though, of course, it is in the rival exhibition that the newest "open-air" theories and experiments will be found. Strangely enough, this influence extends to the technique of men who are quite out of sympathy with his aims and objects, and shows itself in a disagreeable, spotty method of work prevalent this year, and seen even in the canvases of M. Bonnat. Treatment which with M. Monet has the greatest breadth, with his imitators who do not understand him degenerates into mere niggling. The art of landscape-painting has been so entirely revolutionized by Monet that the work of some of its most eminent exponents, who have not fallen under the charm, would seem to belong to the galleries of the Louvre rather than to contemporary exhibitions. Contrast with more modern methods, however, cannot destroy the classical beauty of the landscapes of M. Français, nor the Corot-like grace of those of M. Harpignies, and both these men have been steadfast in their allegiance to the older society. M. Jules Dupré is also here, and, true to his name, he looks at nature through the eyes of the Romanticists of 1830, giving a quality to his painting which makes it stand out with no small distinction from the work which surrounds it. But M. Nozal, who likewise has not been tempted away to the rival camp, is far more modern in feeling and treatment, and his fine effects of frost and clouds are among the most distinguished canvases in the Champs-Élysées. Perhaps of all the followers of Monet who are here, no one has so well mastered the leader's teachings and developed a style entirely his own as M. E. Baillet, whose September Morning, with its delicate and true study of mist and sunshine, would be a masterpiece in any show. In the rendering of values, Mr. Bisbing, in a study of calves, is particularly successful. And a little group of men who live and paint at Étapes, a fishing village near Boulogne, bid fair to develop a school and a style of their own. It would be as useless as tedious, however, to keep on cataloguing the good landscapes. Moreover, far more important than the merit of individual examples is the fact, proved by the general excellence, that it is in this branch that French art is most healthy and vigorous, not even the paralyzing atmosphere of conservative headquarters stifling its strong vitality.

I wish that as much could be said for the water colors and pastels. In the galleries devoted to them the show is most deplorably dull. Work that depends for effect upon its freshness and "go" and directness is hopelessly perfunctory and lifeless and formal. It is clear at a glance that the pastellists and aquarellists of vigorous talent must have emigrated to the Champ de Mars. Here and there, rare exceptions do but emphasize the prevailing dulness. There is plenty of "go" in M. Ochoa's pastel portraits, with Parisian streets for backgrounds, of crispness in M. Vauthier's pastels of snow and sunlight on the Seine, of directness in M. Reyzner's pastel study of an old woman. Two Americans help to redeem the collection: Mr. Rolshoven in a pastel, a decorative arrangement of a woman, foliage, and sunlight (though he has another, a nude, so uninteresting that it might better have stayed in his studio), and Mr. John Fraser, in a water color, an impression of a strong cloud effect in the Highlands. But all the rest is weariness to the flesh.

Matters are not much better in the black-and-white rooms, though wood-engraving, in which the French excel, as usual, holds its own. M. Baude, M. Florian, and M. Leluc are once again to the fore with examples of technical supremacy. I learned that M. de Mare, in his etchings of bronzes for the Collection Spitzer, rivals Jacquemart very closely; and I was also struck with some very clever sketches on copper by M. Ardail, and two little plates by Mr. J. D. Watson. The Shakspere etching, published in New York, I believe, by Mr. Frederick Keppel, is here, and so is M. Flameng's etching of the Aldine Press for the Grolier Club. But of original drawings, in pen and ink or wash or charcoal, I

saw none of the least importance or cleverness, though it was funny to find as strong an illustrator as M. Jeanniot trying to do the Cruikshank act in a series of illustrations for a French book.

Little more can be said for the sculpture. But here again the high average of the French artist is very striking to any one just come from the English galleries. There are rows and rows of busts and statuettes of equal and genuine merit, good in their expression of character and in the knowledge revealed in the modelling. M. Ringel d'Ilzach himself is not represented—he having transferred his allegiance to the Champ de Mars—but the little medallions in low relief which his name suggests, are not only many, but of much artistic excellence. In the more ambitious work, in the larger statues, there is the same general high level, the same absence of any very strikingly original examples, though M. Falguières and M. Mercié, it must be admitted, are unusually good—the former in a new Diana, nude and standing, the latter in a delightful female figure, sitting and draped, with a little satyr at her side.

Technical excellence there is in abundance in the Champs-Élysées; for artistic individuality one must go to the Champ de Mars. N. N.

ROUMANILLE AND THE FÉLIBRES.

LONDON, June 2, 1891.

ON the 24th of May Joseph Roumanille, the father of the Provençal *félibres*, died in Avignon. Twenty or thirty years ago the announcement of his death would have made a much greater stir in the literary world of France. When Mistral's 'Mirèio' first took that world by storm, the little group of poets and prose-writers who, far away in the Bouches-du-Rhône, were ambitiously striving to revive the language of the Troubadours, became for the time the literary lions of the day. They were, however, but modest lions at the best. They lived far from Paris. Their work was steeped in the colors of the human life they knew and loved—the simple outdoor life of a people at once vigorous and childlike. In their verse was all the sweetness of the thyme-scented hills and the olive-grown valleys of Provence, the freshness of the harvest, the gayety of the vintage. It was like a whiff of pure country air after the heavily laden atmosphere breathed in the 'Fleurs du Mal' of Baudelaire or the 'Comédie Humaine' of Balzac. But as no rural charm could long keep M. Coquelin's *Parisien* from his beloved boulevards, so the naïve tales of Roumanille, the pastoral romance of Mistral, had but little chance when pitted against the naturalist's novel, the *décadent* poem. The new schools that were being formed in Paris offered far greater attractions to the modern man who exists on excitement. With the De Goncourts and Zola giving their pitiless studies of human evil and human wrong, with Catulle Mendès and Huysmans analyzing disease in its grimmest moral forms, with Verlaine and Rimbaud acting on life's stage their own dark tragedy, only the few had time to remember the *félibres* working and singing in the clear hot sunshine of the South.

But in the future, in the annals of French literature, the Provençal revival will hold very much the place of the Brook Farm experiment in the social history of the United States. It may not have had the influence its founders hoped for it, but its results have been very widely felt. To have originated this movement is the one great incident in Roumanille's life, which, in every other way, seems to have been as peaceful and uneventful as that of any little bourgeois in a French provincial town. He was born in 1818 in Saint-Remy, and came very young to Avignon. At one time he was on the staff of the *Commune*, the first of all the papers sold for a sou. And for many years, and until his death, as visitors to Avignon know, he was publisher and bookseller in the Rue Saint-Agricol. It was in his own shop that I first saw him a few years ago, a hearty old man, speaking French with the slow, gentle drawl of the true Provençal. There was nothing that pleased him better than to have a customer who came to buy the Provençal books of which he of course was the publisher, and, thanks to him, I found in his shop many whose names even I had not known before. His days were thus spent between writing his own books and selling those of other men—a striking contrast to the feverish, artificial existence of the Paris man of letters.

It is said that Roumanille's desire to have his old mother read his stories first led him to print these in his native Provençal. The origin of his wider ambition is less definitely known; to him, a genuine son of the Midi, it probably "came" as belief in his three-fingered flute did to Daudet's *Tambourinaire*. However this may have been, he very quickly gathered about him a band of young enthusiasts, all the sons of peasants even as he was: the people were to be the saviours of the people, as Lamartine said. And all were equally eager to do again in this prosaic nineteenth century what the Troubadours of old had done for the popular language of their day. The Midi would once more go forth and conquer France. To accomplish this great end, they met at Fontségugne one day in 1854, and solemnly formed the association known as the Félibrige. They were very much in earnest, these young men who called themselves *félibres*—why, no one exactly knew. Aubanel, with all the delicious exaggeration of the Méridional, could even foresee and warn the French Academy of the age to come, when "Sachez que vous serez tombés longtemps alors que le Provençal, toujours jeune, parlera encore de vous avec pitié." Their literary aspirations became a religion to them, their little association a church. They had all the consciousness of the importance of their mission of the London Socialist or Ibsenite, but with it they combined qualifications rarer in the self-appointed missionary—ability and good work.

Fortunately they were not unwilling to talk about themselves, nor have several of their admirers been more silent. Consequently, though of all save Mistral we know little individually, of them collectively we seem to have learned a great deal. Mistral gives us the names of the first *félibres*—the high priests, as it were, of the little church—in the sixth canto of 'Mirèio.' But it is perhaps Daudet who lets us have the most intimate glimpse into the daily life of those men together, who tells us how they met and worked and played in their less formal seasons—Daudet, who has since lost favor in their sight, and towards whom, in his home in Paris, they probably, like the men of Tarascon, would be ready to shake their fists with the same cry of rage, "Oh! ce Daudet." It is in the delightful account of how he came to write the 'Lettres de mon Moulin,' that his reminiscences of the early fervent days of the Félibrige, when there were no schisms or dissensions in the church, are to be found. It is there he records the meetings in Maillane, Mistral's village; in the Alyscamps at Arles, where, to the music of the crickets and the shrieking of the engines, Aubanel read some fine poem or drama; in Les Baux, through whose strange, broken streets they wandered singing their songs; in Avignon or in l'Île de la Barthélasse, under the shadow of the great Papal palace. One feels as if one too had been in the rooms of Mathieu at Châteauneuf-des-Papes on the occasion of the chariot race in July, drinking the famous golden wine of the popes and listening to the verses of Mistral; or at those *ferrades* where the peasants applauded the work of Roumanille and Aubanel and joined in the chorus of the hymns to the sun—"Grand Soleil de la Provence"—and then in a long line, the *félibres* leading, danced many a gay *farandole*. In the contrast between their haunts and amusements and the cafés in the Latin Quarter, the balls in Montmartre *brasseries*, the resorts of a Mendès or a Huysmans, we have the simple explanation of the difference between the work of the *félibres* and that of the *décadents*.

These meetings, these wanderings were for themselves and their own beloved people. For the instruction of the world at large they published the *Armana Prouvençau*, and that all the world might read it they began their most serious undertaking, the 'Dictionary of the Langue d'Oc,' which—perhaps because their ardor has cooled, perhaps because the task was too herculean—still awaits completion. For the public encouragement of their great work of reform, they instituted their poetic tournament, not unlike the famous *Jeux Floraux* of Clémence Isaure in Toulouse; and it was not long before they met with their first success and recognition. Mistral's 'Mirèio,' with his own French translation, was the first of their productions to make the literary sensation which they believed to be their due. Thanks to Lamartine, to whom he had dedicated it, and to Saint-René Taillandier, who wrote a paper about it for the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, it was much talked about and widely read, and France awoke to the knowledge of the truly romantic movement which had been inaugurated in her southern provinces. But the book which followed 'Mirèio' scarcely equalled it in broad human interest; much of it was either not translated at all, or else done into indifferent French. Not very long after, Zola and Daudet began to publish their stories of Provençal life in the languages, not merely of a few Departments, but of all France; and the Rougons and Macquarts of Plassans, Numa Roumestan of Aps, quickly became more popular than the Nerto or Mirèio of Mistral. Gradually the *félibres* faded out of sight again, and, indeed, but for Daudet, would have been almost forgotten except by a very small saving remnant.

But while few have remembered the leaders of the great movement, that movement has brought Provence into a prominence and given it a name which it has hardly enjoyed since the days of King René. Many have hurried to reap a harvest for themselves in the field where Roumanille and Aubanel and Mistral had sowed good seed. Every year now the *félibres* and the *cigales* of the Midi have their Congress in the towns of Languedoc or Provence. Last summer I was in Toulouse when they met, and went wandering from Auch to Agen and Lourdes and the Pyrenees. I had intended to be present at some of their reunions when poems in the Langue d'Oc were read, and the prospects of the language of the Troubadours discussed. But I found that none of the original *félibres* were there, while the most conspicuous men were the journalists who, in *chapeaux calicots*, had come down from Paris to report the proceedings. This

summer they are going to Nîmes and Arles, Martigues, that enchanting little Venice of Provence, and Saint-Chamas, where the *joûtes* are held on the Étang de Berre; and when I was last in those towns, the people were already looking forward to their coming. Of late years Provence has been made a favorite background for the scenes of the French novelist, and we have, not only Daudet and Zola, but Jean Aicard and Paul Arène and Paul Mariéton and many another lesser light adding to the long list of Provençal tales. With Englishmen and Americans also Provence is now the fashion, and they, too, are exploiting it for literary purposes. The artist as well is abroad in that fair southern land. I found an entire colony in Martigues, which is as much of a painter's camp as Étapes or Concarneau. The Salons in Paris this year attest to the artistic popularity of that country. At the Champ de Mars is Montenard, with his Arlesian arena and Provençal olive orchards. At the Champs-Elysées Martigues bids fair to rival Venice as a favorite subject, while the big canvas of Gervais—one of the Martigues group—which won him a second medal, shows the three Maries of the old Provençal legend against a broad Martigan background; and another painter has sought inspiration in the story of Ourrias, Mirèio's rejected lover.

With the founder of the Félibrige it fared still more strangely. But for Roumanille, the *félibres* would not have existed, and yet he never achieved the personal success of Mistral, and until the end he remained virtually unknown. It certainly can be no exaggeration to say that for the hundred who have read 'Mirèio,' there is but one reader of Roumanille's delightful tales. The reason for this is not in the quality of his work; not Daudet himself has written anything with greater charm, greater simplicity than 'Li Conte Prouvençau.' Indeed, one of Daudet's most artistic successes, 'Le Curé de Cucugnan,' is a translation from one of these very tales, and to many of the others he is only in a lesser degree indebted—how much, you may find out from the people *là-bas*. The spirit of 'Les Lettres de mon Moulin,' and 'Les Contes de Lundi' breathes through them all, and in one irresistible story—too long to give here—of a man of Tarascon in the Court of Heaven, we seem to have the germ from which the great Tartarin trilogy sprang. Roumanille's verse, too, has much lyrical sweetness, and is as rhythmical and full of local color as Mistral's. But a large portion of his prose and poetry alike has never been translated into French, and even to the Frenchman Provençal is as essentially a foreign language as Italian or Spanish. I have known men from the North who have lived in Arles for several years, and who even now can use only the easiest every-day phrases. I am fairly familiar with French, and yet last summer, when, day after day, on the Rialto of Martigues I listened to the fishermen talking as they unloaded their night's haul or stood throwing their *fischuaro*, or fish-rake, with which the Martigan fishes while on shore, for all I could understand they might as well have been speaking the Greek of the first settlers of their Mediterranean coast. The consequence is that while the *gardian* of the Camargue or the vintager of La Cran may understand and appreciate Roumanille's songs and tales, to the cultivated and educated Frenchman they are simply unintelligible. And again, when he has been translated, he has only in one or two rare instances been very happy in his translators. His own French is without the rude force of Mistral's; he has but once had a Daudet to do him justice.

It is but right to say that my attention—and the same, of course, is true of all Americans—was turned to Provence and its poets and its people by Miss Harriet Waters Preston's admirable translation of 'Mirèio.' To her belongs the credit of having discovered the most beautiful, the most characteristic, the most interesting part of that really unknown country—France.

ELIZABETH ROBINS PENNELL.

DEMOCRATIC ASSUMPTIONS.—III.

LIBERTY.

LONDON, May 30, 1891.

WHAT is the true relation between democracy and individual liberty?

The older democrats believed, with undoubted sincerity, that the supremacy of the people secured the existence of individual freedom. This was a conclusion in which Continental democrats who were disciples of Rousseau, and English Radicals who were followers of Bentham, though arguing from different premises, practically agreed. From the outbreak of the French Revolution to the day when Tocqueville gave currency to ideas summed up in the expression the "tyranny of the majority," no sincere Liberal doubted that, in the main, popular government meant the prevalence of liberty. This belief, moreover, in common with all the prominent articles of the democratic faith, was supported by obvious and important facts. The movement which throughout the civilized world has established the rule of numbers, delivered whole classes of men and women from the particular kind of oppression which existed more or less in every European State, whatever its form of constitution, till towards the end of the seventeenth century, and throughout the European Continent till a later date. There is now to be found no civilized country (unless it be Russia) where a private person is not better secured from unjust imprisonment and other forms of arbitrary tyranny than before 1789 were the inhabitants of any of the leading countries of Europe except Great Britain. Certain forms of expression have, it should be noted, ceased to exist. Religious persecution is unknown. It were impossible to find anywhere any system resembling arrest by *lettres de cachet*. The meanest and most scurrilous penny-a-liner is safe from the outrages and insults which fell upon or threatened Voltaire when he ruled the undisputed head of the Republic of Letters. A host, moreover, of monopolies, of privileges, or of exemptions, which a hundred years ago benefited, in every country throughout the world, one part of the people at the expense of the rest, have vanished even from memory; yet social and political inequalities which are now forgotten embittered the daily lives of thousands far more than striking and outrageous acts of oppression. If any one wishes to see the *ancien régime* in all its hatefulness, he should study it not in France, but at Bern or Venice.

Nor is the only connection between democracy and freedom to be found in the fact that the uprising of the oppressed led, from the nature of things, to the destruction of oppression. A matter of far greater importance is that the democratic movement was originally imbued with a spirit of liberty. Change is the condition of life, and innovations which in their very essence involved change filled the world with a new sense of hopefulness, of strength, of a free and renovated vitality. No doubt the Revolutionists of France were many of them among the most detestable and despicable tyrants that the world has seen. Some of them held theories which led directly to despotism. But the admission that this was so is not really inconsistent with the assertion that the democrats of a century or sixty years ago heartily desired, according to their lights—often very imperfect lights—to promote the freedom of individuals. "Civil and religious liberty" was the watchword of the English Whigs and Radicals, and it was in its day no idle cry. If the words have grown a little out of date, the main reason is that civil oppression and religious persecution (on the part, at any rate, of governments) have come nearly to an end. There existed, in short, till comparatively recent times, a real and unmistakable connection between the democratic movement and liberty in the sense in which the word is used by such a writer as John Mill—that is to say, as meaning the power of each individual to regulate all matters of conduct which primarily concern himself according to his own judgment or fancy without the restraint of legal or social compulsion or control.

The proof of this may be found in the attitude of Carlyle. His objection to democracy is, that the kind of liberty which Mill held to be the greatest of blessings, was at bottom a curse to mankind. Carlyle never contended that democracy failed to encourage individual freedom; what he did contend was that individual freedom means moral and intellectual anarchy. As, moreover, I have again and again insisted throughout these letters, public opinion is influenced far more by obvious facts and appearances than by argument. Democratic countries, such as the United States, England, or France, have long been the countries where each man could, apparently at least, most freely obey the dictates of his conscience, of his private judgment, or of his caprice. For most men this was enough to establish the fact that democracy fosters liberty.

It was, it may be suspected, rather the influence of phenomena to be observed in the United States forty or fifty years ago than any abstract argument which, for the first time, shook the faith of modern Liberals in the necessary connection between popular government and individual freedom of thought and action. It were hard to imagine two books more unlike than 'Democracy in America' and 'Martin Chuzzlewit.' The works stand as far apart as their authors. Tocqueville and Dickens have nothing in common except the one fact that they were both men of genius. But, for all that, the Frenchman's analysis of democratic society, and Dickens's picture (or caricature) of social life in the United States, are the record of a special phase of opinion. The French publicist and the English satirist each show in their writings what now seems simple-minded surprise at finding that a commonwealth might be very democratic, and yet public opinion might in the same commonwealth be neither very enlightened nor very tolerant. The Englishman and the Frenchman alike pressed upon the attention of the European world the new idea that the tyranny of kings or oligarchies might possibly be succeeded by the tyranny of numbers. Every educated man who has noted changes of sentiment, and whose memory can stretch back thirty or forty years, can recall the immense influence which this dread of the despotism of the majority exercised on thinkers in England, if not throughout Europe. The attraction for men like Mill and Greg of the late Thomas Hare's scheme and other plans for the representation of minorities, lay in the belief that these somewhat mechanical devices were inventions which made it possible for thought-

ful Liberals to combine unshaken faith in democracy with strenuous opposition to the tyranny of public opinion. What may be the merits of these inventions, it is not my purpose to discuss. They are referred to here only as a sign of the new dread of the oppression to be feared from majorities.

A candid critic, however, must admit that, as contended by Mr. Bryce, in his 'American Commonwealth,' the charge that, in the United States at any rate, the majority tyrannizes over the minority, has not been established. Many of the phenomena which originally suggested or justified the accusation were connected with the existence of slavery; and negro slavery, which was never a natural outgrowth of democracy, might corrupt free institutions, but could not exemplify the inherent vices of popular government. Experience also has proved that American democracy had the strength to cast off, so to speak, a disease which threatened the very existence of the nation. It may, further, be doubted whether the school of thinkers of whom John Mill was at one time the acknowledged representative, did not, in their attacks upon the alleged despotism of majorities, confound the uniformity with the tyranny of public opinion. They, in words, maintained that the rule of number led, or might lead, to the suppression of freedom of thought or of discussion. Their real, though unexpressed, complaint was, that freedom to think does not of itself and of necessity produce originality in thinking. The complaint may be more well grounded than men are generally aware; but it is a different thing from a charge of oppression. However this may be, one thing is certain: the warnings of thinkers against the possible tyranny of opinion did not, and from the nature of things could not, shake the belief of democrats in the intimacy of the alliance between democracy and freedom.

The foundations of this faith are now threatened, not by the assaults of conservatism, but by a change which, during the last twenty or thirty years, has become very marked in the policy and in the sentiment of modern democracy. Freedom has brought many blessings to rich and poor alike; but it has not removed the difference between riches and poverty, between prosperity and misfortune. Though no reasonable man can doubt that the position of the body of the people is, certainly in England, and probably throughout the whole civilized world, far less painful, if we cannot exactly say far happier, than it was a century ago, yet the contrast between the classes and the masses, between millionaires and paupers, has become, if not greater, yet more observable than in the days of our fathers and grandfathers. Exaggerated hopes in the benefits to be derived from merely political innovations, such as the extension of the suffrage, directed men's attention almost exclusively towards the promotion of alterations of a constitutional character. Once let it be thought that liberty cannot of itself cure the diseases of society, and men who suffer, or think they suffer, from social maladies will naturally turn towards the panaceas offered by the believers in Socialism. When, as at the present day, the discontent of those who suffer is reinforced by the sympathy of classes so prosperous that they feel their own happiness impaired by the bare idea that their poorer neighbors should not enjoy all the pleasures of life, it is natural enough that democrats should become Socialists, and that the aim of democracy should tend to the promotion not of individual liberty, but of social, and in the main material, well-being.

Disguise the fact as men may, Socialism, in all its various forms, is and must be the opponent of individual liberty. Even if popular leaders tried to attain more or less Socialistic aims only through the agency of the State, this attempt would promote schemes, and even more surely would foster a condition of opinion, unfavorable to the right of every man to regulate all matters of conduct which primarily concern himself, in accordance with his own conception of right or of happiness. But it is not through the State alone that modern reformers or innovators attempt to carry out their ideas into action. Associations, leagues, unions, societies, in short, in which men with more or less respect for the law of the land band together for the support of the principles or course of action which commends itself to a particular class of persons, and for the suppression of opinions and hindrance of actions which the particular class condemn, are the most striking phenomena of the day. Such leagues or associations meet us at every turn. It is likely enough that the day is not far distant when capitalists on the one hand and workmen on the other will stand face to face, not man against man, but league against league. This state of things may, it is possible, have its advantages, but it will certainly produce, as the tendency towards it already produces, an indifference for the freedom of individuals. This is so for two reasons. A syndicate of merchants or a union of workmen must attempt to constrain the action of all rivals who do not belong to the syndicate or union. The coercion exercised may or may not be limited by respect for law, but in any case it militates against the unrestrained action of individuals.

Respect, again, for the law of the land is, at any rate in the modern world, the essential condition of private liberty. But the loyalty to a man's union or league tends to shake, if it does not actually shake, his loyalty to the law. Look at the matter from whichever side you will, and you are led to the same conclusion. The alliance between democracy and freedom is shaken; men are beginning to doubt whether the right of every man to regulate his own life (so long as he respects the rights of others) according to his own will, is compatible with the happiness of the majority of the people. The doubt may or may not be well founded—on this matter I say nothing. What I insist upon is, that the doubt exists. Its mere existence threatens to deprive the democratic movement of that element of enthusiasm for liberty which has been hitherto the source of what I may term its spiritual life.

AN OBSERVER.

Correspondence.

THE RECESSION OF NIAGARA.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The letter on "The Recession of the Niagara Gorge," in the *Nation* of March 19, has brought to my hands an interesting description of the Falls as seen in 1832 by an English gentleman still living, Mr. Henry Ransford of Brighton, Sussex. He writes:

"I believe I possess the oldest extant sketch of the Falls, which I took in 1832, with a camera lucida, from the top of Forsyth's Hotel, so that the distances and position of the various points are correct. The estimate of Sir Charles Lyell, that the Falls recede one foot in a year, is erroneous, from careful observation. When revisiting Canada thirty-eight years afterwards, I took the sketch and the camera with me, to see what changes had taken place during that period. The edge of the fall, where it joins Goat Island, had not perceptibly receded; on the Canadian side the ground above the side of Table Rock before it fell was much the same; but the curve of the horse-shoe part, so called, had receded superficially, thus widening the broken water of the rapids, from the surface only having worn away; a comparatively small part of the edge had been worn deep down the front. I have seen a statement that the distance between Table Rock and Goat Island was 1,650 yards. My sketch is only seven inches across (not being a front view), being therefore on a scale of 236 yards to the inch. Taking a position where Table Rock stood, in a line with the junction at Goat Island, I paced carefully up stream and found the horse-shoe as described extended back 236 yards. Not quite half way from Goat Island, the straight edge had worn away (*i. e.*, *cut back a section*) some 240 yards by 60 deep. Two hundred yards further on, another opening had worn back some distance at so sharp an angle that the water was pouring over *facing* where I stood, instead of being in a line with the rest of the fall.

"The American Fall in 1832 was a straight line like a tablecloth hanging over a rail; in 1870 it had receded in a perfect bow thirty yards deep, but the sides unaltered. I measured by pacing; being over six feet, I can step a yard very correctly. . . . On my last visit, in 1879, I observed the *opening* in the Horse-shoe Fall, where the falling water faced me, had widened and receded considerably, but not the whole of the horseshoe. Another twelve years have no doubt caused further recession."

Mr. Ransford adds: "My travelling days are over, although strong and healthy for my age. If I live to the end of August, I commence my eighty-eighth year."

Mr. Ransford is mistaken in thinking his sketch the oldest one of the Falls. The oldest is that given in Father Hennepin's description of the Falls, which he visited in 1678. A good cut of this view is given in Parkman's 'Historic Handbook of the Northern Tour,' p. 93. The second oldest that I know is in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for January, 1751.

EDWARD G. BOURNE.

ADELBERT COLLEGE, June 1, 1891.

AUTOMATIC DEMONSTRATION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Important political changes are usually the result of some considerable disaster which makes the minds of men receptive, and it seems as if the finances of the United States might, sooner or later, administer a lesson sharp enough to overcome the reluctance of Congress to admit the Secretary of the Treasury to a share in its debates.

In the last two months we have exported an unusually large amount of gold, and though the "bulls" make light of it as an ordinary commercial transaction, there is a general and uneasy feeling that it may mean much more than that. The financial condition of Europe is far from reassuring. The complications in South America, including not merely the Argentine Republic, but Brazil and Chili also, have not yet worked out their full effect. There is talk of a further large demand for gold from Russia. The fearful militarism on the Continent engenders suspicion and unrest, and last, but not least, immense amounts of English capital are said in the last few years to have been embarked in joint-stock speculations in this country.

If the pull comes from the other side, there is also a push from this. Though we have not free coinage of silver, the Government purchases are enough sooner or later to land us on a silver basis, and the moment that comes in sight there may be a rush for and a demonetization of gold, which the existing silver coinage will be quite insufficient to replace.

To cap the climax comes the condition of the Treasury. For the last twenty years we have

pursued a course of steady inflation of banking credit, first through the national banks and then through State banks disguised under the name of "trust companies"; and it is a significant fact that, from the adoption of the Constitution down to the civil war, all serious trouble has come from State banks, a United States bank having twice been set up to drag them out of it, and overthrown as soon as they were relieved. From an historical point of view, the future relation of the national-bank system to the State trust companies will be very interesting. However that may be, several times during these twenty years, when this inflation has threatened its natural result of financial panic, the Treasury has stepped forward with its large reserve of gold, bought up bonds, and averted the danger, thus producing in the public mind the kind of reasoning which powerful medicine does in a man of dissipated habits, namely, that if the consequences of excessive indulgence are so easily relieved, it is not worth while to exercise self-denial. Now, however, it happens for the first time that the Treasury is not in a condition to play the part of *deus ex machinâ*. Whatever other incapacity Congress may have developed, it has shown itself able to get rid of any given amount of surplus. Not only is the Secretary drawing down the bank depositaries, but he has actually—*quantum mutatus ab illo*—come into the market with a bid for the renewal of the 4½ per cent. bonds due in September. The difference in his relation to the money market is a very serious factor.

In all this I am not attempting anything so rash as a prophecy of the money market, but only laying stress upon the fact that the greatest evil the public mind has to contend with is uncertainty. It has, and with reason, lost all confidence in Congress. It does not know whether that body will resort to free coinage of silver or pile up a new Pension or River and Harbor Bill, or whether it will repeal or double up the McKinley Bill. Could there be anything which would spread a greater feeling of relief through every honest financial interest in the country than the knowledge that, in the first days of next December, the man placed at the head of the national finances would stand up in Congress, make an oral exposition of the state of affairs and of his plans for meeting it, and would then hold himself in readiness to meet every comer in public debate? Compare this with the present method of casting materials, as heterogeneous as those of the witches in "Macbeth," into the caldron of the Committees of Ways and Means and Appropriations, and then waiting anxiously for six months to see what kind of conglomerate will result from it.

We have no man competent to do such work. No, and you never will have unless you try him. It is like refusing to go into the water till you know how to swim. Suppose it were a question of finding the best billiard-player in the United States. A candidate would not be selected because he was a sound Republican or Democrat, or as the largest contributor to the campaign fund, or as having most influence in the local caucuses. If he were, it would not be surprising that his supporters should be reluctant to have him play billiards. The obvious way would be to set up a table and invite competition among players of reputation. If the returns were published in the papers, there would be no difficulty in getting the best man, even if it depended upon the votes of all the population of the United States. Exactly the same process would produce a first-class financier, as it will be hardly denied that the material exists in the United States in plenty and of a quality unsurpassed in the world.

Supposing the worst should follow from the somewhat dismal indications which I began by pointing out, it would be more than compensated for if it opened men's eyes to the only way in which public finances can be successfully conducted. G. B.

Boston, June 13, 1891.

Notes.

D. Appleton & Co. announce a 'History of Modern Civilization,' adapted from the work of Gustave Ducoudray; a 'Canadian Guide-Book,' by Charles G. D. Roberts; and 'The Three Miss Kings,' a novel by an Australian writer, Ada Cambridge.

A cheaper edition (the fifth) of Mr. Henry T. Finck's 'Romantic Love and Personal Beauty' will be issued early in July by Macmillan & Co. They are also on the point of bringing out a third and revised edition, in one volume, at a moderate price, of Dr. Martineau's 'Types of Ethical Theory,' for the use of students.

John Wiley & Sons have in preparation 'Stones for Building and Decoration,' by George P. Merrill of the National Museum at Washington.

Ginn & Co. will shortly publish 'The Modalist, or the Laws of Rational Conviction,' a text-book of formal logic by Prof. E. J. Hamilton of Hamilton College.

Peter Paul & Bro., Buffalo, will issue 'The Life and Times of Kateri Tekakwitha, the Lily of the Mohawks, 1656–1680,' by Ellen H. Walworth.

'The Life Romance of an Algebraist,' by George Winslow Pierce, is in the press of J. G. Cupples, Boston.

Breitkopf & Härtel, Leipzig, will soon issue the third volume of Oesterlein's 'Katalog einer Richard Wagner Bibliothek.' These three volumes contain the titles and dates of about 30,000 articles, pamphlets, and books relating to Wagner. Oesterlein is the director of the Wagner Museum in Vienna.

Robert Bonner's Sons have got out an edition of Mary Howitt's translation of Hans Christian Andersen's 'Improvisatore.' The print is clear, but the illustrations are of a feeble sort.

It is only necessary to say of the new edition of Mr. W. C. Prime's 'I Go A-fishing,' just brought out by Harper & Bros., that the typography is handsome, and the deep green paper cover, with decorative stamp, well devised and decidedly tasteful.

Last month we made mention of a reprint of George Henry Lewes's 'Principles of Success in Literature,' emanating from the University of California. The utility of this work for the class-room has occurred also to Prof. Fred. N. Scott of the University of Michigan, whose publishers—and they have done well by him—are Allyn & Bacon, Boston. Prof. Scott furnishes an introduction and notes, and has corrected the typographical and other blemishes of the papers as originally printed in the *Fortnightly*.

Under the title 'Lamb's Essays: a Biographical Study' (Boston: D. Lothrop Co.), Elizabeth Deering Hanscom has collected some of the personal essays of Lamb, such as those on the Inner Temple, Christ's Hospital, the South Sea House, Mackery End, Dream Children, etc., making fifteen in all, and has annotated the personal and local allusions. The volume thus makes a kind of fragmentary autobiography, and has the charm of Lamb's most confidential and affectionate writing. A Life, prefixed, gives the necessary outlines of fact, which the selections fill up and vivify.

An *édition de luxe* of "Antony and Cleopatra" (New York: Duprat), printed at Paris by D. Jouaust, is well calculated to tempt the collector by the faultless taste of its typography, fine paper and margins, and indeed all the perfections that belong to the printer's art. It is a beautiful volume in the most elegant French style. Mr. W. J. Rolfe furnishes an Introduction, in which he quotes largely from Shakspere critics, and pushes to what we think an absurd extreme the suggestion that Shakspere drew *Cleopatra* after the "dark lady" of the Sonnets. The quotation of the 129th Sonnet, with the application made of it, is nothing less than offensive. Seventeen illustrations by Paul Avril give a more pronounced Parisian stamp to the volume. The edition is limited to 150 copies, distributed into three classes, differing in paper and expense.

The Rev. W. H. Lyon has written, and the Unitarian Sunday-School Society, Boston, has published, 'A Study of the Sects,' which is unique in its character, so very sympathetic are the accounts of the different sects of Christendom, among which the Jews are properly included. A chapter on the Jews is introductory, and then follows a chapter on "Doctrines Held by Christians," in which a little more on the great confessions would not have come amiss, especially at the present time. Next we have a series of chapters on the different sects, each in two parts: first an historical account and then a critical estimate, which is in every case a serious attempt on the writer's part to put himself in the place of those of whom he writes. In almost every case the chapters have been submitted to some competent member of the sect discussed; the corrections made have been accepted, and so the greatest fairness has been assured. There is no good reason why this manual should not be used in the Sunday-schools of all the sects which it describes.

From Mr. G. H. Wilson (152 Tremont St., Boston) we have received the seventh issue of his 'Musical Year-Book of the United States (1890-1891),' a very useful little volume of 140 pages, convenient for reference, and containing in its lists of performances, as well as in a retrospective chapter, many suggestive facts regarding the present state of musical affairs in this country. Mr. Wilson, although a Bostonian, and justly proud of the orchestral concerts, the chamber music and vocal performances in his city, admits that as long as Boston is bereft of opera, all arguments claiming general musical precedence for that city are futile. It is the German opera that has made New York the musical centre of America; but with the reappearance of flimsy Italian opera at our Metropolitan house, Boston may again become—what it used to be—the musical metropolis of the country. One of the most interesting parts of Mr. Wilson's 'Year Book' is the excellent index, because it shows at a glance the comparative popularity in America of various composers. Some of the Americans, like Paine, Foote, Buck, MacDowell, and Chadwick, have a good showing. It is encouraging to see Bach with eighteen entries, but the fact that Franz has only five indicates the weakest point of our musical culture—the shameful neglect of German *Lieder* in our concert halls. The most striking lesson given by this index, however, is the almost utter disappearance of Italian music. Bellini, Donizetti, Rossini, and Verdi together have only twenty-nine entries, while Wagner alone has 183.

Mitchell's, 830 Broadway, has reprinted an edition of 100 copies of Mr. Henry B. Dawson's 'Records of the City of New Amsterdam in New Netherland,' vol. i., which originally appeared in 1867, in an edition equally restricted. These curious economic and police decrees of Peter Stuyvesant, Director-General, ranging from 1647 to 1655, are the earliest records of our corporation. They are given in an English version. The pages have broad margins and the volume is very prettily bound.

The bound volume of the *Century Magazine* completed in April, and variously numbered 41 and 19 in the old and new series, is most distinguished by the first of the extracts from the Talleyrand Memoirs. The California papers have been continued; the whole of Mr. F. Hopkinson Smith's veracious story, "Col. Carter of Cartersville," has been given; the beginnings of a future book—a series of characteristic American pictures, with biographical sketches—have been made; the luxurious change of home of the New York club of which the magazine is a namesake, is celebrated with illustrations, and the rest of the contents presents the well-known miscellany on which we have commented from month to month.

A certain number of colleges now offer science courses for students intending to study medicine, or otherwise engage in biological work, and the Illinois State Board of Health, which has the power to grant licenses to local practitioners, desires to make up a science course fit to be recommended for the above purpose to all colleges disposed to adopt it. A circular asking for practical suggestions has been sent out by the Secretary, Dr. John H. Rauch, whose address is Springfield, Ill.

The Deerfield, Mass., Summer School of History and Romance will begin its sixth season on July 2, and be in session throughout the month. The list of lecturers embraces many well-known names of literary men and women. The President is Mr. L. J. B. Lincoln.

—In the Papers of the American Historical Association, Prof. Kuno Francke of Harvard treats of "Karl Follen and the German Liberal Movement, 1815–1819," with a special view to the paradox involved in the transatlantic revolutionary aims and methods of Follen, and his cisatlantic mildness, gentleness, and even saintliness. He takes for his point of departure Whittier's beautiful portrait of the victim of the fiery *Lexington*, and then briefly describes the Burschenschaft patriotic organization of Young Germany after the country had been freed from Napoleon only to fall under the reactionary control of the Congress of Vienna. He then avails himself of the more recent literature illustrating this movement to set forth Follen's doctrine of resistance to tyrants, which was not essentially different from the Nihilist doctrine of the modern Russian, and in the light of which the fate of "Polonius" Kotzebue and Von Ibell could neither be deplored nor condemned. The lesson taught by these assassinations, which had no director or accomplice in Follen, though Prof. Francke says it is impossible not to trace them both back to his teaching, was that which the Nihilists are learning: the millennium was not hastened but retarded by violence. Follen became an exile, to the profit of this country, where he passed, and truly, for one of the mildest-mannered of men. He was the first professor of German literature at Harvard, introduced there the gymnastics of the Turners, and had every prospect of ending his days in the service of the University. His very temperate support of the abolition movement, however, cost him his position at the expiration of his engagement, and he died a minister of the gospel of the Prince of Peace. Prof. Francke gives numerous examples of the stirring revolutionary lyrics of Follen and his associates in the Fatherland, and they make us realize how far the cooling of the crust of the political world has gone on in seventy years. Revolutions are doubtless still impending in western Europe, but that they will be ushered in with song seems daily less probable.

—The article of most general interest in the ninth annual report of the United States Geological Survey, lately issued, is the history of the Charleston earthquake of August 31, 1886, by Capt. C. E. Dutton, with some assistance from Ensign Everett Hayden. About four thousand reports of the effects of this occurrence in different States were received, and, owing to the general use of standard time, it was found possible to make good use of many of these in determining the velocity of the transmission of the earth-wave from the chief centre of disturbance, about twenty miles northwest of Charleston, to various parts of the country. The velocity attained was somewhat over three miles a second, about equal to the theoretical velocity of a wave in a uniform homogeneous elastic medium, like the average of the rocks of the earth's crust. This velocity is much greater than has been found in other earthquakes, but Capt. Dutton believes that it is of sufficient accuracy to outweigh all previous results. Twenty-seven persons were killed and many more died from exposure. More than five thousand buildings were more or less injured and nearly fourteen thousand chimneys were overthrown in Charleston alone; the money loss in that city was estimated at between five and six million dollars. The report is finely illustrated from photographs, mostly taken under the direction of Mr. W. J. McGee of the Survey, who visited the district immediately after the chief disturbance. The craterlets, formed by water gushing up from sandy layers at a little depth, are fully portrayed. There was nothing whatever of volcanic quality in Carolina. In attempting to explain the process and propagation of the earthquake, Capt. Dutton is forced to abandon the geometrical views of Mallet, which came into fashion with his famous report on the Neapolitan earthquake of 1857. The waves at Charleston were too unsymmetrical and complicated to be determined by their effects in cracking walls and overturning chimneys; and as a similar scepticism has come over the students of the numerous earthquakes in Japan, we fear it is necessary to take leave of Mallet's methods, though with regret, for his was too pretty a theory to give up willingly. As the angle of emergence of the waves could not be defined, the depth of the earthquake focus was determined by means of a novel method of discussing the rate of decrease of destructiveness on the surface—chiefly from observations by Mr. Earle Sloan of Charleston, whose contributions in this direction are pronounced of the highest value. The seat of the disturbance was thus estimated to lie at a depth of twelve miles. The rate of progress of the wave already referred to is regarded as the chief scientific result of the monograph.

—Kettler's *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Geographie* (1890, Ergänzungsheft No. 2) contains an interesting paper of fifty-three pages entitled 'Die Orientfahrt des Ritter A. von Harff; Beiträge zu einer Kritik seiner Reisebeschreibung,' by R. Frhr. von Seydlitz. Recent criticism has played havoc with the reputations of many mediæval travellers for veracity, showing that they often relied upon their imagination for facts, recorded vague rumors or the statements of other writers as the results of their own observation, and did not hesitate to continue their journeys on paper wherever they found it inconvenient to go in person. The Oriental journey of the Ritter Arnold von Harff took place during the last three years of the fifteenth century, and although his account of it was written soon after his return in the autumn of 1499 and dedicated to his sovereign, the Duke of Jülich and Bergon-the-Rhine, it was first printed at Cologne in 1860 by Dr. E. von Groote, who based his text on a collation of three manu cripts. It may be added that the so-called Düsseldorf manuscript, supposed by the editor to be lost, is at Treves. There are also several other manuscripts in existence: one at Neuhaus, a castle on the Danube, another in the University Library at Bonn, a third in the Court Library at Darmstadt, and a fourth in the University Library at Giessen. These eight manuscripts, and there were doubtless many more, suffice to prove that the work excited no inconsiderable degree of contemporary interest. Its publication under the title 'Die Pilgerfahrt des Ritter A. von Harff' called forth much adverse criticism; the author was accused of copying his descriptions from Marco Polo and other travellers, and, in general, of drawing a bow of such prodigious length as to send his arrows into lands which his eyes had never beheld. One critic asserted that of all the places mentioned by Harff in his explorations of the Nile not one can be shown to exist—a reckless statement which Baron von Seydlitz successfully refutes. It is also a striking coincidence that, at the time when this criticism was made, Speke discovered the source of the Nile near the spot where Harff claims to have found it. Von Seydlitz follows Harff in his itinerary step by step, points out his errors and exaggerations, his love of marvels, and his easy credulity in accepting them, but completely vindicates his character as an honest and would-be truthful man, who, however, was utterly incompetent to discriminate between fact and fiction. He set out as a pilgrim to visit sacred shrines for the saving of his soul, and, with his confirmed mental habit of everywhere looking for wonders, it is the greatest wonder of all that he did not discover more. These rather uninviting investigations, which are pursued with commendable patience, conscientious thoroughness, and remarkable critical acumen, serve at least to relieve Harff from the imputation of being a wilful deceiver, and, by deciphering and identifying several names of places—such, for example, as Edessa for Orissa (p. 38), and Phasagar for Usagara (p. 41)—make a positive and valuable contribution to geographical science. A map, giving the direction and extent of Harff's travels, accompanies the text and is a welcome aid to the reader.

BROWNING'S LIFE AND LETTERS.—I.

Life and Letters of Robert Browning. By Mrs. Sutherland Orr. 2 vols. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1891.

THE Life of Robert Browning begins, naturally, in the hands of a writer of so scientific a cast of mind as Mrs. Sutherland Orr shows herself, with the subject of heredity both in temperament and physique. The first point brought out is that the poet was neither Jewish nor Creole by blood, as has been thought in some quarters. There is no trace of either the Hebraic or the negro strain. The family

is not traced by the biographer, except in a very general way, beyond the grandfather, a clerk in the Bank of England, a handsome, vigorous man of the provincial type, whose literary tastes were divided between the Bible and 'Tom Jones,' both of which he is said to have read annually. He was not a fond parent, and his son, the father of Robert, seems to have owed little gratitude to one who denied him unnecessarily a university career and broke with him in other matters. The latter obtained a good education, especially in the classics, and, on getting on in life, after giving up a lucrative employment on his mother's West Indian estates in disgust at negro slavery, he developed a character of much individuality. He, too, was a bank clerk, but, as Mrs. Orr aptly says, he exhibited as talent what in the poet was genius. He had the habit of sketching and also of grotesque rhyming, and impressed both on his son in childhood; he was a lover of rare books, a wide reader, of the laborious class that makes notes in all volumes read, and he came to have a special knowledge of early Italian, French, and Spanish literature. His son was indebted to him for information and research on the more recondite subjects of his verse. Latterly he lived at Paris, and was remembered by those who met him as a striking old man.

Few anecdotes are told of him, but they are illustrative of character. He is said to have changed his restaurant in London because the waiter insisted on giving him the trouble of saying what he would have to eat. In his last hours he displayed such unusual firmness and cheerfulness that the physician inquired of his daughter if he knew he was dying; and the old man replied: "Death is no enemy in my eyes." "What do you think death is, Robert," he said; "is it a fainting or is it a pang?" His last words were to his son, who was fanning him —"I am so afraid that I fatigue you, dear." Altogether a fine character as we see him here, a lifelong scholar, and otherwise of cultivated tastes, without any touch of sordidness or the narrow spirit which might have been expected from his circumstances, and able and willing to direct his son at the beginning of his intellectual life, to sympathize with him, and to support him afterwards in the face of the pecuniary failure of his works. For this alone, Browning declared to a friend, he "owed more to his father than to any one else in the world."

In his childhood, Browning appears to have been the traditional prodigy of a small circle. When he first went to school, he was so much quicker than his companions that he had to be removed because the other patrons of the school were jealous of the attention given to him. The teacher is reported to have "retorted on the discontented parents that if she could give their children 'Master Browning's intellect,' she would have no difficulty in satisfying them." He was a child of much sensibility, and, owing to his mother's influence, it showed itself in religious feeling. He described himself as "passionately religious" at this early period. A characteristic anecdote to illustrate his sensitiveness relates that on hearing the tale of the lion who was kicked to death by an ass, he took such a hatred of the book that he hid it away in the seat of an old chair so as never to see it again. He was a lover of animals, and kept "owls and monkeys, magpies and hedgehogs, an eagle and even a couple of large snakes, constantly bringing home the more portable creatures in his pockets, and transferring them to his mother for immediate care." This taste he maintained through life, and we read of his bringing snakes to his boy "Pen" at the Baths of Lucca. When he first experienced homesickness, he chose a cistern near the school for his place of burial, and used to pass his hand over a raised face on it, chanting "In memory of unhappy Browning," till the "acute stage of the feeling had passed away." Such incidents serve to show his emotional temperament and his interests. From the first, however, books made a large element in his idea of the world. His father's house was packed with them, and among the thousands of volumes were those on which youthful genius has often been nourished—'Robinson Crusoe,' 'Milton,' and the rest. He made Quarles's 'Emblems' an early favorite. At the age of twelve he had written his first manuscript volume of poems, called 'Incondita,' strongly Byronic. He wished to publish, and his father and mother encouraged the project; but no publisher was found. It served only by an accident to introduce the boy to the Unitarian minister, W. J. Fox, from whose heirs the poet long afterwards received a copy, and then destroyed it. Mr. Fox and the Misses Flower, one of whom wrote 'Nearer, my God, to Thee,' were his first literary acquaintances, and the connection was long maintained. He showed also in boyhood a taste for acting, and joined in juvenile theatricals.

Browning's individual life, however, really began with his acquaintance with Shelley's poems, and the story has often been told how he got at Ollier's the invaluable first editions, with Keats's works thrown in at the bookseller's suggestion, as being likely to please one who enjoyed Shelley. The fervor of Shelley would naturally stir a youthful poet, and Browning seems always to have valued Shelley rather for his spirit and the inspiration the verse breathes out than for the works alone. There was also at first, we think, a direct intellectual and moral appeal. It is said that the poems which attracted Browning were "Queen Mab" and the others of that strain. He became under this influence a professed atheist and a vegetarian, and for two years he confined himself to a vegetable diet. The real truth of the matter was that Browning was bred somewhat narrowly in the orthodox faith; and Mrs. Orr describes this youthful scepticism rightly as "a passing state of moral or imaginative rebellion," not of rational doubt. In connection with this we find the youthful qualities naturally to be expected. Browning was a man of impatient temper, self-asserting, and not without a good conceit of himself; as a boy, he showed these traits in a crude and apparently a disagreeable form. Mrs. Orr's account of it is as follows:

"It was natural that during this time of growth he should have been not only more restless, but less amiable than at any other. The always impatient temper assumed a quality of aggressiveness. He behaved as a youth will who knows himself to be clever and believes that he is not appreciated, because the crude or paradoxical forms which his cleverness assumes do not recommend it to his elders' minds. He set the judgment of those about him at defiance, and gratuitously proclaimed himself everything that he was and some things that he was not. All this subdued itself as time advanced and the coming man in him threw off the wayward child. It was all so natural that it might well be forgotten. But it distressed his mother, the one being in the world whom he entirely loved; and deserves remembering in the tender sorrow with which he himself remembered it. He was always ready to say that he had been worth little in his young days."

This is a sufficient characterization of his youth. He was affectionate towards his mother, but otherwise his emotions were torpid, and long remained so. He had been through the usual studies, including all physical exercises usual to a gentleman's education, but apparently with an entire neglect of mathematics and logic. In this omission Mrs. Orr finds, perhaps justly, the secret of his confused style and imperfect expression. He also developed the taste for music and wrote it for songs.

In the early, though anonymous, publication of 'Pauline' there is another sign of the forward and self-confident nature of the young man. By it he renewed his acquaintance with Mr. W. J. Fox, whose praise it won in a review, but it made no impression upon the public, though we know now that it attracted Mill's attention, and twenty years after so pleased Rossetti that, only suspecting its authorship, he copied it out so as to possess it. A journey to Russia as secretary to the Russian Consul-General in 1833–34 followed, and suggested diplomacy as a career, but application for employment in it failed. 'Paracelsus' was then published, and the author began to move in literary circles, meeting Serjeant Talfourd, Horne, Leigh Hunt, Barry Cornwall, Milnes, and among the rest of greater note Wordsworth, Dickens, and Landor. The only productive friendship was that with Macready, which resulted in the composition of the dramas. The account of the unfortunate break in the cordial relations of the poet and the actor is given by Browning himself. The incident need not be dwelt upon. A not unpardonable lack of frankness on Macready's part, and an aggressive and irritating demeanor on Browning's side, brought about one of those mutual misunderstandings which are the source of many such separations.

Together with the plays, the production of 'Sordello' and 'Bells and Pomegranates' contributed to the reputation of Browning within a certain circle, and in his personal life two journeys to Italy helped to fertilize and develop his poetical faculty. During his first London period he mingled much with the literary set, and was praised by his private friends, but his fame did not show signs of growing, and he afterwards based on this fact an opinion that literary acquaintance was not of so much value in securing recognition as it is thought to be. In person at this time he is described as "slim, dark, and handsome," and, says the same authority, the daughter of Mr. Fox, "just a trifle of a dandy, addicted to lemon-colored kid gloves and such things, . . . full of ambition, eager for success, eager for fame." Mrs. Orr does not think he was ever "foppish," but sustains the view that he was full of confidence, excitable in his moods, with a touch of flippancy and conceit, and also of warm gratitude for kindness and of enthusiastic admiration of others' talents. She remarks upon the lack of emotional life in this period of his career, that is, the life of the affections. The immaturity of his mind and the tentative nature of his art are well shown by an extract from the correspondence of 1838 or 1839: "I am going to begin the finishing 'Sordello,' and to begin thinking a Tragedy (an Historical one, so I shall want heaps of criticisms on 'Strafford'), and I want to have another tragedy in prospect; I write best so provided. . . . I want a subject of the most wild and passionate love to contrast with the one I mean to have ready in a short time. I have many half-conceptions, floating fancies: give me your notion of a thorough self-devotement, self-forgetting: should it be a woman who loves thus or a man?" His experience of love came five years after this was written.

The narrative of the engagement and marriage of the poet to Miss Barrett, and of their

life together, is given with much fulness, and is, we think, the most interesting portion of these volumes. He was introduced to her by her cousin, Mr. Kenyon. They became at once mutually attached, and he proposed marriage "under a sudden and overmastering impulse." Miss Barrett had long been an invalid, and was supposed to be incurable. The doctor advised that she be sent south for the winter, but her father did not assent to the plan, evidently thinking it would prove useless. Miss Barrett then determined to accept Mr. Browning's offer and elope. She first drove to Regent's Park, and tried to step on the ground, and did so probably only for a moment. When she "felt earth under her feet and air about her," she said, "the sensation was almost bewilderingly strange." They were married September 12, 1846, at St. Pancras Church, and Mr. Browning, whenever he came back to London afterwards, used to go and kiss the paving-stones before the church in memory of the event. A week later Mrs. Browning left her father's house secretly, by the connivance of her sisters and maid, and took Flush, her dog. "O Flush," she said, "if you make a sound, I am lost." Mr. Browning was in waiting, and they departed for the Continent. The marriage had been entirely secret, and Mr. Barrett and his sons were much enraged. He never forgave his daughter, never saw her, and would not see her child when she offered to send him. He said afterwards to Mr. Kenyon: "I have no objection to the young man, but my daughter should have been thinking of another world."

Mrs. Orr does not underestimate the grave risks that were taken by the Brownings. His own family were naturally most concerned lest the experiment should prove fatal to Mrs. Browning and he should be blamed. She was, though he did not know it until later in life, six years his senior, and the prospect was at best that of the union of a hopeless invalid with a husband of no experience or understanding of illness. All turned out fortunately; she gained in health, and they were happy together. Mrs. Orr says, however, that to suppose that this union "maintained itself as if by magic, without effort of self-sacrifice on his part and of resignation on hers, would be as unjust to the noble qualities of both as it would be false to assert that its compensating happiness had ever failed them." He was wholly devoted to her welfare, and she was proud of him and very happy. Her letters abound with expressions of her belief in his perfections: "Temper, spirits, manners—there is not a flaw anywhere"; and again, in connection with an error of judgment, which resulted in their having to hire two houses, she writes: "Any other man, a little lower than the angels, would have stamped and sworn a little for the mere relief of the thing—but as to *his* being angry with *me* for any cause except not eating enough dinner, the said sun would turn the wrong way first." The household picture that follows this passage is fairly illustrative. Mrs. Browning was able then to take only a twenty minutes' walk up and down in the piazza. "Miss Boyle," she says, "ever and anon comes at night, at nine o'clock, to catch us at hot chestnuts and mulled wine, and warm her feet at our fire—and a kinder, more cordial little creature, full of talent and accomplishment, never had the world's polish on it. Very amusing she is, too, and original; and a good deal of laughing she and Robert make between them, and this is nearly all we see of the Face Divine—I can't make Robert go out a single evening." The only difference that ever rose between them was about spiritualism, in which Mrs. Browning believed; and she annoyed her husband by refusing to credit his own expressed disbelief, and insisting that they could not disagree. The circumstances connected with spiritualistic manifestations were more distasteful to him, probably, and there must have been something disquieting in the notion of his wife's entertaining impostures which cannot safely be thought harmless.

THREE TEXT-BOOKS OF PHYSIOLOGY.

A Text-Book of Physiology. By Michael Foster, Professor of Physiology in the University of Cambridge. 5th ed. Parts I., II., and III. Macmillan & Co. 1888–1890.

A Text-Book of Physiology. By John Gray M'Kendrick, Professor of the Institutes of Medicine in the University of Glasgow. Including Histology, by Philipp Stöhr, Professor of Anatomy in the University of Zürich. Vol. II. Special Physiology. Macmillan.

A Text-Book of Animal Physiology. By Wesley Mills, Professor of Physiology in McGill University and the Veterinary College, Montreal. D. Appleton & Co. 1889.

THE fifth edition of Foster's 'Physiology,' as stated in the preface, is of the same general character and arrangement as that of previous editions. That is, the general and special problems of physiology are brought forward and briefly discussed in an introduction, and then taken up in detail, with frequent summaries which bring each subject to a focus so that its main facts, conclusions, and hypotheses may all be seen at a glance and in their true relation. While it is true that this edition is in general similar to the older ones, it seems like a new book as compared with the first, second, or third. In them but few figures were given, and these were mostly of physiological apparatus and tracings or curves; in the present edition, while these are retained, and many more of the same kind added, there are many anatomical and histological figures, making 133 in the three parts already published, against 72 in the entire work as published in the third edition. The anatomical figures are very welcome, as it is doubtless easier for any one to gain some concrete notion of a function if the functioning organ and its structural details are exhibited.

The author is especially gifted in bringing out with great force and clearness just the problems to be solved and the result of the efforts already made to solve them. For example:

"In the first place, there are what may be called general problems, such as, How the food after its preparation and elaboration into blood is built up into the living substance of the several tissues? How the living substance breaks down into the dead waste? How the building up and breaking down differ in the different tissues in such a way that energy is set free in different modes, the muscular tissue contracting, the nervous tissue thrilling with a nervous impulse, the secreting tissue doing chemical work, and the like? To these general questions the answers which we can at present give can hardly be called answers at all."

On almost every page of the book are changes from the earlier issues. Indeed, the various editions of this work form a very complete and safe guide to the progress in physiology, and indicate the great fitness of the author for the task of presenting to students a kind of summary of the state and progress of knowledge in this department. He seems to have no pet theories to carry through in spite of changing views and increased knowledge. In no department of anatomy and physiology has the activity of original investigators and real progress been greater than in that of the central nervous system, the subject of the third part of this treatise; certainly no part shows such marked changes in the different editions, especially in this last one. Here, too, have been felt more keenly than in other parts the fetters of the old, stilted and ambiguous anthropomorphic anatomical terminology. So largely must the anatomy, embryology, and physiology of the lower animals be drawn on in explanation and illustration of the fundamental facts and principles of structure and function, that even the author, who in a previous publication ('Practical Physiology') described the lower animals as if in the erect attitude of man, has felt constrained to adopt what has been so earnestly advocated on this side of the Atlantic, viz., a terminology determined by inherent structural relations at all periods and without regard to the various attitudes with respect to the earth assumed by the different animals in adult life. It must be said, moreover, that this terminological change has had no inconsiderable share in making the morphological account of the central nervous system one of the very best and most intelligible in any language. As the changes are greatest in this part, the lack of the footnote references of the earlier editions is more keenly felt than in the other parts of the work.

The discussion of the physiology of the central nervous system occupies considerably less than half of the 288 pages of the third part. As it is without doubt the highest stage of physiology, so is the interest attaching to it the most absorbing. It is here that the fitness of the author is especially apparent. Nothing could be more lucid than his accounts of the experiments and the conclusions to be drawn from them, and, further, nothing could be of more real assistance to the student or reader than the repeated cautions against ascribing too much significance to isolated phenomena. Yet so constant and clear are the results of experiment that the author feels justified in saying:

"In short, the more we study the phenomena exhibited by animals possessing a part only of their brain, the closer we are pushed to the conclusion that no sharp line can be drawn between volition and the lack of volition, or between the possession and absence of intelligence. Between the muscle-nerve preparation at the one limit, and our conscious willing selves at the other, there is a continuous gradation without a break; we cannot fix on any linear barrier in the brain or in the general nervous system, and say, 'Beyond this there is volition and intelligence, but up to this there is none.'"

Prof. Foster is especially careful throughout not to assume too readily that the results of experiments on the frog, bird, or one of the lower mammals can be applied directly to a man or a monkey; and repeatedly insists that great caution must be exercised in interpreting the results of experiments. The phenomena immediately following an operation may wholly disappear as the animal recovers from the shock; and, when recovery is complete, although there is no regeneration of the part removed, the animal may so far recover its normal mode of action that it would be difficult or impossible in many cases to determine exactly or even approximately what part had been removed. This holds with even so highly organized a creature as the dog.

In the second volume of Dr. M'Kendrick's work is given the special physiology or physiology proper, except that of muscular tissue, which is discussed in the first volume. In ge-

neral character and style it is a distinct improvement on the earlier volume, already noticed by us. It has far less matter that seems subsidiary, and goes directly to the point in most subjects. The faults of the general plan are brought out very clearly, inasmuch as structural details concerning the blood, the nervous system, etc., given in the first volume, are repeated in this in connection with the various organs and systems. But as a rule the discussion of structure is more satisfactory in the present volume, and perhaps, on the theory of "line upon line," it is an advantage frequently to review. The author's treatment is direct and forcible, proceeding from strong convictions, and in most cases the conclusions arrived at show a familiarity with the best as well as the latest work. It is gratifying to see that the work of American physiologists is recognized, and, in general, that opposing views are fairly presented. In matters of detail there is evidence of too great haste or a trusting to the statements of older authorities. For example, the statement is repeated from the first volume concerning the elliptical form of the red-blood corpuscles in birds, reptiles, and fishes, no exception being made for the circular, bi-concave red corpuscles of the lamprey. It is also stated that "no corpuscle similar to the colored corpuscle is found in the blood of invertebrates," while a work frequently cited by the author gives examples of several invertebrates in which there are special blood corpuscles containing hæmoglobin, the red coloring matter of the corpuscles of vertebrates. General statements are sometimes made where particular ones would be preferable, as, in discussing lymph hearts, it is stated that the "amphibians possess four." This is true of the frog, but in some members of the group as many as twelve are present. And on p. 248 it is said that in passing from large arteries to their branches the combined area of the branches always exceeds the trunk vessel, except with the abdominal aorta, whose area is greater than that of the two iliacs into which it divides, while on p. 257 it is stated without exception that "the sum of the diameters of the branches of an artery are always greater than the diameter of the artery from which they sprung."

The third treatise under consideration is smaller than either of the others, but covers a much wider field. As a rule the presentation is clear, accurate, and emphatic; and in common with the first, and a great many other books, the excellent plan is followed of bringing the salient points of a chapter together in a comprehensive summary at the end. The general tone and spirit, and the reason for the title 'Animal Physiology,' may be understood from the preface:

"I think any one who will examine the methods and reasoning of the physiology of the day will not fail, on close scrutiny, to recognize a tendency to speak of certain conclusions, for various organs [and functions] as though they applied to these organs in whatever group of animals found, or, at all events, for man, no matter what the species of the animal that had been experimented upon. For some years I have, in publications of my own original researches, strongly protested against such methods as illogical. I am wholly at a loss to understand how a work, built upon the most fragmentary and heterogeneous evidence, derived from experiments on a few groups of animals, or a certain amount of human clinical or pathological evidence, can be fittingly termed a treatise on 'human physiology.'"

It is clearly out of the question at the present day for an author to give in a book of 700 octavo pages anything like an adequate account of general biology, comparative embryology, animal physiology, and the application of evolution to them, which Prof. Mills claims to be original with himself. There inevitably results a greater or less amount of superficiality and broader generalizing than the actual state of knowledge warrants. Although this book is in many respects excellent, and the majority of its statements accurate, contradictions, bad generalization, and half truths are too numerous. Indeed, all the sins inveighed against in the preface and in other parts of the book are found too frequently in its own pages.

THE SOURCES OF AMERICAN LIBERTY.

Droits et Libertés aux État-Unis. Leurs Origines et leurs Progrès. Par Adolphe de Chambrun. Paris. 1891.

THIS book is the first attempt, we believe, to explain to Frenchmen the origin of the rights enjoyed by American citizens. The British Constitution has been more than once expounded to the French public by French observers, but, so far as we know, there is no other book which explains to Frenchmen not only what American legal institutions are, but how Americans came by them. Tocqueville's work is rather an explanation of the effect of democracy on the manners and on the working of the Governmental machinery than a history of legal ideas. He was profoundly impressed by the strides democracy was making in his own day in all the countries of the Western world, and greatly interested in the probable effect on society and politics of the principle of equality which, after all, supplies democracy with its motive force, and to a considerable extent with its morality. He came to America to study it in the belief that it was here that he could see its working with least disturbance from tradition or inheritance. The consequence is that 'Democracy in America,' great as are its merits, and wide as its fame has been, has always been considered defective on the historical side, and has done but little to make clear to Frenchmen the exact nature and value of the indebtedness of the people of the United States to the great foundations of English jurisprudence. That Americans enjoy English freedom in the English sense, everybody knows, but we imagine very few Frenchmen, very few even of the readers of Tocqueville, are familiar with the exact means and appliances by which this freedom is preserved from generation to generation, both against the encroachments of political power and the storms of popular passion. It is these means and appliances of which M. de Chambrun has undertaken to give the history and describe the working.

The task is one for which hardly any Frenchman can qualify himself, even by long residence in either England or the United States. There is nothing in Anglo-Saxon manners and customs which the Frenchman of to-day finds harder to understand than our legal procedure, with its oddities of terminology and its external absurdity, its steady presumptions against the Government, and its extremely circuitous methods of attaining politico-legal ends. Frenchmen and other Continental Europeans, therefore, often live half their lives in the countries under the common law with nothing but the vaguest notion of its working or of the origin of its fundamental assumptions; and nothing is more common than to find them ascribing whatever in it is hard to comprehend to the eccentricity of the Anglo-Saxon character.

M. de Chambrun enters on his task with the very rare combination of qualifications—long residence in the country and long practice of American law for French clients. After his minute study of Anglo-Saxon institutions, here is what he says as to the resemblance between American and English politico-legal institutions (p. 349):

"Aside from the question of religious liberty, which, as we shall see presently, cannot be understood in the same sense in the two countries, I believe the English and Americans have maintained almost the same principles, and that after one hundred years of separation the individual rights are in the case of each about equal. I think, too, that, except in the matter of applying the Constitution to the law, the English judge exercises power as effective for the protection of the liberty of the English subject as the American judge for the protection of the American citizen. On these capital points the two peoples are in perfect accord. They walk by the same light and are guided by the same principles."

When M. de Chambrun comes to compare the United States and France from the same point of view he has a very different story to tell (p. 357):

"On many occasions," he says, "it has fallen to my lot to respond to the toast, 'France: The Ancient Ally of the United States.' As I did not wish to repeat the old phrases about General Lafayette, I looked about carefully, but vainly, I confess, for a point of *rapprochement*, or at least a point of contact, between the social and political institutions of the two countries. I was not able to discover anything of the kind. Our Civil Code . . . is just the opposite of the Common Law. At the same time, our civil institutions everywhere strike down free association. In France it seems as if this were the enemy that must be strangled. In the United States, on the other hand, it is the protégé of the law. Higher still in the order of institutions appear the rights of man. In France one can hardly find traces of these rights, so completely are they crushed out between the articles of the Code of Criminal Procedure and the Penal Code. In the United States they constitute sacred rights reserved to the citizens."

The chapters on criminal procedure, in which the precautions taken in England and America for the protection of the accused against oppression in any form are fully expounded and illustrated for the benefit of Frenchmen, are perhaps the most interesting and instructive in the book. The various differences between the position of the prisoner at the bar in France and in England or America are described by M. de Chambrun with much clearness, and he makes no concealment of his preference for the English mode of trial. The teasing interrogation of the French prisoner by the judge by which all French trials are opened, and which is often cruel enough to be put in the same category with the "question préalable" of the old régime, he condemns emphatically. The judge in America, he points out, takes no part in the prosecution. He simply sits as arbitrator between the State and the defence, who fight out their quarrel before him on a perfectly equal footing. The counsel for the Government, too, instead of sitting up on a raised dais, as a superior personage, has to contend on the floor with the counsel for the defence, exactly as in a civil suit. All this would seem shocking in French eyes, as would also the impregnable silence in which the prisoner is allowed to take refuge until the State has produced its proofs.

M. de Chambrun has, we think, hardly made as clear as he might have done the close connection which this position of the State in criminal prosecutions in America has not only with the legal traditions touching individual liberty, but with the whole attitude of the American and English community towards the Government. The habit of electing executive and legislative officers, which has always existed in some degree in Anglo-Saxon countries, has kept the people constantly in mind

of the strictly fiduciary character of the administration, and prevented its ever taking on the air of a final source of authority. The same causes which in France release a Government agent from responsibility to individuals for wrongful acts before ordinary tribunals, give the French prosecuting officer a semi-judicial character, and put the prisoner into the hands of the judge for preliminary mental torture. The dignity of the State has to be maintained at any cost in every department of administration. None of its representatives must ever be allowed to place himself on an equality before the law with any individual. In all countries which have emerged from despotism the prestige of the Government seems of enormous importance, as compared to individual rights and liberties, and this tradition shows itself nowhere so strongly as in courts of justice. To the sanctity of this tradition the individual finds himself sacrificed at every turn. The infallibility of the State has to be cared for as tenderly as discipline in the army, as part of the framework of society.

But we do not mention this as an impeachment of M. de Chambrun's accuracy. The precision and judgment with which he steers his way through the maze of English and American legal authorities are very remarkable, and, as we have said, would hardly have been possible for a Frenchman who had not practised as well as studied Anglo-American law.

THE KNOWN IN DANTE'S LIFE.

La Divina Commedia di Dante Alighieri, da G. A. Scartazzini. Volume quarto. Prolegomeni della Divina Commedia. Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus. 1890.

In 1875, in the preface to the second volume of his edition of the 'Divina Commedia,' Dr. Scartazzini announced that he should complete his elaborate commentary by a fourth volume, containing such historical and critical matter as would sum up and complete the results of his long and painstaking labors as annotator. It would, he hoped, be ready in 1878. The patient investigation of many students during the fifteen years which have passed since the present volume was thus announced has changed in many respects our ideas about Dante. The romantic history of Dante's life, the *bel romanzo*, as Scartazzini calls it, with its embassies to various powers, with its frequent journeys to other countries, its years of university training at the centres of learning, with its important part in the political, philosophical, and literary life of the time — all this has been put to the test of the severest critical study. Instead of knowing almost as much about Dante as about Dryden or Gray, we have learned that we really know very little of his outward life—very few facts that could show us how he looked, what he did, what he said, or what were the incidents, important or trivial, which made up his relations with the life of his time. The work of Dante scholars, a work now more organized than ever before, has aimed in the last few years at reducing this fine romance of Dante's supposed life to a sound basis of historical fact, in order that with these facts—even if, indeed, they be few—thoroughly in mind, we may go on, without false conceptions at the outset, to understand that which is of much more importance—Dante's inner life, his life as shown in his works.

To the reader of the 'Divine Comedy,' then, who is anxious to have no misconception of the facts of Dante's life, Scartazzini's 'Prolegomeni' has a peculiar interest, as the work of a man who for a quarter of a century has studied with almost superstitious reverence every scrap of writing which concerns Dante's life and works, and to whose accuracy and enormous capacity for labor we owe the best modern commentary on the 'Divina Commedia.' The second division of the work in hand need not detain us here. It treats cursorily of the language and literature of the *trecento*, and then, at greater length and one by one, discusses various writings of Dante, their main characteristics, and the dates at which they were written, adding a bibliography of the chief books bearing on them. In short, this second part is in general equivalent to the corresponding part of the author's small hand-book, published by Hoepli in 1883 and translated by Mr. Davidson in 1887. The first part of the 'Prolegomeni,' however, calls for more careful attention: it treats definitely of the life of Dante. What, then, has Scartazzini to say to us after his twenty-five years of study, and how do the results which he has reached compare with those of other workers in the same field?

According to Scartazzini the ascertained historical facts in the life of Dante Alighieri about which there is no doubt are few in number. The son of Alighiero and his second wife, a certain Bella, he was born in Florence, in May or June, 1265, of a Guelph family, whether noble or of the people we cannot tell. Dante had a brother and a sister, but we know nothing more of them, or indeed of their parents, than that they existed. As to the events of Dante's early life we are scarcely wiser. He was at the Battle of Campaldino, June 11, 1289, if we may believe the testimony of Bruni or trust to Dante's hint in the "Purgatorio" (v. 91), and at the siege of Caprona later in the same year. At some time before his exile—certainly not after 1298—he was married to Gemma Donati, by whom he had at least four children. Of her character we know nothing: whether she was a good wife or he a good husband we have—long disputes among critics to the contrary—no means of ascertaining. It is not even certain whether, after January, 1302, he ever saw her again.

Dante held no political office before 1295 or 1296. In 1296, in obedience to the Ordinances of Justice, whereby no one could hold office unless enrolled in one of the Seven Arts, he entered his name among the doctors and apothecaries. On December 10, 1296, and March 14, 1297, he is recorded as speaking in the Councils of the One Hundred. In 1299, he was ambassador to San Gemignano on the part of the republic of Florence.* Of the other thirteen embassies of Dante reported by Filelfo we have no proof whatever. From June 15 to August 15, 1300, he held the office of Prior, an honor by no means extraordinary. The quarrel which led to the banishment of the leaders of both the Blacks and the Whites occurred in December, four months after Dante had left office. It is not true, then, that he could have had a part in the sentence of banishment which caused the death of his chief friend, Guido Cavalcanti.† In April, 1301, almost a year after he had finished his term of service as Prior, Dante appears again in the public records, this time as supervisor of certain improvements which were made in the Via di San Procolo. In the same year he voted, April 14, in the Consiglio delle Capitudini, and on June 19 and September 13 we find him recorded as taking part (*consuluit*) in the proceedings of the Council of the Hundred. These few bare facts are really all that we know of Dante's political services to the republic of Florence.

Shortly after Charles of Valois entered Florence, and the Guelphs came into power again, the new Podestà, Cante de' Gabrielli, in a decree of January 27, 1302, declared Dante guilty of barratry and other crimes, and condemned him to a fine of five hundred florins, banishment for two years, and the entire loss of civic rights. Forty days afterwards, March 10, a further decree declared that Dante (and fourteen others) had not obeyed the decree of January 10, and condemned him to death by burning if he ever came into the power of the State. The reasons for Dante's exile were probably these. He had opposed the coming of Charles of Valois and the intervention of the Pope in the affairs of Florence. He was an enemy of the party of the Blacks, *fidelium devotorum sancte Romane Ecclesie*. He had, moreover, for several years repeatedly shown himself unfriendly to the Guelph policy. In 1296, 1297, and again in 1301, he had perhaps opposed—in vain—a bill granting money to aid Charles II. of Naples in subduing the rebellious Sicilians. In 1301 he had certainly voted *nihil fiat* on a request from Boniface for a hundred soldiers. No wonder that the Blacks discovered that the large amount of money which must necessarily have passed through his hands as Supervisor of Roads, paved an easy way to a charge of theft.

It is in the highest degree improbable, Scartazzini thinks, that Dante was the Ambassador of the Whites at Rome in the autumn of 1301. Villani, who would have been certain to know of such an event, does not mention it, and his statements seem even to preclude it. The Pope was not at Rome at that time, but at Anagni, and Dante, of all men, one would suppose, was the one least likely to be sent to him. Dante probably joined the band of exiles, whose numbers were rapidly increasing. He was at least with them, as his signature shows, at San Godenza, at the foot of the Apennines, not far from Florence, June 8, 1302, when they entered into a certain agreement of indemnity with the Ubaldini. Some time later, displeased with his company, he left the allies. In March, 1304, or at some time previous, he was in Verona at the court of Bartolommeo della Scala. August 27, 1306, he was living in Padua, as his signature to a notary's deed shows. October 6 of the same year we find him in Sarzana, in Lunigiana, as procurator of Franceschino Malaspina. Either before or after this he is said on good authority to have studied in Bologna and in Paris. He may, indeed, have been in Paris when he heard of Henry the Seventh's expedition into Italy. Late in 1310 or early in 1311, he sent forth, from what place we do not know, his celebrated letter to the Princes and Peoples of Italy. March 31, 1311, from somewhere in Tuscany near the source of the Arno, he sent to the Florentines his tremendous letter of invective, the only result of which was a new sentence of condemnation against him. April 16, 1311, he was at the same place, and writing a letter of humble remonstrance and earnest advice to the Emperor, whom, as he hints, he had met shortly before.

From 1311 on, Dante's movements are even more indefinite. It is said that in March, 1314, he was in Venice, ambassador of Guido No-

*This Scartazzini denies, declaring that the document which is supposed to prove the embassy is not now to be found and probably never existed. It has, however, recently been discovered and is published in the *Rivista Critica*, ii., 29 (Jan., 1885.)

†Here Scartazzini's zeal for clearing away mere rumor from the record of Dante's life has led him astray. Guido Cavalcanti, he says (founding his statement on an error of Villani's), was banished in December, 1300, not in June. But Cavalcanti died in August, 1300, as Del Lungo has proved by the record in the *Obituario di S. Reparata*. See Del Lungo, 'Dino Compagni,' vol. ii., pp. 98, 110, and 114.

vello da Polenta of Ravenna to congratulate the new Doge. But the letter, written in the vernacular to his master, which alone gives us this information, was first known to exist only as late as 1547, and is at best of doubtful authenticity; for, in 1314, there was no new Doge at Venice, and Guido was not then Lord of Ravenna. Our only knowledge about Dante's movements during this period is that in 1315 or 1316 he wrote a letter to the Italian cardinals, and that we have an indignant letter, perhaps authentic, addressed by him in 1316 or 1317 to a relative at Florence in reply to a proposal that he should make submission and return to that city. About 1315 he was certainly in Lucca. He may, too, have passed some time at the court of Can Grande at Verona. At any rate, not earlier than 1316 he came, at the invitation of Guido da Polenta, to Ravenna, where, with at least two of his children, he spent the remaining years before his death on September 14 1321.

To such a barren narrative does Scartazzini's close criticism narrow down the *bel romanzo*. His method, the reader will observe, is to doubt at every point, to admit nothing as a fact in Dante's life of which there is not tangible proof. In the application of this method, in which he follows the brilliant Prof. Bartoli, Scartazzini, as we have seen, sometimes goes too far. Doubting and testing at every point, he sometimes doubts too subtly, and argues himself into finding an obstacle to belief when none really exists.

Scartazzini's critical examination of the facts of Dante's life is undoubtedly valuable. He clears away error and unconscious prejudice of mind; he stimulates research and rigorous examination; in a few pages, without wandering into unnecessary excursions—the besetting sin of most books of this kind—he indicates, usually with a statement of his own solution, all the problems which the student of the historical facts of Dante's life must at one time or another consider. On the other hand, this volume of 'Prolegomeni' is a disappointing one. Scartazzini is at his best as a compiler. As an acute and learned compiler he has produced the best commentary on the 'Divine Comedy.' In the part of the 'Prolegomeni' which we have taken up, he has shown his best characteristics—a skilful compiler's acuteness and learning, with the strict honesty of the trained investigator. As a critic of life and of literature, however, Scartazzini is distinctly inferior. When he comes to Dante's real life, his inner life, and to the consideration and explanation of Dante's works, one must reluctantly admit that he is dull, unsympathetic, and unsatisfactory.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Allen, G. What's Bred in the Bone. Boston: Benj. R. Tucker.
Andersen, Hans C. The Improvisatore. Robert Bonner's Sons. $1.
Burton, C. V. An Introduction to Dynamics. Longmans, Green & Co. $1.50.
Carus, P. Fundamental Problems. Chicago: The *Open Court* Pub. Co. $1.50.
Castle, E. Consequences. D. Appleton & Co. $1.
Cotterill, J. H. Lessons in Applied Mechanics. Macmillan & Co. $1.25.
Cusack, M. E. What Rome Teaches. The Baker & Taylor Co.
Davis, Floyd. An Elementary Handbook on Potable Water. Boston: Silver, Burdett & Co. $1.
Dawson, H. B. Records of the City of New Amsterdam, in the Netherland. Vol. I. New York: Mitchell's.
Falconer, L. Mademoiselle Ixe. Chicago: Chas. H. Sergel & Co.
Florine, G. W. Dillingham.
Frazer, P. Tables for the Determination of Minerals by Physical Properties. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. $2.
French, C. W. Abraham Lincoln. Funk & Wagnalls.
Handbook of the American Republics. Washington, D. C.: Bureau of the American Republics.
Hardy, T. A Group of Noble Dames. Harper & Bros.
Hitchcock, T. Unhappy Loves of Men of Genius. Harper & Bros.
Holmes, Mary. Cameron Pride. G. W. Dillingham.
Janvier, T. A. Color Studies. Charles Scribner's Sons 50 cents.
Jewett, Dr. C. Manual of Childbed Nursing. E. R. Pelton.
Lewes, G. H. Principles of Success in Literature. Boston: Allyn & Bacon. 50 cents.
Loney, S. L. The Elements of Statics and Dynamics. Part II. Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan.
Long, F. C. The Lady of the Lens. Chicago: L. E. Crandall & Co.
Lorne, Marquis of. From Shadow to Sunlight. D. Appleton & Co. $1.
Markham, Capt. A. H. Life of Sir John Franklin and the Northwest Passage. London: George Philip & Son.
McLeod, Grace D. Stories of the Land of Evangeline. Boston: D. Lothrop Co. $1.25.
Müller, F. M. The Science of Language. New ed. 2 vols. Charles Scribner's Sons.
Osborne, G. A. An Elementary Treatise on the Differential and Integral Calculus. Leach, Shewell & Sanborn. $2.
Page, T. N. On Newfound River. Charles Scribner's Sons. $1.
Pierce, Squier L. Di. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. $1.25.
Praed, Mrs. Campbell. The Soul of Countess Adrian. United States Book Co. 50 cents.
Prime, W. C. I Go A-fishing. New ed. Harper & Bros.
Ridgeway, A. Diana Fontaine. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. 50 cents.
Roberty, E. de. La Philosophie du Siècle. Paris: Germer Baillière & Cie.
Sloane, T. O'Connor. The Arithmetic of Electricity. Norman W. Henley & Co. $1.
Smythe, A. E. S. Poems, Grave and Gay. Toronto: Imrie & Graham.
Swift, M. I. Problems of the New Life. Ashtabula, O.: M. I. Swift.
Tanera, Capt. K. Episodes from For King and Fatherland. 1870. Longmans, Green & Co. 50 cents.
The Preparation of Advertisements. George P. Rowell & Co.
The Post-Restoration Period of the Church in the British Isles. E. & J. B. Young & Co.
The Psalms. Macmillan & Co. $1.75.
Thomas, Annie. The Roll of Honor. United States Book Co. 50 cents.
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The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JUNE 25, 1891.

The Week.

THE important feature of the Ohio Republican Convention was not its nomination for the Governorship which is to be filled next fall, but its attitude toward the United States Senatorship that will be disposed of by the Legislature then to be chosen. The selection of Maj. McKinley as the candidate for Governor was inevitable, his championship of the Tariff Bill passed by the last Congress rendering his nomination a necessity of the situation. It was never a question whether he was likely to make the best run; the Convention was bound to make him the head of the State ticket. There ought to have been as little room for question about the Senatorship. In ripe experience as a public man, in proved qualifications for the Senatorship, in obvious fitness to render the state effective service during the next few years in that office, no Ohio Republican is for a moment to be thought of in comparison with John Sherman. If the sober judgment of members of the party throughout the country could be pronounced, it would prove all but unanimous in the opinion that the best interests of the nation dictate his re-election. Notwithstanding this, the veteran leader found the opposition to him in his own party so strong that he was forced to decline the position of presiding officer of the Convention, which he would have liked, and even to withdraw his name as a candidate for the Senatorship, "except on the voluntary tender of the office to him after the election of the next General Assembly." Except for this complete surrender he would have been subjected to public humiliation by the advocates of ex-Gov. Foraker, who are bent upon putting that remarkable political character in Mr. Sherman's place.

A State campaign ought to turn on State issues, and there are plenty of such issues in Ohio this year. The Republican platform, indeed, devotes some space to them, but they are bound to play a secondary part in the contest. The attention of the people is engrossed with the bearing of the election upon national affairs, and their verdict will be governed by their views upon questions of Federal, rather than State, administration. In this respect the canvass of 1891 in Ohio bears a striking resemblance to that of 1875, when Rutherford B. Hayes ran against William Allen for Governor. If the Republican nomination of Mr. McKinley is followed by the renomination of Gov. Campbell as the Democratic candidate, as now seems probable, the success of either will assure the State a good Executive, and the contest will be more than ever one of national policies. The chances undoubtedly favor the Republicans. Ohio has never failed to go Republican in a Presidential election, and when a State canvass is made to assume a national aspect, as in 1875, the Republicans are always likely to come out ahead. Moreover, it must be remembered that the "tidal wave" of 1890 was felt less in Ohio than in any other State. While Pennsylvania on one side elected a Democratic Governor, and Indiana on the other a Democratic Secretary of State, Ohio gave about 11,000 plurality to the Republican candidate for Secretary of State, and the Democrats secured a majority of the Representatives in Congress only by reason of a most outrageous gerrymander. Finally, the Republican managers throughout the country recognize the disastrous effect which the defeat of McKinley would have upon the party, and will concentrate all their resources upon the State—and their resources are greater than those of the Democrats.

The value and usefulness of courage in politics have been shown in a very striking way in the campaign which has been in progress in Mississippi during the past three months. The sub-treasury scheme of the Farmers' Alliance obtained a very strong foothold among the farmers of the State, when it was put forth by the Alliance during the winter and spring. The Alliance made the scheme the chief issue in the campaign for the election of a Legislature which was to choose a United States Senator to succeed Senator George. It sent out letters to all candidates for the Senatorship, including Mr. George, asking for their views about the scheme. Mr. George did not flinch from the issue, but met it squarely in a long letter, in which he exposed with great clearness and force the fallacies of the project. He followed this up with other letters and speeches, and for two months or more he has been conducting a genuine campaign of education with the sub-treasury scheme as a text. His chief opponent has been Maj. Ethan Barksdale, who, from the outset, took a position exactly opposite to the courageous one taken by Mr. George, expressing complete approval of the views of the Alliance, and advocating the sub-treasury plan with arguments worthy of the wildest disciple of cheap money. It has been revealed during the past few days that in taking this course Barksdale turned his back upon opinions which he, as an editor, expressed only a few years ago, and some of his editorial articles of that period have been reproduced in which he denounced the sub-treasury plan as the "most stupendous centralization project that has been conceived by the most extreme consolidationist," and declared that the "power of corruption that it would confer, the patronage that it would build up, the swarms of officeholders and pensioners that it would inflict upon the country, is a picture which the imagination grows weary in attempting to paint." Barksdale's cause was on the wane before these revelations were made, and is now regarded as hopeless.

Gov. Pattison has signed the new ballot act for Pennsylvania, and it is therefore a law. It will go into effect in March, 1892, and the next Presidential election will be held under its provisions. It is, as we have pointed out, a very defective measure, and most unfair in its provisions relating to independent and third-party nominations. It will, however, give the State a secret, official ballot, and consequently will prevent intimidation, bribery, and many other of the familiar devices practised under the old system. Still, we think the Governor might justifiably have vetoed the measure, for our experience in New York has shown that in many respects a defective ballot-reform law is worse than none.

Although the Illinois Legislature refused to pass a general woman-suffrage bill, it enacted a law giving the sex the right to vote in school elections. Representative Parsons, says a correspondent of the *Woman's Journal*, "pointed out the success of women as teachers and county superintendents, and paid a glowing tribute to Miss Mary Allen West as the best superintendent of schools in the West. He made an eloquent plea for the right of women to vote for the school boards that were to employ teachers for their children." The bill passed the House by a vote of 82 to 44. So far as appears, there was no opposition to it from the "Women Remonstrants" who protested against a general bill. Every such partial measure undoubtedly helps to hasten the coming of universal suffrage, in no way more than by the influence of its successful working in overcoming the opposition and indifference of women themselves.

The opening of the new Federal Court of Appeal in this district last week was, we were glad to see, marked by solemnity suited to the occasion; for the creation of a Court of Appeal to share the labors of the Supreme Court is an occasion of some solemnity in the judicial history of the Government, and it was well to surround it with some ceremonial. It was pleasant, for instance, to see the judges in silk gowns, in this city, which has suffered so much from want of more external dignity and formality in its courts of justice. The theory that costume is a matter of no importance has long held its ground all over the country, with most unfortunate effects on the manners of the male sex, and its effects have been nowhere more perceptible than in courts of law. The upward progress of the race from mere savagery has been in no outward sign so distinctly marked as in dress, and to ignore its importance is to ignore the relation of the eye to the imagination. In every civilized country everybody, in spite of himself, associates what a man wears, in some degree at least, with his character. He considers certain costumes ap-

propriate to certain callings and certain mental and moral characteristics, and he makes inferences from dress as to these characteristics. In other words, he believes, consciously or unconsciously, in the existence of suitability in clothing. A minister dressed like a sporting man would offend everybody, and a judge of a court of record produces the same effect, though in a less degree. A minister in a gown in the pulpit, too, is undoubtedly a more impressive personage and a greater authority, even to the most cynical agnostic, than a minister in an overcoat—something we have ourselves seen. A judge in a silk gown, for similar reasons, is, both to the audience in his court and to himself, a different man from a judge in a black velvet sack and yellow waistcoat—something we have also seen.

The *Christian Union* gives a supplementary explanation of its view that a minister may honorably remain in the service of a denomination, though rejecting important articles of the creed. It now says that such a course is legitimate only when the minister frankly and fearlessly avows his dissent, and seems to think that, as long as no secret is made of heretical opinions, there is no impropriety in continuing in the service of the sect to which they are repugnant. Now, we have no wish to express a judgment on particular cases, but we think the essentially immoral nature of the general position is clear from a single consideration. Suppose a young candidate for the ministry were "frankly and fearlessly to avow his dissent" from leading articles of belief in any church; it is perfectly certain that he would never be allowed to enter the ministry of that church. He goes in only on condition of agreement, and there is a tacit understanding, in some cases there is an express understanding, that he will stay in no longer than he continues to agree with the creed he is engaged to expound and defend. How, then, is it possible to relieve a man, in the position where the *Christian Union* would place him, of the appearance, at least, of having obtained his ministerial standing under false pretences? With his present views avowed, he could not possibly obtain that standing in the first instance. What moral right has he to throw the burden of initiating a prosecution upon his church, to force him to relinquish a position accorded him on an understanding which he has violated?

A few additional letters and telegrams which passed between the Comptroller of the Currency, Mr. Lacey, and the Bank Examiner, Mr. Drew, in reference to the affairs of the Keystone Bank, are published in Philadelphia. There is not much fresh information in them except two casual references to members of the Wanamaker family. In a confidential telegram sent by Mr. Lacey to Mr. Drew, on the date following the closing of the bank, occurs this instruction: "Call at southeast corner of Eighteenth and Spruce Streets at eight o'clock this evening and give Mr. Thomas B. Wanamaker close estimates of assets and liabilities." In a letter to Mr. Lacey, two days later, Mr. Drew says:

> "The District Attorney showed me confidentially a despatch from the United States Attorney-General at Washington, directing the District Attorney to take no action in Mr. Marsh's case for the present. I do not know what that comes from precisely, but I thought I ought to inform you of the matter. Mr. W. has consented to return the uncancelled old certificates of stock for a consideration from Mrs. Lucas, as I learn, and I expect to have them in my possession to-morrow."

The Mr. W. referred to is the good John Wanamaker, who, according to his own confession, had been trying to get $100,000 or more for those "old certificates of stock" before the bank failed (though he had been told by Marsh that they were fraudulent) and $50,000 after the bank had been closed. He has declared that he turned them over to the Lucas estate for nothing; Drew says in the above letter that Mr. W. returned them "for a consideration." This is an interesting point for further inquiry. Mr. W.'s memory played him false about delaying the appointment of a receiver, and it may have played him false about this stock. It is much to be regretted that Mrs. Lucas is in Europe and cannot give her recollection of the affair.

There appears to be no doubt that in designing the *Gloriana*, the famous Rhode Island boat-builder Herreshoff has presented the world with a yacht of a distinctly new type. She is a keel boat, not a centre-board, yet she has demonstrated her ability to outsail the swiftest centre-boards which American ingenuity has been able to devise. In her presence the old gibe at American fast yachts as mere "skimming-dishes" must be withdrawn from further service. She is a cutter on the English model, but with entirely novel additions. She is cut away in front even more than the *Thistle* was, but instead of the *Thistle's* sharp bows, she has blunt bows, resembling the head of a shark. The line of the keel is carried straight up till it meets the curve of the deck. There is no curve at all at the forefoot. In explaining these bows, which are an entirely new departure in yacht-building, Mr. Herreshoff said, long before his yacht had touched water, when surprise was expressed at the hard curves of the load-water line: "That makes very little difference. The water does not go that way." His theory was that most of the water displaced goes underneath the boat, not around the sides, and hence he made the curves below the water line as easy as possible. The five trials which the *Gloriana* has had, in all kinds of weather, have demonstrated the wisdom of his view. The yacht sailed away from all competitors so completely that there was almost no second in any of the races. In the heavy wind and sea of Thursday her blunt nose rode easily over the waves, while other yachts plunged their sharp ones into them. Her remarkable achievements will not be overlooked by English yachtsmen.

The annual report of the Austro-Hungarian Consul-General in this city for the fiscal year 1889 to 1890 is a document replete with valuable statistics concerning the commercial relations of the United States and Austria-Hungary. Curiously enough, even its tables of the immigration from the various provinces of the Empire furnish only an approximate total, owing to the rule of the Immigration Office at this port, according to which the Polish-speaking immigrants from Galicia and Russian Poland are classed as "Poles," and not credited to Austria and Russia respectively. Until recently, the Poles of Posen were ranked with them, but a remonstrance of the German Government has, we believe, resulted in their classification as German subjects. Exclusive of Galicians and some Polish-speaking Silesians, the emigration from Austria-Hungary during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1890, amounted to 56,199 persons, the two countries outranking Austria being Great Britain and Ireland, with 122,754 immigrants, and Germany, with 92,427. The total value of the imports from the Empire was $9,331,000, the articles highest in the list being buttons, $1,679,000, or 52 per cent. of the total importation of buttons from all countries; beet sugar, $1,577,000, as against $16,031,000 from Germany; prunes, $857,000, or 48 per cent. of the importation from all countries—a falling off of one-half since 1884; porcelain and earthenware $543,000, as against $3,951,000 from Great Britain, and $1,165,000 from France; linen goods, $519,000, as against $13,120,000 from Great Britain, and $1,941,000 from Germany; chemicals, $385,000, as against $2,918,000 from Great Britain, $2,718,000 from Germany, $2,220,000 from Italy, etc.; silks, $338,000, as against $15,000,000 from France and $10,200,000 from Germany; cotton goods, $265,000, as against $11,886,000 from Great Britain, $8,440,000 from Germany, and $6,222,000 from Switzerland; fans (other than palm-leaf fans), $200,000, or 42 per cent. of the importation from all countries; jewelry, $187,000, as against $635,000 from France and $291,000 from Germany.

In glassware Austria still retains its supremacy, the imports being $638,000, or 32 per cent. of the total importation of this article; but whereas the imports from Germany, France, England, and Belgium are constantly increasing, those from Austria-Hungary are declining. Similarly, the importation of woollens, in spite of the well-known excellence of some of the Moravian and Bohemian cloths, has fallen from $282,000 in 1887 to $142,000—an absolutely insignificant figure as contrasted with the $29,000,000 from Great Britain and $13,500,000 each from Germany and France. The formerly flourishing glove industry of Austria now furnishes but $171,000 to the list of imports, Germany, with $2,078,000, having become an almost successful rival of France, whose figures are $2,348,000; and even Belgium, $362,000, Italy, $286,000, and Great Britain, $252,000, have

already outstripped Austria. The importation of pearl buttons, which furnished the second largest item in the above list, has, since the passage of the McKinley Bill, practically ceased, and the total importation of buttons of every kind will probably not reach $150,000 for the coming fiscal year. It would be interesting to learn in this connection how many of the ruined Vienna manufacturers of pearl buttons are now working in Newark factories in competition with American free labor. A pertinent inquiry into the genuineness of the "Pilsen" beer so extensively—and expensively—sold all over the United States, is suggested by the smallness of the total importation of beer in barrels, only $29,670. The votaries of Gambrinus will find food for melancholy reflection in these figures, as will those of Bacchus in the $73,780 credited to the total importation of Austrian and Hungarian wines, including Tokays. The Consul-General very properly lays stress on the need of supplying the American market with "healthful" Hungarian wines.

Cuba is in a state of high exasperation with Spain just now over the proposal of the Minister for the Colonies to lay a tax upon sugar plantations. This is the neat and characteristically Spanish way of nullifying the advantage given Cuban sugar-growers by the opening of the ports of the United States to their product. Still, it must be said, there is reason in Minister Fabié's position. If you have insisted upon reductions in the tariff rates on goods coming from the United States, he says to the Cubans, in order to secure the continuance of the abolition of duties on your sugar in the latter country, you must give me a chance to make up the resulting deficiency somewhere, and how can I do it more justly than by taxing the men who are to reap the greatest advantage from the treaty? But it does not strike the Cuban mind in that way. Telegrams of urgent and almost fierce protest have been sent from the leading mercantile and financial associations of the Island, and the prospect of a new and burdensome tax has entirely destroyed the good impression made by the home Government's complaisance in acceding to Cuba's wishes in the matter of the treaty with this country. Certainly if the Cubans take counsel of experience, they may be sure that all they have to do is to make their protests angry enough, and the obnoxious tax will be dropped. For ten years, now, it has been a continual demand on the part of Cuba, and a continual yielding on the part of Spain—though the yielding has usually been too late and grudging to have a conciliatory effect. The one great cause of complaint remaining was the Spanish tariff on tobacco; this is almost forgotten in the rage at the proposed new tax on real estate.

One of the most important projects of the late Secretary of the Mexican Treasury was an inter-State conference for the purpose of arriving at a plan to do away with the antiquated system of internal custom-houses, and to mitigate the enormities of direct taxation on trade practised by States and municipalities. The delegates met at the end of last November, and the Convention referred all the matters in debate to a committee. The latter's report was made public last April, and is expected to receive the approval of the conference, and afterwards of the States and the Federal Congress. The report deals with the old abuses in a sweeping way. It abolishes all domestic custom-houses, and all taxes, direct or indirect, upon internal commerce. Then it vests the power of levying all direct internal taxes in the Federal Government, and provides for an equitable distribution among the States of certain parts of the revenue thus obtained. Altogether the results of this conference, with the prospect of their speedy acceptance by the States and the nation, mark a prodigious step in advance for Mexican commercial interests.

The general dissatisfaction with the attitude of the Administration in Brazil towards the new Constitution, of which we lately spoke, has led to the formation of a solidified party of the Opposition, styling itself the "Republican Constitutional Party." The new organization launched a declaration of principles and aims on May 1, signed by high officers of the army and navy, ex-Ministers and ex-Governors of States, and many members of the two houses of Congress. The idea seems to be to group as many of the old Republicans as possible, together with all sincere supporters of the new form of government who are offended by the present reactionary Cabinet, in order to bring about an agitation which will compel the Executive to show greater respect to the Constitution. The declaration of the ends to be striven for by the new party conveys by implication the complaints brought against the elements in power. It enumerates among the results aimed at: "The restoration of the provisions of the Constitution plainly violated, full autonomy for the States, intellectual liberty and freedom of labor, the most complete guarantee of untrammelled elections, measures of the strictest economy for the reëstablishment of credit, the equilibrium of the budget, the quickening of the productive forces of the country, and the improvement of the moral and physical conditions of the working classes." The late reorganization of the Cabinet, with the bestowal of the finance portfolio upon an old Republican, Gov. Braziliense, is said to be a concession to the new party, already extorted from the fears of the Administration.

Our withers are not altogether unwrung these days in the matter of banking scandals, but the report on the conduct of the National Bank of the Argentine Republic, recently made public, probably shows a worse state of things than will appear even in Philadelphia. At any rate it brings out in a clear light the fearful extent of debauchery among Argentine public officials, and reveals something of the wild and dishonest financial methods that finally wrecked the public credit. The Investigating Committee found proofs of criminal imprudence in the loan of money to irresponsible firms and individuals, but uncovered the worst scandals when it explored the relations of the bank to the Government. "The bank and the Government went hand in hand." Whatever modifications in the banking laws were desired were easily obtained, but only on condition of a close alliance with the members of the Administration. "The results of this intimacy were loans to members of the Government and to all sorts of politicians whose paper was worthless." Then there was the headlong rush of the bank into speculation, and the lending of its name to push the most inflated schemes. Vast sums were lost of which no trace remains, and many debts are marked "paid" on the books though the loans are still outstanding. "In a word," says the report, "the situation can be summed up as follows: Dishonest management of the bank, complete disorder in accounts, free disposal of the bank's funds by persons with no authority to touch them, acceptance of salaries by employees twenty or thirty times as great as those authorized by the directors."

The recognition of the Chilian Congressionalists as belligerents by Bolivia will greatly increase their facilities for obtaining supplies of one sort or another, and the refusal of the French Government to permit Balmaceda to purchase and fit out ships of war in France is an example which will probably be followed by all the other maritime Powers, saves the Junta from what would be a great danger, and is really as useful as formal recognition would be. Their course, too, will be morally aided by the performances of Balmaceda's "Congress," which has been arming him with powers that convert him into a despot of the Hippolyte type. There is something comic in their going through the form of passing acts for this purpose, because he has formally announced that when he disapproves of what Congress does, it is his right and duty to disperse it or lock it up. He asserted this right against the last or Constitutional Congress, and *à fortiori* he would assert it against the present little private Congress of his own, of which he ordered the election since the fighting began. He is as grotesque a specimen of the South American dictator as we have ever had, but it must be admitted that the Congressionalists must bear part of the shame and discredit of him, for they have never explained how he came to be elected President in a country in which Presidential nominations are still made, on our original American plan, by a small coterie of leading men, or at least leading families. He must before his nomination have given some indication of the kind of person he was. The Congressionalists are being badly served, too, in the matter of spreading information. Although they are seeking foreign aid and sympathy, they are doing very little to influence American or European opinion through news of the situation.

SECRETARY FOSTER'S SILVER RÈGIME.

SECRETARY FOSTER'S speech read to the Ohio Republican Convention shows that he means to use the discretion given him by the act of 1890 to coin all the silver he can lay hands on. He said in the speech:

"For nearly a year since, we have been buying 4,500,000 ounces of silver per month, paying for it with Treasury notes, and have and will coin 2,000,000 ounces per month until the 1st of July next. After that it is *discretionary* with the Secretary of the Treasury as to how much will be coined. Since the Allison Bill of 1878 was passed, we have coined $402,873,158, and this whole sum is now in active circulation, mainly in the form of its paper equivalent, the silver certificate. Yet our gold and silver coins and their paper representatives have been maintained at equal purchasing value, and I do not see the slightest danger, under the present policy, of not being able to continue the existing status between the two metals."

It was the general understanding of conservative people when the Silver Coinage Act of 1890 was passed, that the following section was a sort of saving clause, which would prevent a silver deluge:

"Sec. 3. That the Secretary of the Treasury shall each month coin 2,000,000 ounces of silver bullion purchased under the provisions of this act into standard silver dollars until the 1st day of July, 1891, and after that time he shall coin of the silver bullion purchased under the provisions of this act as much as may be necessary to provide for the redemption of the Treasury notes herein provided for; and any gain or seigniorage arising from such coinage shall be accounted for and paid into the Treasury."

It was supposed that the Secretary would so construe his discretion as to give us the smallest possible addition to the existing volume of silver. If Mr. Windom had lived, this expectation would doubtless have been justified. But it would appear that his successor takes a large view of the nature of his discretion, and means to find in the term "necessary to provide for the Treasury notes herein provided for" the means of making still larger additions to our silver certificates than we have been making under the old law. That is to say, he may construe the term "necessary" in such a way as to authorize him to issue more certificates than the exact amount of silver purchased from month to month, on some pretext satisfactory to himself, relying on the silver passion of the next Congress to prevent his being called to account for it.

We should receive this report with more incredulity if we felt sure that we knew exactly what Mr. Foster's notions about finance were. He is, it is true, opposed to unlimited free coinage, and warns his party against it in the speech which lies before us. But he manages at the end of his warnings to throw in the following sneer at those who feared that the Allison Bill of 1878 was the beginning of an attack on the gold standard: "I do not propose to engage in prophecy, or undertake to predict what would happen if this country were to adopt unlimited free coinage. We had many prophets who foretold that gold would soon be at a premium when, in 1878, the Allison Bill, providing for the coinage of $2,000,000 per month, was passed, thus placing us on a silver basis. We coined $2,000,000 per month up to August 14, 1890."

Now, does he know, or does he not, why the Allison Bill did not create a premium on gold? This is a very important question. He may think that it was because we needed the silver, and therefore readily absorbed it. But if he thinks it was because the silver dollars are accepted as being "as good as gold" by the Government, the sneer at the gold prophets is simply silly. Silver, as long as it is treated as gold by the Treasury, can hardly put a premium on gold or drive it out of the country.

Another passage in the Ohio speech suggests other questions of a similar character:

"Our gold, our silver, our gold and silver certificates, our greenbacks and Treasury notes, and our national-bank notes, are all at par with gold. With all of our silver, and with all of our paper money, we are on a gold basis, and there we will stay. To get $60,000,000 of our gold, Great Britain and other European countries paid a premium to get the yellow metal from us, thus putting their own paper money at discount so far as American gold is concerned. Hence it has come to pass that in England, which is a single gold-standard country, American gold has been at a premium over their paper money, while the United States, with the double standard, holds its silver and paper money at par with gold.'

Now, a financier who gravely tells a large body of his fellow-citizens that drafts on the gold of this country, in the ordinary course of exchange, to meet a temporary demand in Europe, puts Bank of England notes "at a discount so far as *American gold* is concerned," and that "*American gold* has been at a premium" over Bank of England notes, certainly deserves the closest kind of watching. If he knew no better than this, he can hardly be called fit to manage the finances of a great nation. If he did know better, and concocted this as an ingenious misrepresentation for political purposes, is he fit to be trusted with discretionary power to enlarge the currency? It is hardly necessary to say to such of our readers as have left school, that "the premium on American gold in English paper money" is simply the rate of exchange necessary to draw gold from any country to the Bank of England at this present juncture, and as such is as much a premium on any gold as on American gold. Gold during the past week has reached the Bank of England not only from New York, but from Natal, Bombay, and the West Indies. Why does it go to London? Because it is for the moment worth a little more in London than in the place from which it is sent. The process of drawing it to London is explained every day in the financial columns, as in the following paragraph from the *Evening Post* of Wednesday week:

"The par of sterling exchange is 4.86.6. The rate for demand sterling bills at which gold can be exported to London without loss is 4.88⅛ for bars and 4.89¼ for coin, and the rate at which it can be imported without loss 4.83¾."

When the present demand for it in London is over, we shall, if we need it here, get it back by precisely the same process—that is, offering for it a trifle above the par of exchange. If Mr. Foster were to go into any banking-house in any civilized country with this story that Bank of England notes were at a discount in American gold, he would be listened to with pity. And yet it probably depends on his judgment and discretion whether we shall or shall not be brought down to a silver standard within the next two years. He is in desperate straits just now, having both to save the party from the charge of having emptied the Treasury and to save the Treasury from having to ask for an extension from its creditors.

THE ECONOMISTS AND THE PUBLIC.

AMONG all our writers on economic subjects none commands a wider audience or is heard with more pleasure and respect than President Francis A. Walker. His clean-cut style, precision of statement, skill in the picturesque array of facts and arguments, and logical fairness in dealing with every problem he discusses, all combine to make it a pleasure to discuss a question with him even when one differs from his views. He has seldom put forth a more thought-provoking paper than his recent presidential address before the American Economic Association, which has quite recently been published in full. The address derives its greatest interest from the fact that it is a typical example of the views taken by the large majority of our professed economic teachers on the subject of their relation to current popular opinion, and thus supplies an excellent text for considering the question whether these positions are those best adapted to gain the ends which all economists have in view. He graphically describes the great interest now taken by the public in social problems, and the spirit of dissatisfaction with the existing order of things so rife among the laboring classes, the wild theories put forth under the name of "nationalism," and the attacks from the magazine and the pulpit upon every economic principle, as a rising tide of thought which threatens to overwhelm every position hitherto taken by the economists. The latter have been driven from what was once the shore, far inland, and those who refused to join in the rout now view the scene from the roofs and tree-tops in which they have had to take refuge.

So far as the ends in view are concerned, we should probably agree with the speaker in all his views—both of the nature and tendency of these movements and of the necessity of guarding ourselves against the catastrophe threatened by them. But in the practical measures to be adopted, and especially in the attitude which economists are to assume, we are unable to reconcile his views with the dictates of practical sagacity. When he sees in the ranks of "the passionate reformers" the Socialists, the nationalists, and all others "who have for the time lost all measure of difficulty, all sense of resistance, all memory of experience," "few or no perverts from a sound political economy, but only a host of as yet rather disorderly and undisciplined converts," we would inquire from what errors and to what sound doctrines they have been converted. When he says that the revolution now in progress is making every man and every woman an economist, though a pretty poor one, and that the whole nation is at school in political economy, he belittles the science of which he is so distinguished an expounder.

Among the essentials of the relation of scholar and teacher are that the scholar shall feel that he does not know and that the teacher does know. But the most prominent of these pupils are people who think they already know, or at least, if they have a modest estimate of their own knowledge, they certainly do not think that the economists know any more than they do. And how can they gain confidence in their teachers when leading expounders of the science confess that they do not know what will be its fate after the undisciplined crowd has finished its attack? We say that the science is belittled by such a view, because the superficial ideas derived from common talk are placed on a level with that discipline of the understanding, which can be acquired only by patient study and thought under the guidance of a trained teacher. We cordially agree upon the general fact that the public is to be taught and can be taught; we differ as to the spirit and nature of the teaching required. This seems to us to be clearly indicated by a careful consideration of the points in which the public need instruction.

One great difficulty in the way of the application of sound economic principles to legislation is the universal diffusion of economic theories which, if carried to their logical conclusion, would put an end to all progress, and reduce us to the condition of a tribe of savages. What these theories are can only be learned inductively from such measures, enacted or proposed, as the McKinley Bill, the exclusion of the Chinese, the oleomargarine tax, the free coinage of silver, the New York prison-labor law, the prohibition of printing notes by machinery, not to mention a score of other measures urged by organized labor as essential to the well-being of the workingman. These measures derive all their vitality from one idea which every untaught and unthinking member of an industrial community imbibes as naturally as the babe does its mother's milk—the idea that whatever comes into competition with labor by cheapening its product without corresponding consumption is an evil, and that whatever increases the demand for labor, by either consuming its product or making more labor necessary for a given consumption, is a good. The Chinese were excluded because they gathered fruit very effectively and very cheaply and consumed almost nothing. Plate-printing was prohibited because it then cost more labor to print the notes. The employment of prison labor was forbidden because it was supposed that unpaid labor was competing with honest paid labor. The McKinley Bill appeals to nothing but the bugbear of foreign competition. Oleomargarine was taxed because it was cheaper than butter. The International Copyright Bill required type to be set in this country because more work was thus given the printers to do. The cry which carried all these measures was at bottom the same that called for the destruction of the machine when the spinning-jenny commenced its operations.

Where shall we stop if we continue to listen to this cry? Stopping-place there is none short of almost total prohibition of foreign trade and new labor-saving devices. No Chinaman is so remorseless a competitor with our labor as an effective machine, which consumes nothing but the oil and coal necessary to keep it going. If there is no danger of our reaching this logical stopping-point, it is only because of the impracticability of putting these popular theories into operation. The greatest difficulty—and, therefore, our principal salvation from them—is to be found in the selfishness of mankind. The fact that the public can get their products cheaper by every improvement in production, and that the men who make these improvements can profit by their use, operates more powerfully in favor of progress than all the arguments put forth by the labor thus displaced. But how long can we count on this force? If philanthropy is to take the place of money-making, and the popular cry against competition to receive more and more favor, how long before the retrograde movement in the direction we have indicated will become irresistible? Here is clearly an opportunity for the economist to point out to the public the error of its views, to which we earnestly invite the attention of all economic teachers.

Not only does President Walker fail to see this point of difference between himself and the public he wishes to instruct, but his attitude in relation to it is the most unsatisfactory feature of his address. There is a certain weakening on every point where the economist and the public touch, which will seem to the latter a strong hint that they have only to push hard to carry their point. Most surprising of all is it to see such an authority lecturing the economists on the arbitrary and unreal character of their assumptions and their haughty and contemptuous spirit, and repeating the stale objections to the economic man of Ricardo and Mill. Nothing ever taught by the economists is so unreal as the principles of physical science taught in the institution over which he presides. To say that the building of every railroad in this country, the establishment of every factory, the opening of every mine, and the sailing of every ship was dictated by the hope on the part of the projectors of getting dividends on their capital, and by no other consideration, is a closer approximation to reality than a great majority of the elementary principles of physics. The Carnot heat-engine works without friction, has walls which are absolute conductors or absolute non-conductors at pleasure, and is in every way such a machine as no man ever did or ever could construct or realize; yet to understand its workings is the first requisite of the student of the steam-engine. The fact is, that every branch of scientific knowledge becomes unreal, in the sense in which the word is used by objectors to the Ricardian economy, in proportion as it is developed. Principles cannot be learned or even conceived except in the abstract, and the more we abstract them, the more unreal they become.

Why is it that a man of the wide intelligence of Prof. Walker, who not only accepts this unreality in every department of physical science, but would not give a degree to a student that had not mastered it, lays aside all sound views of the necessity of things when he comes to economics? We hold that the economic student who is unacquainted with the Ricardian economy can never have any better idea of the science than the student of engineering who is ignorant of thermodynamics can have of the steam-engine; and there are plenty of passages in Walker's 'Political Economy' to show that the author really holds the same view. Then why talk to this new crowd of would-be students in such slighting terms of the only system of economics they can ever have time to study? Why try to persuade them that the "practical man" is right in his contempt for the "theorist"?

A CASE OF DEVELOPMENT.

THE naturalists have made us familiar with the adaptation of organisms to their environment, and with the development under favorable conditions of strange species which begin with but a slight divergence from the usual types. The student of history and politics sometimes is able to point to analogous phenomena; but his illustrations are not often so clear and simple as to bring out effectively the working of the forces he studies. It happens that the McKinley Tariff Act supplies a case of the sort which he needs: a case where a change from the usual mode of levying duties, at first apparently of not much moment, has developed, under the favoring surroundings of unlimited protection, into a wonderfully complicated system, which betrays only to the eyes of the expert its relation to the original divergence.

We refer to the duties on woollen goods, in which a new feature appeared in 1861, and gradually developed into the extraordinary maze of the McKinley Act. We may take as a type of the whole the duty on woollen cloths, whose history will serve to indicate the general development. In the Morrill Tariff Act of 1861, the new feature first appeared: a compound duty on woollen goods, both specific and ad valorem—12 cents per pound, plus 25 per cent. The specific duty was meant merely to compensate for the duty on raw wool, which then was 3 cents per pound on the common grades of wool. It was supposed that about four pounds of wool were needed in order to make one pound of cloth. A specific duty on cloth of four times the amount of the duty on wool would therefore put the domestic manufacturer in the same position, as regards his foreign competitors, as if he got his wool free of duty. The extra duty of 25 per cent. ad valorem alone was to give real protection.

Such was the first unobtrusive change. In 1864 the new system began to expand. The duty on the class of wool chiefly used went up to 6 cents a pound; the specific duty on cloths accordingly went up to four times that amount, 24 cents a pound. The ad-valorem duty also went up, from 25 to 40 per cent.; this change being only a part of the upward movement which all duties showed in the tariff legislation of the war.

When the war was over, and there was a general disposition to overhaul the hurried financial legislation resorted to in its course, the representatives of the woollen-manufacturers came forward with a proposal which purported merely to continue the legislation of 1861, and to fix an effective protective duty of no more than 25 per cent. Their proposals were carried out in the monumental wool and woollens act of 1867, which marks a third and important stage in the development of our new species. The duty on wool had now grown—we may disregard certain details which somewhat complicate the situation—to 11½ cents a pound. Four times that amount, or 46 cents, would be the compensating duty per pound of woollen cloth. But it was suggested in 1867 that there were also duties on dyestuffs, oils, and other things used by manufacturers; wherefore the compensating duty was raised to the round sum of 50 cents per pound. Next came the ad-valorem duty, which was to yield the moderate net protection of 25 per cent. But here it was quietly pointed out that the manufacturers had to pay internal taxes, imposed during the war and still maintained in 1867, on their goods or materials, and that an extra 10 per cent. must be added to compensate for these. So the ad-valorem duty was fixed at 35 per cent., and the total duty on woollen cloths had grown to the dimensions of 50 cents per pound plus 35 per cent. ad valorem.

After 1867 the internal taxes were quickly abolished; the duties on oils and dyestuffs also disappeared almost entirely; but the woollen duties remained intact. The protectionists, notwithstanding the strong agitation for tariff reform, and notwithstanding the uncertain attitude which the Republican party then held on the tariff, managed to fend off all reductions in the woollen schedule. No change came until the general revision of 1883. Then a new feature appeared, which served still further to complicate the already complicated system, and began the development which has finally led to the wonderful and mysterious provisions of the McKinley Act. In 1883 the wool duty was somewhat reduced, to 10 cents a pound, leading naturally to some reduction in the specific duty on woollens. At the same time it was admitted that the specific duty had been unduly high on low-priced woollen goods, for which cheaper wool, or a good deal of cotton and shoddy, was used. Accordingly, the duty was reduced and also divided. On low-priced woollens, costing less than 80 cents per pound, the duty was 35 cents per pound specific (or compensating), plus 35 per cent. ad valorem. On dearer woollens, costing more than 80 cents per pound, the duty was 35 cents per pound, plus 40 per cent. ad valorem. It will be seen that the ad-valorem rate remained at 35 per cent., on dearer goods was even raised to 40 per cent. The original proposal of a net protection of only 25 per cent. had disappeared: it was no longer suited to the environment.

Last stage of all, we have the McKinley rates. Here the method of dividing the duty, begun in 1883, is carried still further. To give all the details would be wearisome; a few specimens will suffice. If goods are worth 30 cents per pound or less, the specific duty is 33 cents a pound, while the ad-valorem or protective duty is 40 per cent. On high-priced goods the specific rate goes up to 44 cents per pound, and the ad-valorem rate is as high as 50 per cent. The rates of the McKinley Act, and the mode in which they have evolved from the simple and unpretentious system of 1861, can best be shown by a tabular statement, which will serve to summarize this curious growth, and at the same time indicate the increasing rigor and complexity of the scheme at each successive stage:

Year.		Specific duty per pound.	Ad-valorem duty.
1861		12 cents.	25 per cent.
1864		24 cents.	40 per cent.
1867		50 cents.	35 per cent.
1883	On goods costing less than 80c.	35 cents.	35 per cent.
	On goods costing more than 80c.	35 cents.	40 per cent.
1890	On goods costing 30c. or less	33 cents.	40 per cent.
	On goods costing bet. 30 and 40c.	38½ cents.	40 per cent.
	On goods costing more than 40c.	44 cents.	50 per cent.

Let the reader reflect on the remarkable results to which this process of development has led. In the first place, the ad-valorem or purely protective duty has gone up to 40 per cent. on cheaper woollens, and to 50 per cent. on those of higher price; and we may add that on ready-made clothing, to which the same compound system has been applied, and on which the specific part of the duty is also higher than that on cloths, the ad-valorem duty has been made as high as 60 per cent. Who would expect these imposing rates to evolve from a modest net protection of 25 per cent.? Looking at the specific duties, the scientific inquirer will find developments even more surprising. He will find, for example, that on the second, or intermediate, class into which woollens are divided—those worth between 30 and 40 cents per pound—the specific duty is 38½ cents per pound. Now, this specific duty is compensating; it is supposed to represent merely the extra expense to which the American manufacturer is put because of the duties imposed on the wool he uses. But the foreign goods against which he is protected are supposed, by the classification and valuation of the act itself, to be worth between 30 and 40 cents only; whence it follows that the extra burden put on the American manufacturer by the wool duties must be as great as the total expense to the foreigner of manufacturing the goods entire and shipping them to this market. Such are the results of an environment of hot protection.

THE JOURNAL OF EMILY SHORE.

London, June 6, 1891.

This has been a wretched winter in London; and although the trees and flowers have now struggled into leaf and bloom, the severe weather is still loath to loose its hold on us. To an Irishman the winter has been one of political chaos and disorder. When I walk along Rotten Row, I look across at the Alexandra Hotel, and think of the brilliant company assembled there a brief twelvemonth ago at William O'Brien's wedding, when Mr. Parnell and Archbishop Croke, now so bitterly opposed, sat in the places of honor beside bride and bridegroom. All appeared unbroken love and harmony, and bright hopes regarding Ireland well founded. Now William O'Brien is in prison, separated from his wife, not even allowed to speak to his "best man" John Dillon, confined within the same walls. They are now powerless to prevent the certain ruin of many of those who, upon their promises and assurances, left their holdings and gave up their only means of support. It appears to me almost as if we were living in a different world. But fortunately there is even in addition to our own quiet hearths a world of the mind—of literature, the drama, and art—apart from politics, apart from the contentions of the hour; and in that world there occur events which often leave as lasting impressions upon us as those passing in the fierce glare of actual outward life. Such to me were the introductions, through the pages of the *Nation*, to Turgeneff, and later to Tolstoi's writings. The production of "Margaret Fleming" may cause this wintry spring to be remembered by many on your side of the Atlantic. Here, doubtless, "Ivanhoe" and "L'Enfant Prodigue" may mark it to others. By me it will be looked back to as the spring in which I first opened the 'Journal of Emily Shore,' a modest volume of 400 pages, published by Kegan Paul & Co.

Few works have ever more deeply affected me by their sweetness and simplicity, and withal their strength and beauty. "Only a woman's hair" were the words found to have been attached by Swift to a tress, presumably of Stella's. "Only a girl's journal," we may be inclined to exclaim as we take up this book; and yet, to those who read it, the impression is likely to remain permanent. The quotation on the title-page is then felt to be singularly appropriate:

> "So be it; there no shade can last
> In that deep dawn behind the tomb,
> But clear from marge to marge shall bloom
> The eternal landscape of the past."

We owe much to the editor of this little volume for admitting us within the sacred circle of the life and thoughts of Emily Shore, and for the taste with which the Journal has been edited.* The spirit with which the introduction opens pervades the succeeding pages:

"A life whose light was blown out half a century ago, and whose whole span did not complete twenty years; a girl's life, which budded, blossomed, and faded in the close shade of a quiet English country home—here, it may be said, are scarcely materials of interest for the present generation. . . . She belongs to the order of beings of whom nature makes no replica, . . . and it might be suggested that the half century which has elapsed since this record was closed adds something, not only to the impression of definiteness and uniqueness left by its truthful disclosures, but to its general present value. A voice speaking to us in such distinct living tones across so wide a gulf is a witness in some degree of that change in feeling and point of view which on a large scale makes up the history of thought."

Emily Shore was born at Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk, in 1819, and died of consumption at Madeira in 1839, aged nineteen years and six months. Her father was a clergyman of the English Church. Doubts regarding the Thirty-

* The addition of two of her girlish compositions appears to me a mistake. Her poetry had better have been inserted as it came in suitably through the Journal. The want of an index will be felt by many.

nine Articles prevented his seeking a responsible cure. For the first twenty years of his married life he maintained his family by receiving and preparing for college five or six young men, "many of whom were of high social position and became known in the political world." The late Earl Granville was, I believe, among them. The easy and simple relations existing between the family and these pupils inspire some charming passages in the Journal:

"Emily Shore went to no high school, no college, no lectures. She passed no examinations and competed with no rivals. . . . Her teaching was that of nature and of love. . . . Her sole instructors were her parents, especially her father; but much, very much, was done by herself. She made her whole existence a happy school-room. [That it was a self-overtasked school-room most readers will believe.] It was, indeed, in a great degree to her wandering at dawn of day in the dewy woods, and her late watchings at open windows with a telescope, collecting plants, and studying the habits of birds and insects, that she owed the attack of lung disease which terminated so fatally and so soon."

She was blessed with a retentive memory and a power of rapidly acquiring knowledge, often committing to memory dates at the rate of over one hundred a day. She had an insatiable thirst for reading of the most wholesome kind. She had often on hand at once, besides regular studies, such books as Butler's 'Analogy,' 'History of India' (Mill's), Forster's 'Essays,' and Mrs. Somerville's 'Connexion.' Recovering from an accession of the disease that finally carried her off, she writes:

"I must keep up French by the reading of Lamartine. Italian I have begun. . . . 'Medea' to keep up Greek, and the 'Æneid' to keep up Latin. . . . I must begin German, which I am sighing for, and which my sisters are already learning. I am afraid I cannot make time for a sixth language, or I should learn Spanish also."

She delighted in sketching and had a singular facility in catching likenesses. In the few weeks at Madeira before her death, she collected plants, and learned to read and obtained a colloquial knowledge of Portuguese. She was constantly engaged in composition, and left behind many MSS. in writing as clear as print. With the exception of a few essays on the habits of birds in the *Penny Magazine*, it does not appear that she ever sent anything to the press. But it is not on account of her acquirements that her memory will rest with us. It will remain that of a sweet country girl, loving to all around her, tending her brothers and sisters and weaving romances for their amusement, immersed in the lives and fortunes of her pets, roaming the woods and heaths in the neighborhood of her beloved Woodbury in search of flowers, and following up song-birds. No reader is likely to forget the histories of her lark, her jay, and her jackdaw. One of the troubles of her thirteenth year was that "two of my stuffed birds are thrown away because they breed the moth." The portrait prefixed to the Journal, taken at Madeira a few weeks before her death, shows her with a stuffed bee-eater on her knee. The Journal was commenced in her twelfth year.

"Our family consists of papa, mamma, and five children. Papa is curate, during part of the year, of Mr. Cust, rector of Cockayne Hatley, a little village two miles and a half from us. We live at Potton, a little market town on the confines of Bedfordshire and Cambridgeshire. Papa takes pupils; his greatest number is six."

The last entry given is made six weeks before her release:

"I feel weaker every morning, and I suppose am beginning to sink; still, I can at times take up my pen. I have had my long back-hair cut off. Dear papa wears a chain made from it. Mamma will have one too."

The journal extended to twelve volumes in MS. If we may judge from the specimen page, about one-sixth of its total bulk is published. It takes us back into a different world indeed from that in which we are now living:

"All the mob of Potton made a great riot to celebrate the passing of the Reform Bill, and paraded the town with the most hideous yells. . . . I do not suppose that any of them understood what they were so noisy about. . . . The boys in the street threw stones at us and behaved very impudently, which my aunt attributes to reform. What an idea!"

The best conveyance to Madeira was a 460-ton West Indiaman. We are occasionally taken away from her home to London, Cambridge, Tunbridge Wells, Hastings, Ely, the New Forest, Torquay, Exeter, Southsea; and wherever we accompany her, whether visiting a university or a printing-office, a dockyard or a steamboat, we have evidence of interested and intelligent observation. There is often a touch of 'Harry and Lucy' and 'Rollo' in the fireside and tea-table conversations. The main interest centres round Potton, where the story opens, and her dear Woodbury, two miles off, where the family moved shortly after an innocent love passage in her seventeenth year is half revealed.

After losing myself in the pages of this delightful book, I desired to visit the main localities mentioned. Potton is on a railway line forty miles north of London. It is a lovely old village, for the most part unchanged since Emily Shore's time; many of the houses built, perhaps, before Shakspere was born. An artist would there find endless subjects for his pencil. The adjacent country is the perfection of English scenery—entirely different from "the green valleys and rushing rivers" so characteristic of our own dear neighbor island. Slow-moving streams wind through broad pastures, rich sweeps of cultivation, and among deep woods. Every one is well-dressed and busy. The clean, brightly paned sanded cottages are a charm in themselves. We put up at the exquisitely neat "Rose and Crown." Brook House, a large brick mansion, "without the town, in front of a little brook or ditch," shut off by a railing from the road, greensward in front, an old cedar beside it, must be exactly as when Emily Shore resided within its walls. The thirteen public houses of her time have increased to twenty-eight, but, indeed, they look innocent in comparison to city gin-palaces. A fire-brigade hall erected in commemoration of the Queen's jubilee attests that Potton is still "celebrated for its fires." A lane, or "causeway," as the inhabitants called it, between thorn hedges, led to the old church on a hillside, wonderfully picturesque, as though it had grown where it stands through the centuries. She calls it "ordinary in appearance," and says it "contains some architectural curiosities." Restoration seldom adds to the interest of these old English churches, and Potton church has been "restored." Among the first inscriptions that caught our eyes was that to Mr. Whittingham, the vicar who was "one of the principal persons in Potton besides papa."

Some three miles through Everton brought us to the beloved Woodbury—an old mansion, among woods and gardens, on the margin of the "famous Gamblingay heath," commanding extensive views north and west. It has been remodelled and enlarged, but around is unchanged—the woods and heaths in which Emily used to wander, the old trees, the furze bushes under which she related stories to her brothers and sisters, "Foxhill Wood," and "White Wood," which she so often refers to. We in some measure realized her enthusiasm for the district. The quiet was broken only by the songs of birds. In no part of England are the nightingales more numerous. Every sense was charmed. Everton Church, which the family used to attend, is an interesting twelfth-century erection, with a later tower and perpendicular insertions. It is in itself worth the journey from London. We met none who could remember the family, or who had seen or heard of the Journal. Fortunately we had the volume with us, and by the help of a friendly resident and the vicar, who took us in to tea in his ideal English vicarage, we learned all that was possible within a short period to connect the present of the district with the past. We felt drawn very near to Emily and to the times of which she wrote.

One old man in Potton was suggested as likely to remember something. I traced him up late in the evening to the bar parlor of the "White Swan." There I found him one of a company given over to "churchwardens" and jugs of ale, discussing the news of the day, as probably in the same parlor the news of the Battle of the Boyne and the surrender at Yorktown were discussed. He remembered Mr. Shore occupying Brook House and Woodbury, and called to mind the pranks of some of the young noblemen he taught. But of Emily there was no trace of recollection. I have spoken of the order and civilization apparent all around, but the wide stretches of high cultivation without houses, the manner in which the people have been swept off and dissociated from the land, is painfully striking. When Ireland gets a little more chance—Ireland, where the people, or a large proportion of them, have all through held on to the soil with such desperate tenacity and through such bitter suffering—I think there will be a more natural and healthy state, at least so far as agriculture is concerned, than here in England. The circle in the Swan was on the whole radical and liberal. The discouragement thrown in the way of laborers' saving by the impossibility of their procuring small holdings, was spoken of, and I thought I never heard a more bitter comment on the present condition of affairs regarding land in England than the exclamation of one of the company: "A poor man obtain land here! Why, you might as well ask Sir —— [the principal proprietor in the district] to sell you some of the teeth out of his head. And what is more, if he were willing, he could not, it is so tied up." Surely this land of England—this land that has given birth to so many Emily Shores, where freedom has "broadened down from precedent to precedent"—will not much longer rest content under the trammels regarding the sale and division of land which at present bind down and hamper its people. So, in the parlor of the White Swan at Potton, our conversation quickly turned from a vain search after recollections of the past to discussions on things of the present. So even the Journal of this reserved maiden, with its spirit of sweet repose, the brief record of a life that closed more than half a century ago, has led us back to the burning problems of to-day; and so do Potton and Woodbury know her no more whose short life here has to some almost consecrated the district. Her journal will insure her a longer life on earth and a wider circle than she herself knew.

D. B.

THE SALON IN THE CHAMP DE MARS.

PARIS, May, 1891.

IN writing a notice of some seventeen hundred pictures, almost inevitably a few of the most important are accidentally overlooked. In my paper on the Champs-Élysées Salon, I find that I omitted all mention of MacEwen's "Chez le Bourgmestre," which is not only one of the best things he has yet shown, but, in point of artistic merit, among the most interesting contributions to the exhibition. It is a very small canvas, and the scene is the Dutch interior in which he has so often worked. It might be suggested that equally artistic results could have been obtained had he taken for subject the people and costumes of our time, as in his well-known picture of little Dutch boys, instead of those of a bygone age. It must also be admitted that there is a tendency in MacEwen's work, as in that of Melchers and other men of the same school, to repeat the same effects, the same methods, the same problems, until there is danger that these may be reduced to a mere formula, and their painting become as much of a convention as that of the older generation against whose academic formality it was in the beginning an expression of revolt. "Chez le Bourgmestre," for example, is lighted from the top, as is almost every picture MacEwen is now giving us, as are so many canvases in every modern French show, so that to-day there is as little individuality in this particular arrangement of light as in the frigid classicism of Bouguereau or the learned draughtsmanship of Laurens and Bonnat.

That the cry at present, whether from Impressionist or *Décadent*, is all for individuality is not the mere *fin de siècle* affectation it may seem; for individuality is but the new name for style, and without style no man's work, in art or literature, can have the least value. If with artist, as with author, "to know when one's self is interested is the first condition of interesting other people," the second is to express this interest in a manner which will at once stamp one's creations with a character of their own. To succeed in this is to write, or to paint, with style, with individuality. It is because neither condition is fulfilled in the great mass of the paintings at the Champs-Élysées that that exhibition is so tedious and dull; the fact that their necessity is at least realized gives zest and life to the collection in the Champ de Mars.

The genuine individuality there, however, is not as great as it at first appears to be. The striking activity displayed upon the walls, in the contrast it presents to the passive acceptation of established conventions in the old Salon, may be mistaken for originality; but it is really the result of the astonishing influence two or three unquestionably original men have had upon the present generation of painters, and even upon a number of the older men who had already developed methods of their own. A few leaders, like Whistler, Manet, Degas, and, above all, at the present moment, Claude Monet, have revolutionized the art of painting in our day, and the Champ de Mars Salon is the most eloquent tribute to their power. To appreciate the wide difference between active imitation and true individuality, one has but to turn from the many sham Whistlers to the master himself, who, with his usual love for a jest, exposes the false pretences of the much-vaunted modernity in painting by sending a portrait and a marine done twenty and thirty years ago, both masterpieces in their way, and both full of those qualities prized as the most modern attributes of art. They have been seen before, I think, and are too well known to be described in detail. One is the portrait of Miss Corder, or an arrangement in black; the other, a harmony in green and opal at Valparaiso. Whistler has never triumphed so completely.

But the influence of Monet is the most widespread. He, who has never exhibited, who does not exhibit now in the large shows, is here supreme. The open-air problems which he first sought to solve have become common property; the technical methods which he first employed assert themselves on every other canvas. Indeed, the two chief characteristics of this exhibition are the prevalence of *plein-air* experiments and the increasing tendency manifested to get one's effects by means of spots or points of color which fall into harmony when seen from the proper distance. It is curious, too, to note how the late popularity of pastels has in many cases exaggerated this tendency, painters seeking to produce in oils the effects peculiar to pastel. The results are anything but happy; Monet's method knows no half way between success and failure, while the painter who borrows his technique from the pastellist becomes either niggling, or else liny like Raffaelli, in whose work undoubted cleverness is marred by no less undoubted affectation.

Of course it is among the landscapes that the new treatment of light and atmosphere, introduced by Monet, is most conspicuous. Cazin, whose eight pictures this year hardly would have gained him his great reputation, and Billotte, who sees in nature but grayness and soft mist, and Damoye, who already seems strangely old-fashioned, have not fallen under the spell. But their low-toned landscapes are overshadowed by the far more numerous studies of hot sunlight and brilliant outdoor effects. The disciples of Monet, in their degree of indebtedness to him, vary from slavish imitation to original interpretation. At one extreme is Sisley, who at the best is but a copyist; at the other, Edelfeldt, who, working out Monet's theories to suit his own artistic temperament, has evolved a very distinct and fine style of his own. His landscapes are the most wholly satisfactory of all exhibited this year. Refined in color and technique, strong in sunlight, bathed with air, they are absolutely true to nature in their record of outdoor impressions, absolutely true to art in the manner in which this record is made. Those who always look for the subject in a picture may be struck principally with the fact that his largest canvas represents, on a hillside overlooking a Norwegian fiord, Christ with a Magdalen in modern Norwegian dress at his feet. Those who care for beauty artistically expressed are concerned solely with the masterly way in which the two figures are given in their real relations to the landscape. Indeed, so little does the interest of his work depend upon human subjects, that the two smaller canvases, in which it is of the homeliest and most ordinary kind, are far more successful because of their artistic achievement.

Montenard, who has been painting in Provence, where, in rendering the sunlight that floods its olive orchards, its wide waters, its old amphitheatres, he has been less sensitive to the beauty of its color; Dumoulin, who has gone to Rome for his sunshine and to Paris at night for brilliancy of effect; Dauphin, Le Camus, Dinet, are other of the prominent men most obviously inspired by Monet. But perhaps no experimental working-out of his theories is as interesting as the two very large panels painted by Chabas to decorate the walls of the mairie at Montrouge. Here we have out-door effects treated on a large scale for the purpose of mural decoration. A wedding party, suggesting the famous scene in 'Jack,' and a picnic have been made the excuse for the study of a crowd in the open air. Seen too near, the atmosphere fairly sticks out of the frame, the violent purples and blues are disagreeably aggressive; at the proper distance, the atmospheric relations are just right, and the color scheme resolves itself into a pleasant harmony. The important question, which I hope Chabas has considered, is whether in the mairie one ever will be able to get to this proper distance; at the Champ de Mars you must go almost to the far side of the great stairway (the pictures hang in the balcony) to see the work as it should be seen.

It is curious to contrast this realistic, or one might say naturalistic, treatment with the conventional decorative methods of Puvis de Chavannes, who also shows a panel for the Paris Hôtel de Ville and two for the Museum in Rouen. Chabas has not yet Puvis's thorough command of his resources; he has plainly not passed beyond the experimental stage. But he at least proves that his scheme perfected will give greater scope for beauty of color and decorative feeling, and holds out the hope that from a new school of decoration may come some of the finest work the world has yet seen. However, Puvis de Chavannes has seldom shown to better advantage than in his large "Summer" for the Hôtel de Ville, where the great beauty of the landscape makes up for the figures, ugly in color and ungraceful in pose, in the foreground. There is a strange suggestion of Burne-Jones in the other panels; that is, in the drawing of the figures, but not in the color, which, as usual with this artist, is as pale and subdued as it is bright and almost crude with the English painter, nor in the handling, which is bold where Burne-Jones is niggling, nor in the whole effect, which can be appreciated at a reasonably remote distance which would reduce Burne-Jones to mere patchwork.

If in the landscapes the endeavor is to reproduce Nature herself, in the portraits the effort is to show real men and women in their natural environment, and not mere puppets set up against the invariable curtain or blank wall. There are men who, like Roll and Besnard, consider every portrait they paint a new problem of light and air, and who continually startle by the daring of their realism; there are those who, like Sargent (this year in his Mrs. St. Gaudens and her son, already seen in New York) and Boldini, are less concerned with atmospheric conditions, though these they do not ignore, than with strongly marked human characteristics; and again, there is an entirely original man, like Carrière, who sees everybody and everything according to a convention of his own, and yet in reproducing them on canvas shows them with striking force and actuality. He has in the present exhibition portraits of Alphonse Daudet and Paul Verlaine which are veritable masterpieces in their rendering of character. But when his mannerisms are copied, as they are by two or three of his imitators who also exhibit, then they degenerate into weaknesses, for his neutral color and all-pervading mist may be imitated, but not his individuality.

Though, at first, it is in the portraits that the greatest activity seems to be manifested, that one is most conscious of experiment, that the painter apparently has found freest scope, it does not take long to discover that here, as in the landscapes, there are two or three artists who lead, many who, with more or less cleverness, follow. Like Carrière, Besnard and Boldini have their students. Bes-

nard fortunate in being studied by a man of the ability and talent of Point, but Boldini less happy in being taken as master by men who can only exaggerate his eccentricities, reducing them to mere tricks, and who could no more paint flesh as he does, for example in the plump arm of a stout lady in evening dress (whose portrait, in its uncompromising truth, reaches the high-water mark of his accomplishment), than they could originate his skilfully managed color schemes. More independent in their methods are Picard, who is marvellously clever and effective; Friant, who has a capital little portrait of Coquelin and his son, and another of a man and woman with their well-studied shadows thrown on the wall behind them; and Blanche, who, one feels, would do better if he did not do so much, for his portrait of his mother is as careful and as full of character as many of his other canvases are characterless and suggestive of over-haste. Two men, to whom one naturally turns for good work, each after his own fashion, Duez and Gervex, are disappointing. But even where one finds but failure, even where imitation is but ill concealed, there is a healthier tendency than in the copies of conventional models and the failures to work up to a conventional standard that cover the walls of the old Salon, or the middle-class mediocrities that adorn the Royal Academy. It seems as if it was to emphasize the healthiness of the new movement that Carolus-Duran has sent his work to the Champ de Mars Salon; for distinguished as are his portraits, especially those of Gounod and Billotte, they seem out of place and out of date, conventional and lifeless, compared to the canvases which surround them, while the strikingly weak portraits by Frappa and Miss Lee-Robbins are there to show to what depths of commonplace the conventional methods of a strong master may lead his faithful pupils.

Still more out of place in an exhibition so entirely artistic in its interest, and coming from a man so truly an artist, is Jean Béraud's "Christ in the House of Simon the Pharisee," which appeals only to claptrap sensationalism. The guests are all represented in frock coats and trousers, Magdalen in modern evening dress; but at the head of the table, set out with coffee-cups and littered with cigarette ashes, is the traditional Christ in draperies and halo. And the figures here are not subordinate to the artistic aims of the picture—to a study of light and air, as in Edelfeldt's "Magdalen"; it is the incongruity in costume, the suggested blasphemy, that attracts the crowd and has made this picture the pictorial excitement of the year in France, just as Luke Fildes's "Doctor," with its cheap sentiment, has achieved the same distinction in sentimental England. It is not easy to say whether Béraud has approached this work in the spirit of the old masters, whose religious themes did not necessitate archæological learning, or whether he produced it as a huge *fin de siècle* joke, useful to attract attention to his delightfully clever and artistic little "Café-Concert" and other paintings which hang around it.

It is difficult to write of the Champ de Mars Salon without degenerating into a mere catalogue of names, so many are the exhibitors whose work, for one reason or another, calls for special mention and cannot be classified with that of any school or movement in art. Dagnan-Bouveret stands quite alone, and his "Conscrits," though less stimulating than the canvases of a Boldini or a Besnard, is characterized not solely by the fine drawing and sound technique which have made his reputation, but by its excellent and sincere rendering of types. It is interesting to find that the one Englishman represented is Henry Moore, whose beautiful sunlit seas lose nothing by being seen in Paris. Among the Americans are Alexander Harrison, whose landscapes and marines are good but not extraordinary; Dannat, who suffers from being hung too close to Whistler, and from an unsuccessful effort to give certain strong color effects—strength with him approaching perilously near to violence; Melchers, and Miss Trotter. The only Germans of note are Uhde, with one simple, good study of a girl, and Liebermann, who, in his rich and quiet sunlit landscape, has more in common with the school of Barbizon than with the *plein-airistes*. The Norwegians are in greater numbers: to the most distinguished, Edelfeldt, I have already referred. Both Louis Deschamps and Lhermitte fall below their usual high average. Alfred Stevens is as prolific as of yore, and in some charming little sea studies shows that he, too, owes something to Monet. I must not overlook Gilbert's good realistic paintings of a railway station, destined, with so much of the good work of the year, to decorate the Hôtel de Ville. Ribot never was so powerful as in some wash drawings, which have all the richness and old-masterish feeling of his large oil paintings without their affectation.

For the first time in a yearly exhibition Vierge exhibits the remarkably brilliant originals of the engravings which constantly appear in *Le Monde Illustré*. While Le Fère is fairly startling in the knowledge and ability he evinces in many mediums, in oils and water-colors, etchings and woodcuts, he succeeds equally well in giving expression to a strong individuality. Boldini and Carrier-Belleuse are again to the fore in pastel. And Rodin, who sends but one vigorous bust of Puvis de Chavannes, continues the most modern among sculptors; his influence, moreover, manifesting itself in much of the work, more particularly in some striking designs for a tomb by Bartholomé. Dampf's busts and Ringel's medallions in low relief are also prominent in the small and not too interesting collection of sculpture.

A small frame, draped in black and hung in the centre of one of the large rooms, really is the most significant feature of the show. It is a little water-color sketch, dated 1848, by Meissonier, much freer in treatment than the finished paintings he was used to exhibit. It is not his work, however, but rather his death, of which the crape is a reminder, that is so full of significance in the Salon in the Champ de Mars. Puvis de Chavannes, who has succeeded him as President, is stronger as a painter, but not as a leader of men. And rumor has it that already trouble is brewing in the Society over which he presides, that he will not be able long to hold it together, and that in two or three years' time many of its most accomplished members will return to the Champs-Élysées, where they will be received with open arms. How true this is, time alone can show.

N. N.

GENERAL MARBOT.—II.

PARIS, June 10, 1891.

I LEFT Marbot on the staff of Augereau in 1804. In the month of February he joined him in a journey to Paris, where Augereau had to have a conference with the First Consul on some project of a French landing in Ireland. They arrived at the time when the conspiracy of Pichegru, Moreau, and Cadoudal was discovered. Marbot says but little of the execution of the Duc d'Enghien, which was one of the consequences of this conspiracy.

"This execution was generally blamed. One might understand that if the Prince had been taken on French territory, the law should be applied to him, and in that case the law was capital punishment; but to go and seize him across the frontiers, in a foreign land, seemed a violation of the law of nations. It seemed, however, that the First Consul had no intention of executing the Prince, and only wished to frighten the royalist party which conspired his own death; but Gen. Savary, the chief of the gendarmerie, having gone to Vincennes, seized the Prince after judgment had been pronounced, and, by an excess of zeal, had him shot, in order, he said, to spare the First Consul the pain of ordering the execution of the Duc d'Enghien, or the danger of leaving alive such a dangerous enemy. Savary has since denied having said these words, but those who heard him have assured me that he did. It is certain that Bonaparte blamed Savary's haste; but, the fact once accomplished, he had to accept the consequences."

Marbot felt like the great majority of the French people; he forgot the execution of the Duc d'Enghien, and was delighted when Bonaparte was made Emperor by Senatorial decree of May 18, 1804. On this occasion, eighteen generals were made Marshals of France; the French army became, in a sense, Napoleon's army. The Legion of Honor was instituted, and this creation of a new order gave Napoleon the means of satisfying the bravest officers who had fought the campaigns of the Republic. Marbot tells the story of a soldier who had been in the Egyptian campaign, and had become a servant of M. de Narbonne. When M. de Narbonne heard that his servant had been decorated with the new order, he said to him, at the moment of sitting down at table: "It is not proper for a Knight of the Legion of Honor to hand plates, still less so to leave off his decoration to do my service; sit down by me; we are going to dine together, and to-morrow you shall go to my country place and be my gamekeeper, which is not incompatible with wearing your decoration." M. de Narbonne was an *émigré* who had been allowed to come back, and who afterwards entered the service of Napoleon.

At the camp of Boulogne Marbot was made a lieutenant, at the request of Marshal Augereau. Napoleon did not invade England, but turned his army towards the Rhine. Of this army Marbot says that life in camp had produced an excellent effect on it: "Never did France have a better instructed army, better composed, more anxious for battle and glory; and no general ever united so much power, so many material and moral forces, or used them more cleverly. Napoleon accepted war with joy, so certain was he of conquering his enemies and using their defeat for the solidification of his throne, as he knew the enthusiasm which glory has at all times excited in the chivalrous spirit of France." Marbot enters into many details on the campaign of 1805. He had himself important missions to fulfil as aide-de-camp.

"This year," he says, "opened for me a succession of combats which lasted ten consecutive years, since it only ended at Waterloo. However numerous were the wars of the Empire, nearly all French military men enjoyed one or several years of rest, . . . but, as you will see, it was not so with me, as I was always sent from north to south, from south to north, wherever there was fighting, so that I did not spend one of these ten years without being under fire and without losing blood in some one of the countries of Europe."

In the campaign of 1805 Augereau forced Jellachich to capitulate at Bregenz, and then continued his march towards the Danube. Marbot was chosen, with another officer, to carry the flags of Jellachich's corps to the

Emperor, whom he joined at Brünn ten days before the battle of Austerlitz. He had, on this occasion, to play a part in a curious little comedy. Prussia was not yet at war with Napoleon, but there was a powerful party at Vienna which desired that Prussia should immediately unite her arms with those of Austria and Russia. The King, who hesitated, sent his Minister, Haugwitz, to the French headquarters. It has been said, with some truth, that ambassadors are privileged spies. The King of Prussia sent Haugwitz to Napoleon, apparently with the simple mission of bringing him a letter in answer to one which Napoleon had sent to him, and in which he complained of the treaty that had been made at Potsdam between Prussia and Russia; but in reality in order to inform himself exactly of the situation of the belligerents. Haugwitz arrived a few days before the battle of Austerlitz, and Napoleon wanted to make a strong impression on his mind. The flags of Jellachich's corps had already been presented to the Emperor, but Napoleon wished the ceremony to be repeated. He was talking with Haugwitz when the sound of martial music was heard.

"The Emperor, hearing this music in the palace court, feigned astonishment, went to the window, followed by the ambassador, and, seeing the trophies carried by non-commissioned officers, he called for the aide-de-camp on duty, and asked him what was the matter. The aide having answered that the two aides of Marshal Augereau had arrived, bringing to the Emperor the flags of the Austrian Corps of Jellachich, taken at Bregenz, we entered, and then, as if he had not seen us, Napoleon received Marshal Augereau's letter, which had been resealed, and read it, though he had known its contents for four days. Then he asked us questions and entered into the most minute details. Duroc had told us that it was necessary to speak loud, as the Prussian ambassador was a little deaf."

Marbot spoke, presented the flags, named the regiments. He made a great impression when he showed the flag of the infantry regiment of the Emperor of Austria, and the flag of the Uhlans of his brother, the Archduke Charles. "You see, sir," said Napoleon to Haugwitz, "my armies are triumphant everywhere; . . . the Austrian Army is annihilated, and it will soon be the same with the Russian Army." The comedy played, Napoleon told Haugwitz that the position was not very safe for a diplomat, and advised him to go to Vienna, where he would see Talleyrand. Haugwitz left the same evening. This curious episode shows a side of Napoleon's character which is not without interest—that side which the Pope at Savona is said to have clearly noticed, when to all the speeches of Napoleon he answered merely first, as if speaking to himself, "Comediante—tragediante."

The account of the battle of Austerlitz is extremely interesting, but we will note only an incident which concerns Marbot personally. It is well known that the French artillery fired on the ice of some ponds which were thronged by the Russians, and that many Russians were thus drowned upon the breaking of the ice. After the battle was over, Napoleon saw a poor Russian non-commissioned officer on a piece of ice on the point of being drowned. Marbot, under the eyes of the Emperor, took off his uniform, threw himself into the water, and with great difficulty saved the Russian at the risk of his own life. Marbot is very candid; he says: "I will not make myself out better than I am; I must confess that, having witnessed a battle where I had seen thousands of dead and wounded, my sensibility was blunted, and I was not philanthropic enough to run the risk of congestion of the lungs in disputing with the ice the life of an enemy"; but the Emperor was looking on, and had said to the soldiers around him, "Try and save this man," and he tried.

The battle of Austerlitz was followed by an interview between the Emperors of France and of Austria, "a spectacle well calculated to inspire philosophical reflections. An Emperor of Germany coming humbly to solicit peace from a little Corsican gentleman, an ex-officer of artillery, whom his talents, fortunate circumstances, and the courage of the French armies had made the arbiter of the destiny of Europe." After Austerlitz came Jena. Before this new campaign, Marbot spent some time in Darmstadt. He had two missions to fulfil, and carried despatches from Germany to Paris, from Paris to Berlin. Marbot explains the defeat of the Prussian Army by its composition and organization. All the captains were, so to speak, proprietors of their companies; they enrolled all the vagrants of Germany. The soldiers were ill-fed, ill-clothed, and subjected to an iron discipline; they had no patriotism; the officers were poor gentlemen, and promotion was given only by seniority; the generals were too old, and not able to bear the fatigue of a campaign. The memory of the great Frederic gave to the Prussian Army a sort of prestige; but it had no chance, as the event proved, against the conquerors of Italy, of Egypt, of Germany, and of Austerlitz.

The victory at Jena had immense results. To the conquests made in Prussia, Napoleon added the States of the Elector of Hesse-Cassel. The Elector had a great treasury, and was one of the wealthiest capitalists in Europe. He took refuge in England, and confided fifteen millions of francs to a Frankfort Jew named Rothschild. This is the origin of the wealth of the famous house of that name. In vain did an Imperial Commission threaten Rothschild, examine his books, offer him half the sum if he would give up the other half. The deposit remained safe in his hands till 1814.

After Jena, Napoleon entered Poland. He had hoped to reconstitute the ancient kingdom, but the Poles did not stir. Kosciuszko, who was living quietly in Switzerland, refused to come and join the French. Napoleon crossed the Vistula and fought the battle of Eylau. In this terrible battle Marbot had to carry an order to a French regiment standing by itself on a small eminence. This regiment, the Fourteenth, was surrounded by Cossacks, and it was almost certain death to carry the order. Marbot had an excellent horse, which he had bought for a trifle because it had the dangerous habit of biting. Trusting to Lisette, he spurred her, and let her go; lighter than the wind she flew over the battle-field, and nothing could stop her. Marbot arrived at the square formed by the Fourteenth of the line, and delivered to the colonel the order to leave his position and join the corps. The officer in command told him that he saw no means of saving the regiment; he gave him the eagle of the regiment, and bade him carry it to the Emperor. These eagles, which were fixed at the end of the flag, were very heavy; at the moment when Marbot was breaking the staff, so as to keep only the eagle, the Russians advanced and made a charge. Marbot saw the grenadiers coming; at that very instant a bullet struck his hat, and came so near his head that the concussion paralyzed him; he still saw, but could not move. He was on Lisette, a grenadier was upon him and he could not defend himself. Lisette jumped at the Russian and bit him fearfully in the face; Marbot then became insensible. He only came to his senses in the night, when he found himself naked, and a man, with one foot on him, trying to take off one of his boots. His movements scared this man, who had thought him dead. Soon afterwards, his valet, who was looking for him on the battle-field, found him. He was saved; Lisette also was saved. They were both well taken care of. Marbot was sent to the hospital—his foot had been frozen during the night which followed Eylau—but he soon recovered, and was able to rejoin the army in time to assist at the battle of Friedland. And here ends this extraordinary book, which will be read with as much interest as the most sensational novel.

Correspondence.

MR. BANDELIER AND THE SOUTHWESTERN LAND COURT.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Mr. Bandelier, whose article in your issue of May 28 last has attracted a good deal of attention in the West, enjoys so excellent a reputation as an archæologist and enthnologist that, were he to write upon subjects with which his studies have made him familiar, it would require considerable assurance in one not thoroughly informed upon them to question the correctness of his views. But when he attempts to instruct the public in general and the Supreme Court of the United States in particular upon matters of law, even one unlearned in the intricacies of Tehua and Nahuatl may possibly be pardoned for concluding that Mr. Bandelier is not so erudite in legal matters as he would like to make us believe by his ingenious references to the obscure ordinances and royal decrees of past centuries, which have little or nothing to do with the question of the settlement of land titles in the Southwest.

The question is one of law and not of sentiment; one requiring a knowledge of legal methods rather than familiarity with the topography of the country in which the claims to be adjudicated are situated, or an acquaintance with the customs of the people. The courts of the United States have upon many occasions decided questions requiring quite as much erudition as any that will be presented to the new Land Court. Hundreds of private land claims, having their origin under other governments than ours, have been presented to the tribunals established for their adjudication, and no difficulty has been encountered in finding persons perfectly competent to fulfil the duties usually required of judges. Why such persons may not be found now for the Southwestern Land Court one may well be at a loss to understand.

The provision of the act that appears to have excited Mr. Bandelier's powers of ridicule in the highest degree is that excluding citizens of the Territories from becoming members of the court. This, he says, "secures absolute theoretic impartiality." Why does he hesitate to tell the truth? The provision in question secures also practical impartiality. Mr. Bandelier has lived in the Southwest for years, and knows, or certainly ought to know, that there are very few if any attorneys in that region whose legal acquirements fit them for the position of judges who are not so bound by political, social, and personal ties to many of the claimants of these land grants as to make their appointment as members of the court extremely improper. Judges are needed who have no political ambitions in regard to positions of honor within the gift of the Territories, who have had no

business relations with their prominent attorneys and wealthy citizens, and who have no interest in perpetuating in power and in the enjoyment of immense tracts of the public domain the dynasty of old and wealthy families which has so long ruled the Spanish-speaking portion of the Southwest. The necessity of the appointment of such men was foreseen by the gentlemen who framed the Land Court Bill, and was wisely provided for.

Mr. Bandelier informs us that some of the titles conveyed absolute dominion, others were usufructs only, while others included both. This is very remarkable indeed, but may we not be justified in believing that the judges will be quite as competent to decide as to the nature of the titles presented to them as is the learned gentleman who appears to be so alarmed at the probability of the appointment of impartial and competent men? There is no good reason for believing that injustice will be done claimants who have good titles, although Mr. Bandelier appears to anticipate that such will be the case. An examination of the cases filed with the Surveyors-General of New Mexico, Arizona, and Colorado, under the act of 1854, will convince the most sceptical that the attitude of the Government officials towards grant claimants has been more than generous. The confirmation of many claims by Congress has been even hasty, and sometimes absolutely careless, resulting in the loss to the Government of many thousands of acres of valuable land to which claimants had little or no right. Take, for example, the notorious Maxwell grant, confirmed and patented for nearly two millions of acres; the Ortiz Mine grant, patented for over sixty-nine thousand acres of valuable mineral land, without the slightest proof that an absolute title had ever vested in the original grantees to the extent of a single foot of the land now held under the patent of the United States. These two cases are no more outrageous in their nature than numbers of others that might be mentioned, notwithstanding that in the case of the Maxwell grant the area patented by the United States is equivalent to about four hundred square leagues, while the original grantees stated in reply to an inquiry by the Mexican officials that the land for which they petitioned did not exceed fifteen or eighteen leagues.

Still, in the face of these facts, Mr. Bandelier appears to be extremely apprehensive that great injustice may be suffered by grant claimants at the hands of the inexperienced judges who are to be appointed from the effete East. He seems to ignore the fact that the United States has some interest in the matter, and has a right to protect that interest by such legislation as it may deem proper. There is no other way in which the lands belonging to the public domain may be known than by clearly defining the limits of those private land claims which, under its treaty obligations, the Government is bound to respect; but let it not be forgotten that those obligations are not of such a character as to prevent the Government from prescribing the mode of deciding the validity or invalidity of these claims, or of limiting the period within which they must be presented to the proper tribunals in order to obtain recognition. Even a title that was perfect at the time of the change of sovereignty may be declared to be without validity if the claimants fail to observe the formalities prescribed by the Government for its adjudication.

P. T.

Denver, Col., June 8, 1891.

THE PUNISHMENT OF DRUNKENNESS.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: The act relating to the punishment of drunkenness recently passed by the Massachusetts Legislature deals with a subject of such importance, and is such a wide departure from the existing methods of dealing with it, that an abstract of its provisions may be of interest to your readers.

Arrests for drunkenness generally outnumber those made for all other offences. In Massachusetts, in 1890, they constituted over 65 per cent. of all arrests. Our law is peculiar in making simple drunkenness in a public place an offence for which an arrest can be made without a warrant. Elsewhere, some degree of disorder must accompany public intoxication before the arrest can be made. But our law is right in this: for the sake of public decency, and for the protection of the intoxicated man himself, the power to shut him up until he is sober should exist. How best to deal with him after he becomes sober, so as to protect the public interests, and yet to punish or to help him, is the difficult problem. Imposing a petty fine as the penalty for drunkenness does not solve this problem, and yet it is the solution heretofore accepted here, and generally accepted elsewhere. A fine does not deter. Men don't count the money cost of a spree. If the offender has the money, the fine is no punishment; if he hasn't it—which is the usual case—a distracted wife or mother must pay, which punishes the innocent who are already suffering enough. Again, the fine to be effective must be enforced by the penalty of imprisonment. This imprisonment is not for drunkenness, nor is it graduated with reference to the man's previous record for good or bad behavior, but is a uniform imprisonment of thirty days for not having five dollars, imposed on the poor man who may least deserve the disgrace and loss which it entails, while the well-to-do offender goes free.

There are distinctions in our law between first and frequent offenders, and larger fines and terms of imprisonment may be imposed if previous offences are alleged in the complaint and proved. But, in practice, complaints are made by arresting officers, who either know nothing of the man's previous record, or, knowing it, have neither the time, inclination, nor evidence to prove it. In Massachusetts last year, 23,575 out of the 25,582 persons arrested for drunkenness and committed, were imprisoned for non-payment of fines. We find, in consequence, hundreds of men each year returning tens and scores of times to our prisons for non-payment of fines, and we find further, what is worse, many committed by this wholesale system who really are first offenders, and never should be imprisoned, whose future is marred and often ruined by the loss of place and character and by the criminal contamination which imprisonment has brought upon them.

To do away with the fine system, and to substitute a method which should deal with persons arrested for drunkenness as individuals, and not in the mass, and which should give the courts the help needed for this just discrimination, has been the aim of the Massachusetts Prison Association in preparing and urging the passage of the bill which has just become a law.

This law does away with the distinction between "first," "second," and "third" offences. Every conviction for drunkenness may be punished by imprisonment, within the discretion of the court, of from one day to one year in jail, or to an indeterminate sentence, not exceeding two years, in the reformatory. To enable the courts to exercise this discretion intelligently, the bill imposes upon probation officers the duty of investigating and reporting to the court the record of each offender, and provides for a system of records in the courts and a compulsory interchange of information between the probation officers and the police and the officers of correctional institutions, which will greatly facilitate the investigation.

By a bill also passed this session, the appointment of probation officers by the judges in every criminal court of the Commonwealth is made mandatory. These officers, chosen by the judges, and having their confidence, will form a corps of intelligent assistants, who, with a few months' experience, will be of invaluable service in providing the courts with the evidence necessary for a discriminating and just disposition of these offenders.

The new law will assist and relieve the courts in another way. A large number of those arrested for drunkenness are not frequent offenders or habitual drunkards. Under some special temptation or stress of circumstances, they take too much. This may happen a few times in the course of a lifetime, or once or twice a year, while at other times they are sober, industrious men, the bread-winners of their families. To such men imprisonment is a disgrace, a loss of place, a possible discouragement leading to confirmed drunkenness. For them to be immediately returned to their work is the best thing possible. To take up the time of the courts with their trial, to incur the expense of their committal and their board and lodging for thirty days in order to collect a fine of $5, or its equivalent, and then not to get it, is for the State worse than foolish. To meet such cases the bill provides that any person arrested for drunkenness may request to sign a statement, giving his name and address, and alleging that he has not been arrested for drunkenness twice before within the twelve months next preceding. If the officer in charge of the place of custody, not the arresting officer, endorses on this statement that he is satisfied that it is probably true, he *may* release the arrested person, pending an investigation of the truth of the statement by the probation officer. If that investigation shows the statement to be true, nothing further is done; if untrue, it becomes the duty of the arresting officer to take the man again into custody and complain of him for drunkenness.

The power of release, always a dangerous power in the hands of the police, is here guarded by giving it only to the commanding officer of the station, by requiring his signature to the probable truth of the statement, and by making it a conditional release only. And yet the thing desired—the prompt release of persons who should not be forced into the dock with old offenders and further disgraced by trial and commitment—is obtained. If the arrested man is not released, he is complained of and tried. After conviction his case may be placed on file or probation if the court finds him deserving of this further chance.

Under this new law, while it will be easier to save from the disgrace of trial and imprisonment the occasional offender who should not be branded as a criminal, it will also be easier to find out and adequately punish the "rounders," and those who, though seldom arrested, are, through drink, a terror to their families. Longer terms of imprisonment for them will protect the public if they are incorrigible, or will give them a chance for reform if reform is possible.

This law is believed to be thoroughly practi-

cal. It was drafted after most careful deliberation and consultation with many of our judges, officers of penal institutions, commissioners of police and public institutions, and persons who, in the various philanthropic and charitable institutions of Boston and elsewhere, have come much in contact with the evils of the present system. These evils exist elsewhere. We hope that the success of our experiment will lead to similar legislation in other States. J. G. THORP, JR.

CAMBRIDGE, MASS., June 13, 1891.

Notes.

D. C. HEATH & Co. have in press an 'Introduction to Modern French Lyrics,' by Prof. B. L. Bowen of Ohio State University.

Mrs. Sara E. H. Lockwood has revised for younger pupils Prof. Whitney's 'Essentials of English Grammar,' which Ginn & Co. will publish during the present season.

Worthington & Co. announce 'Columbia,' a story of the discovery of America, and first of a series of American historical novels, by John R. Musick.

A collection of short stories by George A. Hibbard will presently be brought out by Harper & Bros. under the title, 'Iduna, and Other Stories.'

The new London publishing house of James R. Osgood, McIlvaine & Co. is apparently going to make a specialty of introducing American short-story writers to the British public. It has published already Miss Wilkins's 'New England Nun,' Miss Jewett's 'Strangers and Wayfarers,' Mr. Eugene Field's 'Little Book of Profitable Tales,' Mr. R. H. Davis's 'Gallegher,' and Mr. Joel Chandler Harris's 'Balaam and his Master,' and it has in preparation collected stories by Mr. Thomas A. Janvier, Miss M. L. Pool, and others.

The Clarendon Press, Oxford, will shortly publish a new edition of the late Sir George Cornewall Lewis's 'Government of Dependencies,' which will be edited by Mr. C. P. Lucas, B.A., of Balliol College, Oxford, and of the Colonial Office, London. Mr. Lucas is the author of the three volumes as yet published of the 'Historical Geography of the British Colonies,' which also is being issued from the Clarendon Press. For this admirable series the author is now preparing a volume upon the North American portion of the British Empire, while his colleague, Mr. Antrobus, of the Colonial Office, is at work upon the West and South African Colonies, to be treated of in one volume. The Australasian Colonies will form the subject of a subsequent book.

In his contributions to the 'History of the Southwestern Portion of the United States' (Cambridge: John Wilson & Son), Mr. A. F. Bandelier gives us the first of what he hopes may be a series of monographs on a subject which he has so extensively studied—the early Spanish explorations and the native civilization of their time. In the present volume, published at the joint expense of the Archæological Institute of America and of Mrs. Mary Hemenway, the principal papers are on the wanderings of Cabeza de Vaca and the expedition of Fray Marcos of Nizza. On all sides appears the extent of the author's resources, not the least notable among them being the light he is able to throw upon ancient obscurities from his own personal travels and residence among the Indians. One is left with a feeling as of outrage that such a scholar cannot enjoy access to the archives of Spain, where, he feels sure, the clearing up of so many mysteries would result from his investigations.

A second edition, enlarged and revised, of the 'Handbook of the American Republics' is issued by the Bureau of the American Republics at Washington. Some of the rather pompous Pan-Americanisms of the first edition are cut out, and some valuable additions appear. The proposals for the "Columbus exhibit" at the Chicago fair have an unconscious humor which only a Harrisse or a Winsor could fully appreciate. The volume contains a great deal of information compactly arranged and well printed.

'A Ride through Asia Minor and Armenia,' by H. C. Barkley (London: J. Murray), gives an extremely vivid idea of the condition of this part of the Turkish Empire shortly after the close of the Russian war—a condition probably unchanged in its essential particulars to-day. The author's route was from Brusa to Angora, and thence to Kaisarieh through the Cilician Gates to Adana. Turning here to the northeast, he crossed the plains of Mesopotamia to the headwaters of the Euphrates and Tigris, reaching the Black Sea at Trebizond. The universal impression received was of a country rich in agricultural and mineral resources, but ruined by corrupt officials, lack of enterprise, and by the insecurity of life and property. In all parts, however, Mr. Barkley found among both the Turks and the Armenians a confident expectation of the speedy coming of the English to "govern them properly." With this change of rulers their troubles would cease and the land would again become rich and prosperous. Drunkenness among the Turks, he says, is greatly on the increase. "Few of the upper class abstain, and many make it a rule to go to bed drunk every night." The Armenians also impressed him unfavorably as a cringing, slavish race, who are satisfied with a mere veneer of civilization. Of the Tartars, on the other hand, he says they are "the most helpful and the most capable of improvement of all the races—in fact, the only one with energy, brains, and ambition." The work of American missionaries is frequently referred to in the highest terms—more, however, for the patience, courage, and devotion with which it is prosecuted than for its success.

Damrell & Upham, Boston, publish in pamphlet form an address recently given by Mr. Edward Atkinson to the Cotton Manufacturers' Association upon the subject of food and feeding as bearing upon the productive power of laborers. Mr. Atkinson has no difficulty in showing that the daily waste of food and fuel in every household, when multiplied by the number of households in the country, amounts to a very large total, and he reasons that the intelligence displayed in the feeding of cattle might profitably be applied to the scientific nourishment of human beings, and that if human beings were better nourished they would do more and better work. His figures indicate from twelve to twenty cents a day as the cost of sufficient nutriment for most people who are working or exercising. The subject deserves the attention of philanthropists.

Mr. Angelo Lewis, the "Prof. Hoffman" who has translated Robert Houdin's treatise on conjuring, and who has himself written the best books on modern magic, has now put forth a little volume about 'Baccarat, Fair and Foul, being an Explanation of the Game and a Warning against its Dangers' (George Routledge & Sons). He first explains the game, which is an easy matter, as it is of surpassing simplicity, and fitted rather for the playing of Digger Indians than of persons knowing how to read and write. Of all card games it is nearest to absolute chance, and calls for the least exercise of the intelligence. This may explain why it serves to amuse the upper circles of British "society"; but we are at a loss to understand its abiding popularity among an intelligent people like the French. Having explained the procedure of the game, Mr. Lewis sets forth at length the many possibilities of cheating, from the simple *poucette* (which Sir William Gordon-Cumming was accused of practising) to the more elaborate devices of confederacy, of marked cards, and of arranged packs. He draws on the books of Robert Houdin and of Alfred de Caston, and more particularly on the 'Filouteries du Jeu' of Cavaillé. His explanation of the methods of card-sharpers is as interesting as it is instructive.

M. Henri Bouchot follows up his 'Livres Modernes' and his 'Ex-Libris' with 'La Reliure' (Paris: E. Rouveyre). It is a well-reasoned discourse on the proprieties of bookbinding, beginning with an historical review of the modes which have prevailed during the present century. In none of these does M. Bouchot find anything but flat imitation of "tous les styles défunts," and his main object is to foster originality which shall mark the present time and restore personal inspiration to the binder himself. He does this with the aid of photographic illustrations from recent bindings which are out of the beaten path, and of which he frankly acknowledges the inequality of merit, since we are in the groping and experimental stage. His leading principle is that the design and treatment and material should be inspired by the work itself, and should have relation to the contents as the *Leit-Motiv* to the action of the operatic drama. This produces what he calls a "reliure à l'emblème," with possibilities of infinite variety. He marks the recent craze for decorating the inside of the cover, on which Grolier never bestowed a thought, and he discusses the proper stuffs for such use, as to which much false taste has been displayed. This little manual is quickly read and is certain to inculcate sound ideas.

The necrology of the alumni of Andover Theological Seminary for 1890-'91, prepared by the Rev. C. C. Carpenter, Secretary of the Alumni Association, is an astonishing record. The average age of the forty-six decedents is seventy-six years, eight months, and ten days! Two men were over ninety, nineteen were over eighty, fourteen over seventy, eight over sixty, two over fifty, and only one under that age. It is noteworthy that of the three who died under sixty, two were not college graduates, one having been a carpenter before entering the Seminary and the other having been engaged in business, while the third gave up the ministerial calling for other pursuits. The wisdom of the life insurance companies in advertising in the religious newspapers is evidently justified by the event.

The 'Century Dictionary,' so far as concerns its first volume, is the subject of somewhat minute comment in the latest issue of *Englische Studien*. Upwards of ten pages are there accorded to it, under various aspects, by the Rev. A. L. Mayhew, an Oxford philologist of high and deserved repute for extensive research and scientific thoroughness. "There is plenty of room," the critic admits, "for an English dictionary written by American scholars, and intended especially for the use of the American public. . . . And besides, when scholars in England consider how wide is the subject of English lexicography, and how it bristles with difficulties, they are ready to give a hearty welcome to any scholars, coming from any quarter, who promise to add to

our knowledge, and to help us in clearing up some of the many doubtful points which have long waited for solution." But the 'Century Dictionary' falls short, on several grounds, of commending itself to its censor's unqualified approval—as respects its adduction of authorities in exemplification of words, its comparative philology, etc.

In *Mélusine* for May–June, M. H. Gaidoz reviews with cordial approval Prof. T. F. Crane's 'The Exempla of Jacques de Vitry,' and supplies the curious information that "the tradition of the *exempla* is not yet extinct in Catholic countries," even the very name being preserved. Thus, the Société de Saint Augustin has just published 'Les Sept Douleurs de la Sainte Vierge,' in which each of the seven chapters ends with an anecdote entitled "Exemple," and one of the *exemples* begins with these words: "Hérolt relates." Hérolt was a Dominican of Bâle and a collector of *exempla* in the first half of the 15th century. M. Gaidoz cites also the 'Mois de Marie en Exemples.'

In the *Harvard Law Review* for May, Prof. J. B. Thayer has an instructive study of the older modes of trial in England, from which a tolerably clear idea may be obtained of the development of "one-sided" proof into the scientific procedure of modern times. Attention is especially directed to the institution of complaint-witnesses, as essential to the determination of the right to go to the proof—an institution often confounded with that of proof-witnesses.

The Artotype Publishing Co., No. 94 Reade Street, New York, have in preparation a monthly publication to be entitled *Dogs of the Day*, edited by H. W. Lacy. The first series will comprise twelve monthly parts, each part containing four portraits of as many breeds. Typical specimens will be selected for this curious gallery. The photographic illustrations are, of course, from life, and permanently printed in ink. Each portrait will be described. The work will be sold by subscription.

We have received the announcement of a new journal entitled *Indogermanische Forschungen*, to be published, beginning with July next, by Trübner of Strassburg, under the editorial direction of Prof. Brugmann of Leipzig and Prof. Wilhelm Streitberg of Freiburg (Switzerland). It will appear in volumes of five numbers each, without limitation of period. In the second and fifth numbers of each volume will be added a bibliographical review, or *Anzeiger*, with separate pagination. The subscription price per volume, including the *Anzeiger*, is sixteen marks. The names of the editors guarantee the importance of this new enterprise, which, though it seems to owe its existence in some measure to the personal prejudice and sectarian exclusiveness of the editors of the two existing journals in this field, proposes to avoid every appearance of partisanship and to exclude rigidly from its columns all sectarian controversy and personal polemics. For this resolution it deserves a place in our prayers.

The generous Catalogue of the Officers and Members of the Harvard Law School Association, which bears date of April 1, 1891, must inspire every member of that large body with a feeling of pride in so vigorous and rapid a growth. It embraces graduates as far back as 1825, and men of the Law School class which graduates this week, and the total is 1,615. Massachusetts and New York together furnish rather more than half, and in no other State does the membership equal 100, though Ohio, Illinois, and Pennsylvania approach that figure. The arrangement, precision, fulness, and typographical elegance of this volume leave nothing to be desired. Two views, of the old and the new home of the School, adorn it.

—We have received Nos. 2 and 3 of Volume XIII. of the *American Journal of Mathematics*. No. 2 contains an unusually large number of papers, two of the nine being in French—one by M. d'Ocagne, the other by M. Appell, both of whom are known to readers of the *Journal* by previous contributions to which the present ones are supplementary. Dr. Oskar Bolza continues his series on the "Theory of Substitution-Groups." In fact, five of the articles are more or less intimately connected with previous ones, while the remainder are short and complete in themselves. No. 3 contains only two papers. The first is a "Third Memoir on a New Theory of Symmetric Functions," by Maj. P. A. MacMahon, R.A. This memoir by no means completes the exposition of the writer's theory, but both at the beginning and end he indicates his intention to resume the subject at some future period. The series was commenced by Capt. MacMahon, and continued by Maj. MacMahon; unless his prospects for speedy promotion are very bright, we hope he will not wait for Col. MacMahon to finish it. The other paper in No. 3 is in French, by M. Joseph Perott. It is curiously entitled "Remarque au sujet du théorème d'Euclide sur l'infinité du nombre des nombres premiers," which might lead the reader to expect a brief note calling attention to some point of interest in connection with Euclid's theorem. But the "remark" is one of the most elaborate and profound dissertations that have appeared in the *Journal*. M. Perott began it more than two years ago, in the *Journal* for January, 1889, where it occupied forty pages. He now gives us fifty-four pages more, to be continued, perhaps concluded, in a future number. Up to the present time M. Perott has made no reference to Euclid's theorem in the text of his "remark." Every year one, and sometimes three or four, new editions of the first six, and parts of the eleventh and twelfth, books of Euclid's 'Elements' are put upon the English market, but translations of the other books are very rare in private libraries and are frequently wanting in college libraries. As almost everything connected with the history of mathematics is completely ignored in most of our American colleges, a large majority of graduates are ignorant of the fact that the seventh, eighth, and ninth books of Euclid's 'Elements' do not relate to geometry at all, but are devoted exclusively to arithmetic. These books are seldom read, many professors of mathematics never having looked at them. In case this note should fall under the eye of some one desirous of reading M. Perott's paper and of seeing beforehand exactly what Euclid says in his theorem and its demonstration, we may save him some trouble by informing him that the theorem referred to in the title of M. Perott's "remark" is the twentieth proposition of the ninth book. He will find that Euclid does not say in so many words that the number of primes is infinite, but that however far the collection of primes is carried there are always more, which is equivalent to saying that the number is unlimited.

—The most significant novelties in the new Announcement of Courses of Instruction at Harvard for the next academic year—the so-called "Elective Pamphlet"—are found on its last pages in the addition of summer courses that may be counted for degrees and of courses for teachers. Both of these bear in an interesting way on the recent discussion about shortening the college course. The summer courses have been carried on for several years past, but have only this year been regularly listed as leading to the degree of A.B. or S.B. They include German, engineering, physics, botany, and geology. Geology and engineering gain from summer instruction, by reason of the opportunity then allowed for continuous work; physics and botany stand less in need of this aid, but still profit by it. The interruption of one course by another during the college term is here entirely avoided, as only one subject can be taken at a time. Courses in chemistry are also given in the summer, and have for some years been more largely attended than any other of the summer courses; but, for some reason not stated, they are not yet included among those that may be counted for the degrees. Five or six weeks is the minimum of attendance for these courses, and, if followed by a satisfactory examination, the work may count as an eighth of a college year's requirement, thus enabling the more energetic students to curtail their course by a small amount. When the summer courses are more largely elected, they will afford valuable means of comparing the results of continuous study with the discontinuous study of term-time. All the summer courses are open to others than members of the University.

—The courses for teachers constitute the most considerable departure from college traditions that we notice this year. They are doubtless the outcome of an effort made a year or more ago in Boston by some of the public-school teachers towards the establishment of a State Normal College, in which college graduates should find means of learning how to apply their knowledge to the art of teaching. Whether such a college is to be established or not, Harvard intends to offer what it can to the same end, and for this purpose has appointed a new professor, Dr. Paul Hanus, to deliver lectures on the history, theory, and art of teaching, and has at the same time arranged that eighteen of its regular professors shall give special courses on methods of elementary instruction in thirteen subjects, all of which are taught in the high schools. It is the intention to limit membership in these courses to graduates of colleges, and to others of experience and training, in order to supply the growing demand for teachers of better quality than can be found among the graduates of the normal schools, or among college graduates who have had no instruction in the methods of teaching. As this movement makes itself felt, one of the points most strongly emphasized in the recent report of the Harvard Overseers against the shortening of the college course will be gained, namely, an improvement in the teaching in the secondary schools and a better preparation for college work by those who come to college, including, perhaps, a shortening of the time given to the preparatory schools. With better preparation, with permission to count advanced studies at entrance, to use summer work towards the degree, and to take a certain number of additional courses every college year, it will be perfectly possible for good students to gain their degree in three years, and this without any degradation of the degree itself.

—The death, on the 2d of June, is announced of Mr. Hensleigh Wedgwood in London, at the ripe age of eighty-eight. Of half a-dozen books, or more, which he produced, the only one which has attracted any considerable attention is his fantastic 'Dictionary of English Etymology'; and this, strange to say, has reached a second edition. Its author can hard-

ly have been surpassed for the intrepid quixotism with which, mounted on his hobby, onomatopœia, he perseveringly tilted against all rational methods of accounting for the origin of speech. As, however, he was a man of learning, and explored far and wide in quest of facts that seemed to lend color to his chimera, he has served the interests of philology, monomaniac as he was, by accumulating a huge mass of materials which etymological investigators are thankful to be spared the trouble of searching out themselves.

BROWNING'S LIFE AND LETTERS.—II.

Life and Letters of Robert Browning. By Mrs. Sutherland Orr. 2 vols. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1891.

THE letters of Mrs. Browning are the principal source of what is told us about their life. She wrote much better letters than her husband, and he has taken pains to destroy as much of the personal records of his past as he could. She, therefore, becomes the central figure in these chapters — the real personality. She writes with great spirit, and describes both nature and human life very well. Many passages could be selected without fear of wearying the reader. The short bits of Italian scenery in the Apennines are admirable in feeling and poetical (in Mrs. Browning's taste) in diction; and the sense of physical enjoyment and of adventure she shows in her own share in the riding and climbing, after a fashion she never dreamed of, is very keenly felt. The episode of her meeting with George Sand, in Paris, is one that cannot be omitted. The great Frenchwoman was then invisible to every one, but Mrs. Browning wrote to her and she replied with an invitation to call. Mr. Browning himself was reluctant to undertake the affair: "I pricked Robert up to the leap—for he was really inclined to sit in his chair and be proud a little. 'No,' said I, 'you *shan't* be proud, and I *won't* be proud, and we *will* see her. I won't die, if I can help it, without seeing George Sand.'" So they went. "She received us very cordially with her hand held out, which I, in the emotion of the moment, stooped and kissed, upon which she exclaimed: 'Mais non! je ne veux pas,' and kissed me." Then follows an excellent description of her appearance and manner and the scene. They saw her more than once. This is the final impression:

"She has great nicety and refinement in her personal ways, I think, and the cigarette is really a feminine weapon if properly understood. Ah, but I didn't see her smoke. I was unfortunate. I could only go with Robert three times to her house, and once she was out. He was really very good and kind to let me go at all after he found out the sort of society rampant about her. He didn't like it extremely, but, being the best of husbands, he was lenient to my desires and yielded the point. She seems to live in the abomination of desolation, so far as regards society—crowds of ill-bred men who adore her, *à genoux bas*, betwixt a puff of smoke and an ejection of saliva—society of the ragged red diluted with the low theatrical. She herself so different, so apart, so alone, in her melancholy disdain. I was deeply interested in that poor woman; I felt a profound compassion for her. I didn't mind much even the Greek in Greek costume who *tutoyéd* her—and kissed her, I believe, so Robert said—or the other vulgar man of the theatre who went down on his knees and called her '*sublime*.' '*Caprice d'amitié*,' said she with her quiet, gentle scorn. A noble woman under the mud, be certain. *I* would kneel down to her, too, if she would leave it all, throw it off, and be herself as God made her. But she would not care for my kneeling; she does not care for me."

Another passage, which shows Mrs. Browning in surroundings in which she is seldom, if ever, thought of, is the description of the masked ball of the carnival:

"Very much amused I was. I like to see these characteristic things. (I shall never rest, Sarianna, till I risk my reputation at the *bal de l'Opéra* at Paris.) Do you think I was satisfied with staying in the box? No, indeed. Down I went, and Robert and I elbowed our way through the crowd to the remotest corner of the hall below. Somebody smote me on the shoulder and cried, '*Bella Mascherina!*' and I answered as impudently as one feels under a mask. At two o'clock in the morning, however, I had to give up and come away."

The mention of the journey which Carlyle took with them to Paris has one or two fine touches—his amusement with "Pen," their boy, whom they feared would annoy him, and Mrs. Browning's remark, "You come to understand perfectly, when you know him, that his bitterness is only melancholy, and his scorn, sensibility." On this visit Carlyle glanced at a figure of Christ crucified and said, in his "deliberate Scotch utterance: 'Ah, poor fellow, *your* part is played out.'"

Interesting as these letters are, they must be left without further quotation. They show comparatively little of the development of Browning's genius. He was much occupied with his wife, and he was also, it would seem, discouraged at the reception his works had met with. He formed a friendship with the Storys, at Rome, and began to draw and to model, and he is described as working hard and getting tired and talking of ideas that would come out in clay or marble. There was always a strong artistic taste in his temperament, and at this time it seems to have grown upon him at the expense of the poetical faculty. He did accomplish some poetry, writing by fits and starts when the mood came. He thought Mrs. Browning was the greater. "You are wrong, quite wrong," he wrote; "she has genius, I am only a painstaking fellow." The volume 'Men and Women' contains the principal work done during his married life. Mrs. Orr thinks that the Italian climate was beginning to have its weakening effect upon the poet, and something of his indisposition to write may have been due to that as well as to his unsettled life, with its duties, his wandering into other fields of art, and the lack of recognition. His marriage, however, had brought happiness, and the death of his wife was a severer blow than her invalid condition would seem to have justified. She died somewhat suddenly, and it is doubtful whether she knew the end was near. A letter from Browning is printed which describes in detail her last hours. This biography has the sanction of the poet's family, and therefore all that we shall say is, that if Browning, by diligently collecting and burning all his correspondence so far as he could, was yet unable to prevent the public from gazing upon the most sacred and tender scene in all his life, the effort to destroy such records may as well be abandoned. And, indeed, the reflection is obvious, after reading these volumes, that Browning's destruction of his papers has merely mutilated the work by making it barren of his personality in those parts where no record survives; in the rest, he remains, as every man must, at the mercy of his heirs and correspondents. In every such case, there will always be a large part of the papers of which possession cannot be obtained.

After the death of his wife, Browning's life presents nothing externally striking. He returned to England and became again a member of society. His vacations were spent in out-of-the-way places on the French Coast or in the mountains of northern Italy, and latterly at Venice. He produced the "murder-story," as he styles 'The Ring and the Book,' and then in succession the less successful of his works. His fame was now established, and the honors that were accorded to it, more especially the University honors, were pleasing to him. It is plain, too, that he was more flattered by the founding of the Browning Society than he could modestly acknowledge. In what he says of his literary reputation only one thing is particularly noticeable—his complaint that his friends had not spoken for him when their words would have had weight. He felt that it was not to critics and brother authors that he owed his public success. He was much irritated when he learned of the letter which Dickens wrote to Forster in praise of 'A Blot on the 'Scutcheon' and directed to have shown to him, but which he first saw in Forster's 'Life of Dickens' thirty years later. He writes comparing his present life in London with that of the earlier period:

"I used to go out then and see far more of merely literary people, writers, etc., than I do now—but what came of it? There were always a few people who had a certain opinion of my poems, but nobody cared to speak what he thought, or the things printed twenty-five years ago would not have waited so long for a good word; but at last a new set of men arrive who don't mind the conventionalities of ignoring one and seeing everything in another. Chapman says the new orders come from Oxford and Cambridge, and all my new cultivators are young men; more than that, I observe that some of my old friends don't like at all the irruption of outsiders who rescue me from their sober and private approval, and take those words out of their mouths 'which they always meant to say' and never did."

He was much devoted to Carlyle, and defended him after his death, but could not understand why he had not given in public the praise he gave privately, and he commented with just a touch of bitterness on some "extravagant eulogium" which in earlier days he had received from him tête-à-tête—"If only these words had ever been repeated in public, what good they might have done me!" Evidently he felt he had not only been neglected by the public, but also badly treated by those literary men who professed to value his work. In this way there was bred in him a certain indifference to the public which led to his allowing his naturally great eccentricity of mind full play. In his later works he practically ignored the public, and he furnishes a curious instance of a poet's misjudgment of his productions. "His constant conviction was," says Mrs. Orr, "that the latest must be the best, because the outcome of the fullest mental experience and of the longest practice in his art." This proves that he had no power of self-criticism. He wrote at a heat often, and this seems to have been always his habit in regard to shorter poems. At one time he determined to write a poem every day, and "Childe Roland" and "Women and Roses" were among those thus turned off. But he is also said to have corrected assiduously. In later life twenty or thirty lines in a morning was thought good work, and presumably this was a first draft to be afterwards revised. It does not appear that he had command of style, except so far as it sprang from strong feeling or a dramatic rather than a literary instinct; if he had possessed it, his "assiduous correction" would have been more effective. Another indication of this trait is that he denied that "even the first of Greek writers" were "models of literary style"; and Mrs. Orr adds this curious and enlightening remark: "The pretensions raised for them on this ground were inconceivable to him, and his translation

of the 'Agamemnon,' published 1877, was partly made, I am convinced, for the pleasure of exposing these claims and of rebuking them." It has hitherto been thought that a certain affinity drew him to the Greek poet of most rugged style, but it seems he used his own talent for word-sculpture to "rebuke" those who enjoyed its grand form in Æschylus.

Another misconception which Mrs. Orr corrects is that which assumes much recondite learning in Browning because he wears the appearance of it; he had no taste for ancient chroniclers, or for such reading as his father delighted in, but he came on his dramatic subjects by accident, and undertook research only for the purpose of verification, except possibly in the case of 'Sordello.' Altogether his scholarship, except in Greek and Spanish literature, seems to have been much overestimated. Mrs. Orr indulges in a good deal of criticism, often of a careful kind, and indeed so severe at times as to verge on the scientific; but to examine it would require a separate article. She brings out the full meaning of 'La Saisiaz' as "conclusive both in form and matter as to his heterodox attitude towards Christianity"; it is a plea for the value to the soul of religious incertitude. He was, she says, "a Christian, in his way," as much at the time of this poem as ever since boyhood, but his argument leaves "no place for the idea, however indefinite, of a Christian revelation" on the subject of immortality: "Christ remained for Mr. Browning a mystery and a message of divine love, but no messenger of divine intention toward mankind." The remarks on "Christmas Eve" and "Easter-day" point the same moral; and Mrs. Orr sums up the matter finally by saying that "the Evangelical Christian and the subjective idealist philosopher were curiously blended in his composition." The whole criticism of Browning's religious ideas and impressions, though just from the point of view of a thinker, is coldly unsympathetic, and tends to bring out with a painful distinctness the very imperfect thinking of the poet. The point is a delicate one, but it is not so much so as the other question arising in the criticism of that "perverse" and "cynical" poem, "Fifine at the Fair," and those allied to it in theme. Mrs. Orr's defence is, that this plea for self-indulgence is merely dramatic, though she censures the poet for not making his condemnation plain; but though this were to be allowed, her defence of the related poem, "The Statue and the Bust," rests on a distinction of a jesuitical sort. The only remaining suggestion of great interest in her general criticism is that *Pompilia* derives her vitality as a woman from Mrs. Browning, from whom some of her qualities appear to have been studied.

Browning's personality is described by the biographer, not set forth in his own words and acts. In drawing the portrait towards the close of the work, she reverts to the heredity question of the first chapter. She thinks he derived from his mother, a delicate woman, that nervous excitability which was his dominant physical quality. His pulse was "slow and not strong," and he was obliged to make an effort in order to join in society. His "gayety" was not entirely natural and unforced. His "effusiveness" in "greeting alike old friends and new" is ascribed to "a momentary lack of self-possession," and his excited habit of dinner-table talk is said to have grown upon him as a result of the physical and moral effort he made from the first to be entertaining. His "loud voice," though perhaps somewhat due to the deafness of several of his early friends, bore the same "traces of unconscious nervous stimulation"; but though "natural to him in anger or excitement," this loudness was not always used. Mrs. Orr repeats his saying, "I am nervous to such a degree that I might fancy I could not enter a drawing-room, if I did not know from long experience that I can do it." Of course he could not make an impromptu speech. He was irritable by nature, and "even serious and private conversation on any subject on which he was not neutral" had its difficulties; "feeling, imagination, and the vividness of personal points of view constantly thwarted the attempt at a dispassionate exchange of ideas." He had his mind made up on most topics of the day, one of them being woman's suffrage, in favor of which he once contemplated writing a drama. In the last year of his life he changed his mind on the question, not on any rational ground.

Women attracted him far more than men. They were his confidants; he preferred their society, and he appealed to them by an "often caressing kindness of manner." He does not appear to have understood, in Mrs. Orr's judgment, the conventionalities and differences inherent in sex, but applied to women the same standard as to men, or, when he was "confronted with some divergence," he was perplexed and would say that it was "impossible to judge how a woman would act in such or such a case," when in fact "it would be inconceivable to a normal woman, and therefore to the generality of men, that she should act in any but one way." Mrs. Orr notices that none of the women of his poems are conventional. The firmest of his male friends appear to have been foreigners, but we see very little of such connections. His affections were more active as he grew older. "The parental instinct," says Mrs. Orr, "was among the weakest in his nature," but his devotion to his son was great. Other children he seems not to have cared for. "He was capable," she says again, "of the largest self-sacrifice and of the smallest self-denial," but with this she states that he was defective in broad sympathy. He made a virtue of happiness and cultivated it "directly and increasingly"; and "because of certain sufferings that had been connected with them he would often have refused to live his happiest days again." He was intolerant and hard in opposition, especially if he had a strong personal conviction and was interested in the subject. His strength was "passive" rather than "active," his disposition acquiescent and therefore optimistic. His admiration for men of genius was very great, and sincere towards his contemporaries; his love of fame and interest in his own success were the self-regarding side of this strong feeling.

Such traits as these which have been briefly mentioned are the leading lines of Mrs. Orr's portrait, and she shows an intimate knowledge and close observation of her friend. The whole is in keeping, and the intention of the author to tell the truth with considerable frankness is very plain. She has not made a hero of her subject—the *nimbus* is conspicuously absent. There may be disappointment that there is not more self-revelation of Browning; but he evidently expressed himself only in his works. His letters are uninteresting, and show, like the essay on Shelley, that he was an exception to the rule that poets write good prose. The loss of his papers is, therefore, probably immaterial.

RECENT PHILOSOPHICAL WORKS.

Hegel's Logic: A Book on the Genesis of the Categories of the Mind. A Critical Exposition. By William T. Harris. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co. 1890. 12mo, Pp. 403.

The Philosophy of Right. With Special Reference to the Principles and Development of Law. By Diodato Lioy, Professor in the University of Naples. Translated from the Italian by W. Hastie, M.A., B.D. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. 1891. Two vols. 8vo. Pp. 353 and 392.

The Philosophical Works of Leibnitz (Selections). Translated from the original Latin and French, with notes, by George Martin Duncan, Instructor in Mental and Moral Philosophy, Yale University. New Haven: Tuttle, Moorehouse & Taylor. 1890. 8vo, pp. 392.

Outlines of a Critical Theory of Ethics. By John Dewey, Professor of Philosophy in the University of Michigan. Ann Arbor, Michigan: The Inland Press. 1891. 12mo, pp. 253.

The Soul of Man: An Investigation of the Facts of Physiological and Experimental Psychology. By Dr. Paul Carus. Chicago: The *Open Court* Publishing Company. 1891. 12mo, pp. 458.

Some years ago Dr. McCosh told us, in his positive way, that Hegelianism had emigrated from its fatherland and had settled on the banks of the Mississippi. Prof. Harris and his little coterie were its prophets. St. Louis, however, is no longer its Mecca, for the chief of the elect has become United States Commissioner of Education at Washington, D. C., though he still interprets the Sibylline oracles of his master. Prof. Harris tells us in the preface that Hegel's Logic has been "a sort of centre in all his thinking since the year 1860," and that, when asked in 1883 to write this volume, he thought he could not "prepare a worthy book for twenty years." As a matter of fact, no one since Hegel tried it has been able to satisfy anybody about his system; and judging from the kind of success usually attained with Hegel, the secret when it is found cannot be transmitted or communicated. Prof. Harris's book has all the faults and none of the merits of Hegel. We question whether any other man in America knows what he means by any of the phrases on which the expression of his doctrine depends—"vanishing of the category of the vanishing," "passing into its opposites," "the negative of negatives is reality," "the becoming of individuality," "the identity of duality and particularity," and so on with fully two-thirds of the volume, in all sorts of permutations and combinations. If the admirers of Mr. Herbert Spencer understand what is meant by the "passage of the homogeneous into the heterogeneous," they can probably understand the foregoing. The professed interpreters of Hegel would do well in the future if they expressed themselves in plain English, as Mr. Spencer has done.

The 'Philosophy of Right' is rather a new book of its kind for English readers; but it is a very useful one. Paul Janet has two able volumes in French on the history of politics in relation to ethics, and some of us are hoping that Prof. Sidgwick will give us the results of his studies in the same direction; but until then we must be content with what other nations, and especially Italy, have done upon the relation between ethics and law or politics. Prof. Lioy's volumes are both too full and too brief. The summary of the history of philosophy might have been omitted, as it has not been written with a direct reference to the main subject. On the other hand, such topics as Commerce and the Family are treated much too briefly. Nevertheless, the discussion is philosophical and very comprehensive. The author's division of his subject, after his general survey in the "Prolegomena," is a peculiar

one. He divides it into the "Objects of Right," which are religion, science, art, industry, commerce, morality, and justice, and the "Subjects of Right," which are the individual, family, classes, community, province, state, and international states. The chief fault of the work is that it is given too much to the statement of mere historical opinions on the matter, and the reader is left to take mere abstracts of men's views on authority, or suspend his judgment until he consults a thousand volumes to verify them. It would have been better to treat the subject more directly. The translator's preface is an admirable introduction, and his version is smooth and excellent English. The index, although new in its style for English, is a very good one.

The volume on Leibnitz has no external attractions whatever. The paper and type are very poor and the binding is of the worst. The translator might have made a wiser choice of material from Leibnitz, devoid of a theological tendency, and greatly improved his too perfunctory notes. A good and complete translation of that philosopher, with a careful estimation of his doctrine, in some such manner as T. H. Green has dealt with Hume, or Prof. Fraser with Berkeley, would be a very desirable work. As far as it goes, with some exceptions, Mr. Duncan's rendering is to be praised.

Prof. Dewey has disappointed us. We expected a volume at least equal to his 'Psychology' and his monograph on Leibnitz; but his 'Ethics' falls below the level of either. Prof. Dewey claims to have made here "an independent contribution to ethical science," but the evidence that the volume is merely classroom notes and dictations is so great that no one would suspect such an achievement on the author's part. Prof. Dewey evidently expects the book to be serviceable as a text-book, but we see in it few qualifications for that purpose. It is, to be sure, an improvement in method upon the old dogmatic systems of outlines and definitions; it is confined strictly to the theoretical issues of the day; but it is deficient in the essential features of a teacher's text. It is not systematic or complete, and contains too much historical discussion for so small a work to be adapted to such an object.

The volume by Dr. Carus is remarkable only for 152 illustrations and diagrams; not exactly of the soul, but of everything except that. Such an amount of ill-digested material is seldom put in book form for the philosophic public.

In Scripture Lands: New Views of Sacred Places. By Edward L. Wilson. With 150 illustrations from original photographs by the author. Charles Scribner's Sons. 1890.

THIS is an account of a difficult, dangerous, and expensive trip made by a professional photographer from Egypt through Sinai to the head of the gulf of 'Akabah; thence up the 'Arabah to Petra, which, by an ingenious stratagem, he contrived to enter unobserved; thence through a part of the wilderness of et-Tih in search of Kadesh Barnea, and through the Negeb to Hebron; after which he seems to have travelled on beaten tracks through the Holy Land and to Damascus. The book is a further development of some illustrated magazine articles which appeared shortly after Mr. Wilson's return, and the chapter on Petra still bears the fingermarks of its independent origin. As might be expected, the main interest and value of the work lie in the illustrations, but the narrative of travel also, at least in the first part of the book, until the Palestinian border is reached, is interesting, and even exciting, and the descriptions are often picturesque.

The opening chapter narrates the finding of the mummy of Rameses II., and nearly forty other mummies "of kings, queens, princes, and priests," in the summer of 1881, and an account of the author's own visit to the site of the famous "find" in company with Emil Brugsch Bey and Prof. Maspero, a few months after the discovery. The text is accompanied by some excellent and very welcome illustrations. The two chapters which follow, devoted to Mt. Sinai and the trip up the 'Arabah, including the account of the artifice by which the author stole into Petra, are thoroughly readable and interesting, and, while they fail to tell much which might have been told, they nevertheless contribute, both by descriptions and illustrations, to a better knowledge of the region traversed. The fourth chapter, that on Petra, is by far the most important in the whole volume. For four days Mr. Wilson contrived, by dint of diplomacy, pluck, and much backsheesh, to remain in Petra, thus securing a valuable photographic record of the remarkable rock sculptures of the Nabathæan capital. His photographs of Petra, illustrations from about twenty of the best of which are given in this volume, constitute a real contribution to archæology. (It is to be regretted that they could not all be published on a larger scale.) This chapter is fascinating. It is not written from the standpoint of the archæologist, and the map (Strong and Ward's survey) is unsatisfactory and on too small a scale; but the illustrations are beautiful, the author fully appreciated the romantic and weird picturesqueness of the ruins and their surroundings, and the incidents of his sojourn were decidedly exciting.

Leaving Petra, Mr. Wilson, as already stated, struck westward into the wilderness of et-Tih in search of the oasis of Qadees, identified by Rowlands and Trumbull as Kadesh Barnea, and visited by the latter only the year before Mr. Wilson's trip. He failed to reach it, but reports the discovery of another large oasis "several miles north of 'Ain Qadees," which he believes to have been previously unvisited. His description sounds very much like Trumbull's description of 'Ain-el-Qadayrât, to the northwest of 'Ain-Qadees.

The remaining nine chapters of Mr. Wilson's book deal with lands often travelled and frequently described, and, with one exception, contain nothing worthy of particular notice. The narrative is rambling and the historical and other allusions inaccurate and unscientific. The only excuse for this portion of the work is the very pretty illustrations.

The exception referred to is chap. ix., a discussion from the pen of Dr. Chas. S. Robinson on the site of Calvary, advocating the claims of the hill, just outside of the Damascus gate, in which is the cave now known as Jeremiah's Grotto. The argument turns on the form of the hill, which is supposed to resemble a skull, a resemblance further fortified by "two cavities or holes in the rock; these served as eyeless sockets." Mr. Wilson's photographs, which accompany the article, do not exhibit this resemblance to a skull, which Dr. Robinson seems to have been able to observe only from a certain point on the Mount of Olives; neither, studying the question on the spot, did the present writer see any strongly marked likeness to a skull. Furthermore, supposing such a resemblance to exist at the present time, did it exist at the commencement of the Christian era? Everything around Jerusalem has been so modified and transformed by the accumulations and excavations of the ages that, as in Rome, no reliance can be placed on the argument from external form except in the case of a few main features. Without applying the magnifying glass or the spade, you cannot be sure of recognizing the ancient landmarks of Jerusalem from their present appearance. This argument from form must therefore be pronounced weak. A passage is quoted, however (p. 233), from Laurence Oliphant's 'Haifa,' in which the latter claims that the Mishnah and current tradition satisfactorily identify Jeremiah's Grotto, or rather the hill above it, with "the House of Stoning," or place of public execution mentioned in the Talmud about A.D. 150. Here is a suggestion of a strong argument, but even here proofs fail, and up to the present time, while the arguments against the traditional site of Calvary, within the limits of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, are, if not absolutely convincing, nevertheless strong enough to create a decided presumption against that site, nothing like proof of the claims of any other site has been presented. The discussion has raised questions which can probably be settled finally only by scientific, continuous, and systematic excavations in and about Jerusalem, which are not allowed by the Turkish Government. In the meantime we must be content to confess that our actual knowledge of the topography of ancient Jerusalem is meagre and uncertain in the extreme.

The Compounding of English Words: When and Why Joining or Separation is Preferable; with concise rules and alphabetical lists. By F. Horace Teall. New York: John Ireland. 1891. Pp. 223.

THIS treatise is a chapter in the English usage of the hyphen, a protest against the excessive employment of that point, and an endeavor to lay down rules for compounding that will secure the greatest possible consistency. It is, the author believes, and we have no doubt, the first work of its kind, and one much needed. Mr. Teall, who comes of a family of proof-readers, knows by experience the difficulty of securing uniformity of punctuation, and was well qualified to expose the inconsistent practice of the natural authority in the matter of compounds, the Dictionary. He interests the reader at once by a destructive attack, in this particular, on Webster, the Imperial, Worcester, and even Dr. Murray's 'New English Dictionary,' whose editors he easily and abundantly convicts of negligence or want of fixed principles. The rules of the grammarians are in turn examined and confuted, but less effectively and clearly, because they are not taken up by themselves in close sequence with the exposure of their fellow-sinners. Mr. Teall, in fact, having got through—at least for the moment—with the lexicographers, begins his general discussion in his third chapter, and incidentally castigates the grammarians all the way along to the eighth chapter, which specifically deals with "Bad Teaching by Noted Teachers." In chapter seven he gives a useful annotated list of phrases needlessly compounded; in chapter eleven, an even more useful list of inseparable compounds.

These two lists will, we believe, float the work, for Mr. Teall has not the gift of clear expression and definition, and his arrangement is very defective. The several classes whom he aims to serve—"authors, printers, teachers, telegraphers, stenographers, typewriters, and all who care for the correct writing of English"—would have been content with a mere dictionary of compound words, which Mr. Teall pronounces "impracticable,

for obvious reasons." These reasons are not apparent to us. What is wanted is a fairly comprehensive, authoritative list for ready reference; and if it contained indications of the compiler's departure from usage, with brief justifications, he would have left nothing to be desired and would have measurably shaped usage, which is, after all, only the consensus of the best printing-offices. For our own part we should have little difficulty in deferring to Mr. Teall's judgment as to most compounds, while we cannot think highly of his exposition, and are sure that his rules are so numerous and so obscure that nobody will try to master them.

Take the compound *type-writer* as an example. Mr. Teall hyphens it in his dedication, but as he gives no list of hyphened compounds, and omits the word from his inseparables, how is the user of his book to discover (1) that the two parts should be joined at all, or (2) that they should be joined by a hyphen instead of being run together?

Mr. Teall's rules are first formally set forth on p. 137, but on p. 59 we read:

"Compounding [of two nouns] should take place only when the first of two primitively naming words remains a noun; in other words, only when no real change or distinction of aspect is attributed to the second by the first."

On p. 127:

"Each word should always remain separate when used exactly in a normal relation, even when it and another word together have a joint unity of sense; and . . . each pair of words not in normal relation to each other should be joined, to give one form which preserves the proper construction instead of two which violate it."

In the chapter "When Two Words Become One," are laid down six rules, upon close study of which the inquirer may conclude that the first fits the case of *type-writer*, viz.:

"Two nouns used together merely as nouns, unless in apposition, become properly in such use one compound noun. That is, two nouns should be compounded if they are simply put together arbitrarily to name one thing, with no actual descriptive idea except that conveyed by the name in its entirety; but if the distinguishing descriptive idea is entirely inherent in the first word, it should be considered an adjective, and so stand apart."

There are fourteen models under this rule, of which only the fifth is in any way applicable:

"The name of an implement or agent of action coupled with that of the object acted upon or with, as *hair-brush* (a brush for the hair), *paint-brush*, . . . *telegraph-pole*, . . ."

Finally, to determine whether a hyphen should be used or the joining be close, we must choose between three badly punctuated rules remarkable for want of lucidity:

"I.—Two words used jointly in the office of one word, with no actual elementary significance other than by mere allusion of the kind expressed in the joint term, should be made a solid word.

"II.—A pair of words which are when used in literal meaning a hyphened compound or two separate words should be made an inseparable compound when used with a purely arbitrary meaning.

"III.—The solid one-word form should be given to every joint use of a literal word and an element which has ceased to be or never has been used as a separate English word; also to every joining of a word in its literal sense with a following word which has in this particular use a merely general sense."

From all this apparatus Mr. Teall deduces for his own usage a hyphened compound, *type-writer;* but we cannot imagine his reason for disregarding its analogy at all points with *handwriting*, which he places among the inseparables.

We have no space for further details or criticism. The matter of compounding is capable of very brief summarizing. It can never be precisely fixed or uniform. It is employed mainly to prevent ambiguity, but partly to please the eye. Coalescence is a matter of usage, and is limited by the genius of the language, which abhors very long words or an odd aggregation of consonants, or any combination which makes it difficult to recognize the parts of the compound at a glance and to pronounce correctly; the mute *e* being here a frequent stumbling-block. Mr. Teall properly lays stress on analogy if we are to have a system, but he tries to apply throughout a grammatical criterion which leads him into endless mazes of definition and subdivision. He calls Webster's *nightwatch* "an instance of coalescence absolutely without defence," whereas it needs no more defence than his *nightgown*, *night-flower*, or even *nightmare*. His book, as we have said, will accomplish its aim as far as its lists are availed of; and it will also cause the dictionary-makers (to whom the problem is a very practical one) serious reflection. Beyond this it will not go, but we thank him for his endeavor.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Abbott, E. A. Philomythus. 2d ed. Macmillan & Co. $1.25.
Alarcon. Moors and Christians. Cassell Publishing Co. 50 cents.
Austin, A. Lyrical Poems. Macmillan & Co. $1.75.
Baumeister, R. The Cleaning and Sewerage of Cities. Engineering News Publishing Co.
Boyesen, H. H. The Mammon of Unrighteousness. John W. Lovell Co. $1.25.
Bazán, Emilia P. A Wedding Trip. Cassell Publishing Co. $1.
Capp, W. M. The Daughter. Philadelphia: F. A. Davis. $1.

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By Sarah Barnwell Elliott. 12mo, $1.25.

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